THE POLITICS OF ARISTOTLE

LONDON : PRINTED BY
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AND PARLIAMENT STREET

ΑΡΙΣΤΟΤΕΛΟΥΣ ΤΑ ΠΟΛΙΤΙΚΑ

THE POLITICS OF ARISTOTLE

WITH ENGLISH NOTES

BY

RICHARD CONGREVE, M.A.

LATE FELLOW AND TUTOR OF WADHAM COLLEGE, OXFORD

SECOND EDITION

LONDON
LONGMANS, GREEN, AND CO.
1874

PREFACE.

THE text adopted for this edition is that of Bekker, as reprinted at the Oxford University Press. Here and there I have ventured on changes, the reasons for which I have given in each case. They do not profess to rest on the authority of manuscripts, but on my own view of their advisability, or on the authority of others, whether editors or commentators. In editing any Greek or Latin writer, the question of the authority of various manuscripts is one which many editors must leave unapproached. The sound judgment requisite in such matters must be the result of large experience and study of that particular branch of editorial work. It seems to me a complete specialty; and one who has not been led, either by inclination or pursuits, to give it special attention, could not hope that any weight should attach to his decisions, and had better therefore acquiesce in the conclusions of those who are recognised as authority on the point. Unfortunately, in the particular case of Aristotle, the silence preserved by the editors of the great Berlin edition,—the basis, it seems acknowledged, of any subsequent editions,—as to the value of the manuscripts whose various readings they insert, and as to the grounds of their preference of the readings they adopt, leaves us in ignorance, so far as their judgment is concerned, of what amount of assistance might be derived from manuscripts. But it would seem, from the concurrent testimony of those who have turned their attention to the *Politics* of Aristotle, that the amount is not large. Not to dwell on the dictum of Niebuhr on this point, the German critic who, more than any other of those I have met with, urges the expediency of a careful collation of MSS., does so with the avowal that, when all is done, the text of Bekker must remain the basis; and Spengel, whose labours seem to me in quality the most valuable, not

only accepts this text, but remarks, that any manuscript assistance is out of the question. "The only source left is conjectural criticism." The difficulties of the *Politics*, so far as they are difficulties of the text, must be remedied by attentive study, and by conjecture resting on such study. Such is all I have to offer, and I have resisted as much as possible all temptation to alteration, where not absolutely indispensable. The greatest opening for such alteration appears to be presented by the punctuation. A careful attention to this, in the *Politics*, as in other works of Aristotle, will often give the clue to a difficult passage; and this is a point on which, I presume, all editors are equally free. I have therefore in many passages altered the stopping, but I have done so without increasing the number of stops, the sparing use of which is, I conceive, a great improvement in recent editions of the classics.

As a general rule, I have introduced no parenthesis where there did not exist one in the text adopted. In certain cases, I have enclosed paragraphs of various and at times considerable length in brackets. In doing so, I have not intended to intimate that such paragraphs are not Aristotle's, a point I feel quite incompetent to decide, but merely to show that in my view of the context they interfere, either as repetitions or as unseasonable digressions, with the connexion of the thought. And as it is in this connexion that the great difficulty often lies, I have, so far as I was able, endeavoured to clear away any obstacle to its perception.

There is one change of some importance which I have made in the edition from which I reprint. I have altered the order of the books, and adopted the arrangement already familiar to students of the *Politics*, as that used by M. St. Hilaire in his edition and translation. It seems useless to repeat in detail the various critical arguments in favour of this change. They may be found stated in the Preface to the edition just quoted, and elsewhere, as in the work of M. Nickes. The main argument in favour of the change is, as far as I can see, the greater clearness of method, and the greater facility of tracing the order of thought which the new arrangement gives. But, though I feel very strongly that the change rests on solid ground and offers real advan-

tages, I might have adhered to the old order had there been no edition in which it was changed. The convenience of uniformity of reference is such an attraction that I might have been induced to sacrifice to it. But when once the change has been made, the case is altered. Such convenience no longer exists, and a subsequent editor need have little scruple in selecting that method which seems to his judgment absolutely the best.*

And I cannot but think that an attentive study of the work will lead most readers to acquiesce in the order adopted as most in keeping with the real order of thought, however much they may wish that the old order had remained undisturbed on the ground of convenience. For the new arrangement brings into close juxtaposition two books, VI. and VII. (IV. VI.), whose separation is clearly the result of some accident, and whose re-arrangement is advocated, as I have elsewhere remarked, even by the staunchest opponents of the change in general. Again by placing IV. V. (VII. VIII.) immediately after III., the new order makes Aristotle's aristocracy or ideal state, the second of the two correct forms of government, follow directly on his treatment of monarchy or the first, and precede his treatment of Politeia or the third. Whereas, in the existing arrangement, this third form is interposed between the first and second. Lastly, after the analysis of the two first ideal forms has been gone through, he proceeds, by a separate treatment of the elements of the third form, to prepare the way for a treatment of those elements in combination,—in other words, for the treatment of that third form. Its discussion over, he goes through the problems connected with existing governments, their formation and their organisation; he elaborates, that is, the statics of Greek society. Then, in the absence of any theory or expectation of change, there is nothing left for him but to treat of the diseases to which that society was liable, its chronic state of dissension, its acute one of revolution. This, the more logical order, is entirely put out of sight by the actual arrangement, and I feel convinced that its restoration is a real gain in studying the work. I need not add

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more on this point, as I have touched on it occasionally in the body of the work.

For the purposes of convenient handling of this edition, I have prefixed to each book a short summary. In this I have aimed at giving the simple outline of the connexion, and an easy means of finding what is the general purport of each chapter. I have added also marginal headings to enable the reader more easily to catch the main object of the page, or to refer to what he has previously read. For the purposes of reference I have placed the pages of the Berlin Quarto Edition by the side of the text. And in any quotations from other works of Aristotle, I have given a double reference, to that edition and to the Oxford reprint of it.

In the notes, when offering translations of my own, I have marked them by single, when borrowing the words of others, I have used double inverted commas.

For the matter of the notes, my object has been to make them as much of a help as possible to the understanding of the text, not as a vehicle for learned discussion. In a work like the *Politics*, more than in some others, it would seem the main duty of an editor to facilitate the study of the work itself, to place the student in a condition to master it with as little difficulty as possible, and so to penetrate himself with its spirit and its thought. He should therefore not have his attention called off at every turn by the suggestion of difficulties on questions of alien interest. I have endeavoured to carry out this my view of what an editor should do, and if at times I have wandered in my notes from the strict interpretation of Aristotle, or from the necessary elucidation of his statements, and obtruded opinions of my own, I trust I shall be thought to have been sparing in such deviations, and to have exercised a fair self-command in not interfering with the appreciation of the work itself. The greatness of its author and the importance of the subject alike acted as a check. And it is in furtherance of this view that I have ventured on a translation of most of the difficult passages.

I have given an Index of the proper names that occur in e work, as well as one of the words and expressions. This ter will, I trust, be found, if far from complete, yet suffi-

ciently copious to make it a great advance on any existing index. Its incompleteness is due to my not having had it in my power, at the time I was engaged in it, to give it that constant, unintermitting attention which it required. I was compelled by circumstances to complete my part of the work whilst engaged as tutor in Oxford, and to leave in great measure the arrangement of the materials I had collected to two of my friends who are in no way responsible for any defect in the materials themselves.

The works I have used in preparing this edition are,—

I. Editions of the whole or parts of it:

Petri Victorii *Commentarii in Aristotelem de Republicâ.* Florence, 1576.

Aristotelis Politica. Schneider. Frankfort, 1809.

Ἀριστοτέλους Πολιτικῶν τὰ σωζόμενα. Corai. Paris, 1821.

Aristotelis de Politicâ. Göttling. Jena. 1824.

Aristoteles. Bekker. Berlin, 1831.

Politique d'Aristote. St. Hilaire. Paris, 1837.

Aristotelis Politica. Stahr. Leipsic, 1839. Greek and German.

Aristoteles de Politiâ Carthaginiensium. Kluge. Wratislavia, 1824.

Πολιτειῶν τὰ σωζόμενα. Neumann. Heidelberg, 1827.

II. Commentaries:

Philosophie des Aristoteles. Biese. Berlin, 1842.

De Aristotelis Politicorum libris. Nickes. Bonn, 1851.

Ueber die Politik des Aristoteles, L. Spengel in the *Abhandlungen der Akademie der Wissenschaften in München,* v. Band, 1 Abth. Also, by the same writer, *Ueber die unter dem Namen des Aristoteles erhaltenen Ethischen Schriften.* 1841.

III. Works bearing on Aristotle's life and philosophy generally:

Aristotelia. Stahr. Halle, 1830.

Aristoteles und seine academischen Zeitgenossen und nächsten Nachfolger. C. A. Brandis. Berlin, 1853.

Other works, both German and French, I have consulted, but with very little advantage; and I think it unnecessary

to add their titles. Works on the subjects treated in the *Politics* I have quoted in the notes, and need not add any distinct reference to them here.

My greatest obligations are, as will be clear from the notes, to Mr. Grote, so far as the work is one of historical philosophy. In editing a work, which is the *résumé* of Greek political experience, the natural source to which to look for assistance was the best history of Greece on a large scale. In that would of course be found, so far as historical documents warranted, the proper accompaniment to the isolated facts mentioned or alluded to by Aristotle. And the range of the historian of Greece should not be narrower than that of the philosopher who drew his lessons not merely from Greek political experience, but from the history and circumstances of the various nations which had come in contact with Greece. On all historical points I have carefully consulted Mr. Grote's great work, and have referred to it as the best source for others to consult. And I need hardly add that not on mere historical points, but on all questions of political philosophy, as viewed by the light of Greek history, the value of his work can hardly be overrated. This is not diminished in any degree by the difference of views which at times will be seen to exist. I can only add my regret that I have been obliged to forego the advantages which the next volume of Mr. Grote's work promises to the student of Aristotle and of Greek philosophy in general.

One other acknowledgment I have to make, that of the assistance I have received from friends. For no one of the opinions expressed in any part of the work is any one but myself responsible. I have no reason to think that they are shared by those who have helped me. For the care bestowed in revising and suggesting improvements in my notes, and in correcting the proofs, my best thanks are due to Messrs. Harrison and Thorley, Fellows of Wadham College, Oxford; and for the arrangement and correction of the Index a similar acknowledgment is due to Messrs. C. Griffith and Ellaby, of Wadham College. Many others have assisted me, both friends and pupils, but I must content myself with a general acknowledgment. This I could not do in the former case, from the amount of trouble and attention which has been given.

My object throughout has been, as far as possible, to facilitate the study of the work itself in the original language. But in the present state of opinion in England on educational questions, I hope I shall not be considered out of place in making some additional remarks on this point. He who edits a work of classical antiquity may be thought to be working in support of the dominant theory, which looks on all really high education as having necessarily for its basis the study of the languages of Greece and Rome, and, if silent, such a construction of his purpose would be fair, and one which he could hardly object to. Therefore, though aware that my opinion is likely to meet with no sympathy, even in quarters where I should most wish it, and at the risk of giving great offence in others, I cannot consent to remain silent, and even in appearance to adopt the theory above given. After a fair acquaintance with all the arguments generally adduced in its favour in or out of Oxford, with all the weight in its support lent by many years passed in the study of the languages in question, and as many almost in teaching them, I have been led to form an opinion entirely hostile to the prevailing practice, and to look with more than distrust on the arguments on which it is based. I do not feel disposed here to do much more than protest against this theory, the great idol of the educated among the upper and middle classes. But I may, before passing to my own view of the subject, express my hope that, like many other of the fictions on which their existence has reposed, this part too and foundation of our institutions is crumbling beneath them, that the process may be speedy, and the substitution of a sounder system as rapid as is consistent with its intelligent adoption. At the general rate of our movement in such matters, this rapidity will have nothing alarming in it.

It is not from any intrinsic value in these languages over others that I would wish to see their rational study still generally prevail. But as essential links in the great chain of the historical tradition of the human race, for the information the works written in them contain, lastly for the poets whom the just consent of mankind places so high—these grounds seem to me adequate without having recourse

to any theory that it is necessary to train the mind by the study of language, or to cultivate the taste by models of more perfect beauty than the languages of modern Europe contain. I cannot see the truth of either the one or the other of these positions. In proportion as the social science, of which I conceive the *Politics* of Aristotle to be the foundation and ancient master-work, assumes more and more its due prominence and exercises its legitimate control over all subordinate studies, its students, with the increasing value they attach to history, will not neglect those two languages, in which, for a period of more than a thousand years, most of the philosophy, history, and poetry of the race are deposited, nor will such a view of them lower them in comparison with the one which is now predominant. To read them for what they contain of knowledge and of beauty, and from an historical point of view, will be at the least as desirable as to read them as the majority have hitherto done, – and I do but speak of the majority,—as supplying the means of primary intellectual discipline, as supplying the materials for Latin and Greek composition or, as the most enduring result, as the sources from which to draw apt quotations embodying in vivid expressions the experience of daily life, a purpose generally satisfied by the knowledge of Horace. From the different point of view here proposed they will be relieved from their present position, and from the load of odium which now attaches to them in the minds of most English gentlemen, save the cultivated and successful few, as the instruments of youthful torture, as the ungrateful study on which they were made to waste their early years and the fresh vigour of their faculties. They feel truly that the knowledge they gained of them was worth nothing to them at the time and has since entirely disappeared, and they retain with them only the remembrance of the disagreeable process by which it was acquired.

If we could get rid of the half superstitious value we now attach to the classical languages, and look on them much in the same light as we do on the cultivated languages of modern Europe, Italian, French, Spanish, and German, they would gain by the exchange. They would then be studied more as those languages are studied, and probably at

a later period of life. It is wise to proceed from the easier to the harder, and the living languages are easier for many reasons than the dead. We should have less of what is called sound scholarship, considerably more in all probability of true philological attainment. And we should gain time in our education for many things now neglected. The languages themselves would present attractions for the reasons above indicated, which would be appreciable by the maturer mind of the student, and are wholly unappreciable by the majority of boys. And to these their legitimate attractions I should think it better to leave them. If less generally studied at first, this would be an evil compensated by the more intelligent and willing character of the study actually given. And as sounder educational views gradually prevail, that which M. Comte selects as the characteristic of the intellectual movement of this century, the prevalence of the historical point of view, will modify any tendency to the undue neglect of Greek and Latin, by asserting for them their just historical claims to attention and respect. Were it then possible, I should be the last to wish the knowledge of such works as the *Politics* limited to that gained from a translation. The great philosophers, the great historians, the great poets, should all be studied in their original language, though, as it has been well remarked, this is quite essential for the poets, not so for the two former classes.

WANDSWORTH: *Nov.* 2, 1855.

My dislike of what is called classical education increases with increasing years and with the constant sense of loss of time, knowledge, and true mental discipline consequent on the amount of attention devoted to it.

17 MECKLENBURGH SQUARE, LONDON:
July 23, 1874.

CHRONOLOGICAL TABLE.

385. Birth of Aristotle.

371. Leuctra. Period of Theban ascendency.

367. Aristotle visits Athens, æt. 17. This same year Plato leaves Athens for Syracuse.

362. Mantinea.

359. Accession of Philip.

357. Beginning of Phocian war.

353. Death of Dion.

348. Visit of Aristotle to Hermias, tyrant of Atarneus and Assus.

346. End of Phocian war.

345. On the death of Hermias Aristotle takes refuge in Mitylene.

343. Accepts invitation from Philip of Macedon to take charge of Alexander, then thirteen years old. This charge can hardly have lasted more than four years.

338. Chæronea.

336. Death of Philip.

334. Aristotle's second visit to Athens. Alexander's first campaign in Asia.

331. Arbela.

323. Death of Alexander.

322. Aristotle dies at Chalcis. Demosthenes and Hyperides died the same year.

INTRODUCTION.

IT would be a waste of time to prefix a life of Aristotle to each separate treatise as it is published. For the purposes of this introduction nothing more is needed than a brief reference to the facts of his life, so far as they may serve to convey an idea of the range of his political experience. There is no occasion to do more than recal the facts of: his birth at Stagira, and the position of his father as physician at the court of Macedon under Amyntas; his early visit to Athens at the age of seventeen; his stay there of nearly twenty years; his residence with Hermias at Atarneus, on the coast of Asia Minor; his second residence of uncertain length in Macedonia as the tutor of Alexander; his return to Athens, and his second residence there of twelve years at the least; lastly, his retirement, a little before his death, to Chalcis in Eubœa. This is a sufficient notice of his life for an introduction to the *Politics*. For this will enable us to appreciate the opportunities he enjoyed, at a very eventful period in the history of Greece and of the world, of vivifying his rich knowledge of the past history of his country, and the actual condition of its outlying states, by his experience of their present circumstances, and his contact with the states nearer the centre.

We cannot doubt that, with his keen observation, he would attend closely to the course of political events. And in one respect he was very favourably placed. He had all the advantages of a spectator; he could not mix directly in political life, even had he wished to do so. Stagira, even before its destruction, offered him no opportunities, and at Athens he was a stranger. He could then, with the greater composure, make the events he witnessed the subject of his philosophical contemplation. And it may be useful very

shortly to run through these events, and remind ourselves of the changes he had seen.

His earliest recollections would be connected with Macedonian affairs. He could look back on the weakness of Macedon and its political insignificance in relation to the leading Greek states. For at the court of Amyntas no hopes could have been entertained of the subsequent rapid rise of that kingdom to greatness. Aristotle was old enough to remember the change introduced into Greek politics by the break up of the Spartan supremacy in consequence of the defeat at Leuctra. He was at Athens during the closing period of the short supremacy of Thebes, and from that centre he witnessed the sudden collapse of Theban power on the death of Epaminondas. In the period of his early manhood and ripening judgment he could watch from Athens the anarchy of Greece, when no state seemed able to make an effort after empire, or offer a rallying point to her dispersed energies. And during the same period he could also watch the commencement of Philip's reign, his victorious assertion of his position as king of Macedon against rivals at home and foreign enemies, his growth at the expense of the neighbouring countries, whether barbarian tribes or Greek colonies. And Aristotle, as Demosthenes, must have been well aware what the result of such progress must be. At the court of Hermias, whilst familiarising himself with the new aspect of Greek life which the coast of Asia Minor would present to him, and whilst gaining a more intimate acquaintance with the power of Persia in that western portion of her empire, he would hear of the stride made by Philip, which was marked by the destruction of his own birthplace, in common with the kindred towns in its neighbourhood, and by the subsequent interference of that monarch in the affairs of Thessaly and northern Greece. Driven from Asia by a revolution, which illustrated his theory of the short duration of tyrannies, even in good hands, Aristotle seems to have remained at Mitylene, till there reached him an invitation from Philip to undertake the education of Alexander. It is uncertain how long this connexion lasted, but probably about four years. It seems

clear that it must have ended some considerable time before the war which was decided at Chæronea. Putting aside all reference to the effects of such a connexion on Alexander, it was one which gave Aristotle a most commanding view of the actual politics of the day. He was again at the very centre of political power, which had finally quitted Greece proper. During the war with Athens, Aristotle may have thought it unsafe to return there, and he may have resided at his native place, which had been rebuilt by Philip at his intercession, and which is said to have received a constitution at his hands. At any rate it is probable that he did not return to Athens till Alexander had established his supremacy over Greece, and so had removed any danger to which an intimacy such as his with the royal family of Macedon might have exposed him at Athens. During the expedition into Asia, and the lifetime of Alexander, Aristotle remained at Athens teaching his numerous disciples, maturing his philosophical views, and gradually working out the encyclopedic system which was the object of his comprehensive intellect. When the king's death made it unsafe for him to continue there, he removed to Chalcis, carrying with him, apparently, the seeds of the disease which shortly after proved fatal. He died at the age of sixty-three.

After this brief retrospect of Aristotle's life, and of the events he witnessed, I proceed to consider his political system from a more general point of view. And the first question that presents itself is—What was the starting point he chose? On what basis did he rest his system? To this the answer is, I think, clear. He rested on no *à priori* ground, but on the experience of the past. And this answer naturally suggests the next question: What was the exact value he attached to that experience as the basis for future political action? The answer in this case also admits of little doubt. It may be difficult to say what were his views in the immediate or distant future, but for the past we can speak confidently. He offers no definite estimate of the length of time during which the race had existed and had been gathering experience. But he looks back on the period past as a long one (τῷ πολλῷ χρόνῳ, πολλοῖς ἔτεσιν), during which

to add their titles. Works on the subjects treated in the *Politics* I have quoted in the notes, and need not add any distinct reference to them here.

My greatest obligations are, as will be clear from the notes, to Mr. Grote, so far as the work is one of historical philosophy. In editing a work, which is the *résumé* of Greek political experience, the natural source to which to look for assistance was the best history of Greece on a large scale. In that would of course be found, so far as historical documents warranted, the proper accompaniment to the isolated facts mentioned or alluded to by Aristotle. And the range of the historian of Greece should not be narrower than that of the philosopher who drew his lessons not merely from Greek political experience, but from the history and circumstances of the various nations which had come in contact with Greece. On all historical points I have carefully consulted Mr. Grote's great work, and have referred to it as the best source for others to consult. And I need hardly add that not on mere historical points, but on all questions of political philosophy, as viewed by the light of Greek history, the value of his work can hardly be overrated. This is not diminished in any degree by the difference of views which at times will be seen to exist. I can only add my regret that I have been obliged to forego the advantages which the next volume of Mr. Grote's work promises to the student of Aristotle and of Greek philosophy in general.

One other acknowledgment I have to make, that of the assistance I have received from friends. For no one of the opinions expressed in any part of the work is any one but myself responsible. I have no reason to think that they are shared by those who have helped me. For the care bestowed in revising and suggesting improvements in my notes, and in correcting the proofs, my best thanks are due to Messrs. Harrison and Thorley, Fellows of Wadham College, Oxford; and for the arrangement and correction of the Index a similar acknowledgment is due to Messrs. C. Griffith and Ellaby, of Wadham College. Many others have assisted me, both friends and pupils, but I must content myself with a general acknowledgment. This I could not do in the former case, from the amount of trouble and attention which has been given.

My object throughout has been, as far as possible, to facilitate the study of the work itself in the original language. But in the present state of opinion in England on educational questions, I hope I shall not be considered out of place in making some additional remarks on this point. He who edits a work of classical antiquity may be thought to be working in support of the dominant theory, which looks on all really high education as having necessarily for its basis the study of the languages of Greece and Rome, and, if silent, such a construction of his purpose would be fair, and one which he could hardly object to. Therefore, though aware that my opinion is likely to meet with no sympathy, even in quarters where I should most wish it, and at the risk of giving great offence in others, I cannot consent to remain silent, and even in appearance to adopt the theory above given. After a fair acquaintance with all the arguments generally adduced in its favour in or out of Oxford, with all the weight in its support lent by many years passed in the study of the languages in question, and as many almost in teaching them, I have been led to form an opinion entirely hostile to the prevailing practice, and to look with more than distrust on the arguments on which it is based. I do not feel disposed here to do much more than protest against this theory, the great idol of the educated among the upper and middle classes. But I may, before passing to my own view of the subject, express my hope that, like many other of the fictions on which their existence has reposed, this part too and foundation of our institutions is crumbling beneath them, that the process may be speedy, and the substitution of a sounder system as rapid as is consistent with its intelligent adoption. At the general rate of our movement in such matters, this rapidity will have nothing alarming in it.

It is not from any intrinsic value in these languages over others that I would wish to see their rational study still generally prevail. But as essential links in the great chain of the historical tradition of the human race, for the information the works written in them contain, lastly for the poets whom the just consent of mankind places so high—these grounds seem to me adequate without having recourse

to any theory that it is necessary to train the mind by the study of language, or to cultivate the taste by models of more perfect beauty than the languages of modern Europe contain. I cannot see the truth of either the one or the other of these positions. In proportion as the social science, of which I conceive the *Politics* of Aristotle to be the foundation and ancient master-work, assumes more and more its due prominence, and exercises its legitimate control over all subordinate studies, its students, with the increasing value they attach to history, will not neglect those two languages, in which, for a period of more than a thousand years, most of the philosophy, history, and poetry of the race are deposited, nor will such a view of them lower them in comparison with the one which is now predominant. To read them for what they contain of knowledge and of beauty, and from an historical point of view, will be at the least as desirable as to read them as the majority have hitherto done, and I do but speak of the majority,—as supplying the means of primary intellectual discipline, as supplying the materials for Latin and Greek composition or, as the most enduring result, as the sources from which to draw apt quotations, embodying, in vivid expressions, the experience of daily life, a purpose generally satisfied by the knowledge of Horace. From the different point of view here proposed they will be relieved from their present position, and from the load of odium which now attaches to them in the minds of most English gentlemen, save the cultivated and successful few, as the instruments of youthful torture, as the ungrateful study on which they were made to waste their early years and the fresh vigour of their faculties. They feel truly that the knowledge they gained of them was worth nothing to them at the time, and has since entirely disappeared, and there remains with them only the remembrance of the disagreeable process by which it was acquired.

If we could get rid of the half superstitious value we now attach to the classical languages, and look on them much in the same light as we do on the cultivated languages of modern Europe, Italian, French, Spanish, and German, we would gain by the exchange. They would then be [illegible] more as those languages are studied, and probably at

a later period of life. It is wise to proceed from the easier to the harder, and the living languages are easier for many reasons than the dead. We should have less of what is called sound scholarship, considerably more in all probability of true philological attainment. And we should gain time in our education for many things now neglected. The languages themselves would present attractions for the reasons above indicated, which would be appreciable by the maturer mind of the student, and are wholly unappreciable by the majority of boys. And to these their legitimate attractions I should think it better to leave them. If less generally studied at first, this would be an evil compensated by the more intelligent and willing character of the study actually given. And as sounder educational views gradually prevail, that which M. Comte selects as the characteristic of the intellectual movement of this century, the prevalence of the historical point of view, will modify any tendency to the undue neglect of Greek and Latin, by asserting for them their just historical claims to attention and respect. Were it then possible, I should be the last to wish the knowledge of such works as the *Politics* limited to that gained from a translation. The great philosophers, the great historians, the great poets, should all be studied in their original language, though, as it has been well remarked, this is quite essential for the poets, not so for the two former classes.

WANDSWORTH: *Nov.* 2, 1855.

My dislike of what is called classical education increases with increasing years and with the constant sense of loss of time, knowledge, and true mental discipline consequent on the amount of attention devoted to it.

17 MECKLENBURGH SQUARE, LONDON:
July 23, 1874.

CHRONOLOGICAL TABLE.

385. Birth of Aristotle.

371. Leuctra. Period of Theban ascendency.

367. Aristotle visits Athens, æt. 17. This same year Plato leaves Athens for Syracuse.

362. Mantinea.

359. Accession of Philip.

357. Beginning of Phocian war.

353. Death of Dion.

348. Visit of Aristotle to Hermias, tyrant of Atarneus and Assus.

346. End of Phocian war.

345. On the death of Hermias Aristotle takes refuge in Mitylene.

343. Accepts invitation from Philip of Macedon to take charge of Alexander, then thirteen years old. This charge can hardly have lasted more than four years.

338. Chæronea.

336. Death of Philip.

334. Aristotle's second visit to Athens. Alexander's first campaign in Asia.

331. Arbela.

323. Death of Alexander.

322. Aristotle dies at Chalcis. Demosthenes and Hyperides died the same year.

INTRODUCTION.

IT would be a waste of time to prefix a life of Aristotle to each separate treatise as it is published. For the purposes of this introduction nothing more is needed than a brief reference to the facts of his life, so far as they may serve to convey an idea of the range of his political experience. There is no occasion to do more than recal the facts of: his birth at Stagira, and the position of his father as physician at the court of Macedon under Amyntas; his early visit to Athens at the age of seventeen; his stay there of nearly twenty years; his residence with Hermias at Atarneus, on the coast of Asia Minor; his second residence of uncertain length in Macedonia as the tutor of Alexander; his return to Athens, and his second residence there of twelve years at the least; lastly, his retirement, a little before his death, to Chalcis in Eubœa. This is a sufficient notice of his life for an introduction to the *Politics*. For this will enable us to appreciate the opportunities he enjoyed, at a very eventful period in the history of Greece and of the world, of vivifying his rich knowledge of the past history of his country, and the actual condition of its outlying states, by his experience of their present circumstances, and his contact with the states nearer the centre.

We cannot doubt that, with his keen observation, he would attend closely to the course of political events. And in one respect he was very favourably placed. He had all the advantages of a spectator; he could not mix directly in political life, even had he wished to do so. Stagira, even before its destruction, offered him no opportunities, and at Athens he was a stranger. He could then, with the greater composure, make the events he witnessed the subject of his philosophical contemplation. And it may be useful very

shortly to run through these events, and remind ourselves of the changes he had seen.

His earliest recollections would be connected with Macedonian affairs. He could look back on the weakness of Macedon and its political insignificance in relation to the leading Greek states. For at the court of Amyntas no hopes could have been entertained of the subsequent rapid rise of that kingdom to greatness. Aristotle was old enough to remember the change introduced into Greek politics by the break up of the Spartan supremacy in consequence of the defeat at Leuctra. He was at Athens during the closing period of the short supremacy of Thebes, and from that centre he witnessed the sudden collapse of Theban power on the death of Epaminondas. In the period of his early manhood and ripening judgment he could watch from Athens the anarchy of Greece, when no state seemed able to make an effort after empire, or offer a rallying point to her dispersed energies. And during the same period he could also watch the commencement of Philip's reign, his victorious assertion of his position as king of Macedon against rivals at home and foreign enemies, his growth at the expense of the neighbouring countries, whether barbarian tribes or Greek colonies. And Aristotle, as Demosthenes, must have been well aware what the result of such progress must be. At the court of Hermias, whilst familiarising himself with the new aspect of Greek life which the coast of Asia Minor would present to him, and whilst gaining a more intimate acquaintance with the power of Persia in that western portion of her empire, he would hear of the stride made by Philip, which was marked by the destruction of his own birthplace, in common with the kindred towns in its neighbourhood, and by the subsequent interference of that monarch in the affairs of Thessaly and northern Greece. Driven from Asia by a revolution, which illustrated his theory of the short duration of tyrannies, even in good hands, Aristotle seems to have remained at Mitylene, till there reached him an invitation from Philip to undertake the education of Alexander. It is uncertain how long this connexion lasted, but probably about four years. It seems

clear that it must have ended some considerable time before the war which was decided at Chæronea. Putting aside all reference to the effects of such a connexion on Alexander, it was one which gave Aristotle a most commanding view of the actual politics of the day. He was again at the very centre of political power, which had finally quitted Greece proper. During the war with Athens, Aristotle may have thought it unsafe to return there, and he may have resided at his native place, which had been rebuilt by Philip at his intercession, and which is said to have received a constitution at his hands. At any rate it is probable that he did not return to Athens till Alexander had established his supremacy over Greece, and so had removed any danger to which an intimacy such as his with the royal family of Macedon might have exposed him at Athens. During the expedition into Asia, and the lifetime of Alexander, Aristotle remained at Athens teaching his numerous disciples, maturing his philosophical views, and gradually working out the encyclopedic system which was the object of his comprehensive intellect. When the king's death made it unsafe for him to continue there, he removed to Chalcis, carrying with him, apparently, the seeds of the disease which shortly after proved fatal. He died at the age of sixty-three.

After this brief retrospect of Aristotle's life, and of the events he witnessed, I proceed to consider his political system from a more general point of view. And the first question that presents itself is—What was the starting point he chose? On what basis did he rest his system? To this the answer is, I think, clear. He rested on no *à priori* ground, but on the experience of the past. And this answer naturally suggests the next question: What was the exact value he attached to that experience as the basis for future political action? The answer in this case also admits of little doubt. It may be difficult to say what were his views in the immediate or distant future, but for the past we can speak confidently. He offers no definite estimate of the length of time during which the race had existed and had been gathering experience. But he looks back on the period past as a long one (*τῷ πολλῷ χρόνῳ, πολλοῖς ἔτεσιν*), during which

constant discoveries had been made. To borrow his own language: Time had been a discoverer in these matters, or had rendered good help in the process of discovering. So that his construction, like that of Bacon, would be *partus temporis*, the birth of time. What then had time accumulated in the shape of materials for the political philosopher to use in his work of modifying the existing or constructing the ideal state? Aristotle found ready to his hands the idea of property, both animate and inanimate, the idea of the family and the idea of the state. And this last, the state, was not the social organisation of Egyptian or barbarian experience, but the complex, refined idea, which had been elaborated in Greece, and found its most complete expression in Athens.

On these three ideas, the inheritance of the past, Aristotle takes his stand, and evidently thinks them adequate, when properly developed and modified. Without any blindness to existing evils, whether they arose from the misuse or bad arrangement of property; or, secondly, from the isolating tendencies which lurked in the institution of the family; or, lastly, from the constant dissensions which seemed almost inherent in the actual states, he still, with the master judgment which in him was never suffered to relax its vigilance, steadily refused to let such evils overpower him, or lead him, as they had led his master, Plato, to an insurrection against the experience of the past. Right education should form right habits, and the sway of those habits should be riveted by right social institutions. And the result of such education, habits, and institutions should be that the selfish use of property should be corrected, but that property should not be threatened; that the citizen should learn that he could not isolate himself or his family, that he was a member of a body, but that he should keep his full individuality. And if the inequalities of property were softened by this moral remedy, and the irritation consequent thereon assuaged; if the efforts of the citizens were all made, as the result of a right conviction, to converge towards the promotion of the common good, then the third class of evils, those of constant dissension, would disappear, as being essentially the effect of the other two classes.

The existing ideas, then, the actual materials, seemed adequate to Aristotle. There is no trace of his looking forward to any important change, to the introduction of any widely different elements into the political problem. The definite policy to be adopted in the immediate future cannot be gathered from his own words. Whilst full of allusions to history, he is very silent on the present and the future. This silence was the natural result of his position. It would not be unreasonable to conjecture that he looked to the peaceful organisation of the several Greek states in themselves, and in their mutual relations under the sheltering presidency of Macedon. At a later period Polybius accepted this condition for his country, under the supremacy of Rome, and did all in his power to urge its acceptance by the Greeks. In his time, Polybius naturally would feel a keener preference for Rome, justified by her superiority in organisation over Macedon, and by the fuller sense, which the last two centuries had produced, of the hopelessness of any good effects arising from the prolongation of Greek independence. An analogous but more hopeful position under Macedon, Aristotle may have accepted for the Greece of his time. And in his denunciation of war as an end, in his condemnation of all states in which it held this place, in his decided preference of the life of repose and intellectual activity both for the individual and the state, I should read his indirect advice to his countrymen to acquiesce in their political inferiority, and to turn themselves from any thoughts of empire to the settled and definitive organisation of a peaceful existence. It was right, it was wise in Demosthenes, his great contemporary, to take a different view. An Athenian citizen, the inheritor of the traditions of Themistocles and Pericles, Demosthenes was justified in trying to rouse his countrymen to resist a semi-barbarous power at Chæronea, as they had resisted that of the Persian empire at Marathon. He was justified in wishing to retain the leadership of the world in the hands of Greece, and in looking on her independence as the first object. And as he felt Athens answer to his call, he may have thought successful resistance not impossible, though his heroic spirit needed not success to guide his efforts. But Aristotle's posi-

tion was such as to make a different view both natural and just.

It set him free from all the influences that might have warped his judgment, and, enlightened by a wider experience, he cannot have shared any of the deceptive hopes excited by the exertions of Athens. He knew the power and resources of Macedon, he knew the genius of her rulers better than Demosthenes, and he could, if not with greater clear-sightedness, at least with greater calmness, appreciate the relative weakness of Athens. And his position, as I have remarked already, enforced inaction. He was strictly without a country in the narrower sense. He was *ἄπολις ἀνήρ*. He was a citizen of Greece, but not of any Greek state. His sympathies were with the Greek world and with the Greek race, and so of course most with Athens, as the truest representative of that race. But at the same time he had no temptation to feel the more special, more local Athenian sympathies. It would not, for instance, shock him, as it would Demosthenes, that Athens, in common with the rest of Greece, should acknowledge Macedonian supremacy, whilst still preserving her separate city existence. And he would more readily than other Greek statesmen sympathise with the conquest of Asia by Alexander. Hopeless of Greek independence, and still more by experience distrustful of the possibility of any combination of the Greek states amongst themselves, it was to him a great advantage to renew, with the changes time had made requisite, the policy of earlier statesmen, and give a wise direction to the forces of Greece, by leading them against Persia. Such a policy diverted the attention of the different states from their own internal quarrels. It strengthened the power of him who was named their general-in-chief, the King of Macedon, and, by strengthening his power, it not only made resistance on the part of the Greeks more hopeless, but it made also acquiescence less discreditable. Again, it was calculated to soothe the feelings of the Greek nation, in that it brought within the influence of the civilisation peculiarly their own, so large a portion of the world. It was not by her own efforts, it was true, that Greece conquered Persia, and exacted a due atonement for the aggressions of Darius and of

Xerxes. Yet the impulse which guided the young conqueror was of purely Greek origin, and he was politic enough to make it clear that he felt it to be so. Nor even at that late period of Greek history was it a slight gain to attain the conviction that henceforth all danger from Persia was at an end, that the throne of the great king was filled by a Greek.

Further than this, if Aristotle felt any alarm at the growing power of Carthage, the western rival of Greece, he must have seen in the immense development of Greek power, consequent on Alexander's conquests, a sufficient assurance against such danger. Till the king's death, too, it was natural to hope that the West, no less than the East, would see his victorious arms, and then if Persia and Carthage were once removed from the calculations of statesmen, there was no other power on the political horizon which could at that particular juncture be taken into account.

With this general view of the position of his country, as an aggregate of independent states under the hegemony of Macedon, which hegemony should concentrate and direct her efforts to the gradual reduction and civilisation of the world, the main problem for the political philosopher would be, the right internal organisation of each of the component parts of that aggregate. The solution of this problem required a most careful examination of their existing state, and this condition, we know, Aristotle amply fulfilled. "Probably," says M. Brandis, "Alexander's liberality enabled the Stagirite to acquire at a great expense a collection of books which for the times was very considerable, and to make inquiries into the constitutions of so many states, some of them very distant." Whatever the means, we are well aware from the testimony of others what the result was, though unfortunately it is almost entirely lost to us,—so far, that is, as the inquiries themselves are concerned. The philosophical and general view, based on these inquiries, lies before us in the *Politics*.

The most remarkable feature in Aristotle's political system is this: that he not only accepted the materials bequeathed to him by the past as the necessary basis of his construction, but that he considered them adequate. The problem he set before himself was a definitive organisation of society, and

for this he thought he had all the data requisite. There is nothing to show that he looked on his solution as provisional. The Greek state, with its existing elements, was to him the ultimate form of society, only these elements must be well combined. It is essential not to lose sight of this, his peculiar point of view, when we are trying to estimate the value and bearing of his work, and to learn its right use as the fundamental treatise in political science. It is strictly political, in the narrowest, most definite sense that can be attached to the word. It is calculated, that is, for a number of *πολῖται*, of free and equal citizens; it is calculated, that is, primarily and essentially for Greek experience. It is the record of that experience which, for all historical purposes, ended with Aristotle. He had registered the phenomena of Greek society, and in this work he draws from that register the general inferences it warranted, and builds on this result a construction which should adequately embody all that he found of value.

But as Greece, as a nation, dating from that time, lost its position, and as the several Greek states became more and more decomposed, the construction of Aristotle, so far as his own country is concerned, throws light upon the past history, but did not serve as a guide or type for the re-organisation of any of those dying states. It is invaluable for the first object, it had no opportunity of becoming valuable for the second. For the philosopher, as for the historian, the real life of Greece was ended.

With this peculiarly Greek stamp, this stamp of the city life of a body of independent states, indelibly impressed upon it, it is needless to add that for many of the subsequent periods of history the work presents no direct teaching. It allows not in any sense for the great revolutions that have occurred since the time when with Aristotle, Demosthenes, and Alexander, the history of Greece proper closes. Its interest since then has been historical rather than directly political. The organisation of a small community, complete in itself, has not, since then, been the great question of political science. It is a question that has arisen at intervals, but it has been, in the main, exceptional. Cicero might turn

his attention to the internal organisation of Rome, and treat of Rome as though it were a Greek city. But the real problem, the great interest of Roman history, had escaped Cicero. He was blind as the blindest to that transformation of Rome's position which had influenced the popular leaders, more or less consciously, for some time, and of which the dictator Cæsar and his imperial successors were the organs and the representatives. Rome, as a city governing the world for its own narrow interests, was to Cicero, as much as to such men as Hortensius, the limit of his vision, and hence his failure as a statesman. The Roman empire, as an incorporation of the civilised world, was not within his ken, and naturally still less within that of Aristotle; nor does it borrow any light directly from his speculations. He held views as to the inherent superiority of the Greek race, which were incompatible with such an incorporation; and these same views, foolishly cherished by his countrymen at a time when their ludicrous inappropriateness was conspicuous to all, rendered them, almost more than any other nation, incapable of sharing in the benefits of the imperial system.

Nor again are the *Politics* of Aristotle, if allowed to be inapplicable directly to the incorporation of the world by Rome, more applicable to the ensuing periods, whether of destruction by the barbarians, or reconstruction under the influence of feudalism and catholicism, or, in the last place, to the later state system of Europe. I have heard it remarked that the book has a parochial character about it, meaning by this that its interests and its questions are on so small a scale. And the remark is so far just that this is the impression produced at first by the comparatively dwarf scale of Greek history on the student of the following periods. For he has to deal habitually with vast empires, either in their organisation or decay, with the combinations of western Europe, united by many ties for common defence, or later with the mutual action of a system of great kingdoms. And from this point of view it may deserve notice that the work has, compared with Aristotle's other works, excited but little attention, speaking generally. I believe I am right in saying that, till recently, it was chiefly in Italy that attention was paid to it; and this

exception is easily explained. For in the middle ages there recurred in the Italian republics many of the phenomena of Greek society. The manner, consequently, in which, in the *Politics*, political problems are presented and treated, was likely to be appreciated there, as soon as ever the revival of the knowledge of Greek, or the translation of the work into Latin, had rendered it accessible. It might have had, of course, a similar interest for the communes of France, or the commercial towns of Flanders and Germany, but, so far as we know, the literary movement was much less active there.

In our own day, however, after the lapse of more than twenty centuries, such is the state of society, that the political philosopher may turn his attention to the *Politics* of Aristotle, if not for a direct solution of some of the problems which arise, yet for much indirect guidance. Over and above their interest, that is, from the historical point of view—an interest which never has been lost, as we may see from the great works of historians and political philosophers in all times—they may now once again have a direct political interest. For if, as M. Auguste Comte thinks, the great kingdoms of modern Europe are destined ultimately, and that at no very distant period, to break up into smaller wholes, more analogous in size and requirements to the states of Greek experience, in such case the work that embodies that experience will present a new attraction, and will be resorted to for the light it sheds on the true principles of the strictly political organisation. And even leaving out of view this contingency, it is justly remarked by the same philosopher, that in the present prevalence of theories subversive of property and the family, and through them subversive of the whole social organisation, men may refresh their convictions in favour of these institutions, and gain strength against their opponents, from the careful study of Aristotle's remarks on the dangerous reveries of Plato, the philosophical originator of most of the social errors of our day.

So far for Aristotle's general treatment of the subject of politics, and for the consequent neglect of his work during a long period by all but the professed student; lastly, for the marked revival of attention to it in the last half century.

Viewed philosophically, the object that he set before himself was synthetical and constructive. Accepting, that is, the elements offered him by the past as adequate, he aimed at such a combination and modification of them as should be satisfactory for the future guidance of the statesman. In this, as in other departments of human knowledge, it was a systematic construction that he wished to leave behind him; but—I speak with great hesitation on such a subject—in this, more than in the other departments, he thought his construction in its leading features final. That he was wrong in such an idea need scarcely be stated. His attempt at a synthesis was premature, but that does not detract from its philosophical value. It was an important gain, that in political science an account should be taken of the results attained, and that that science should be made to take its place in the co-ordination of the sciences—in other words, in the elaboration of the great system of philosophy. Aristotle was the first adequately to conceive this elaboration as the great problem proposed to the intellect of man, and it is this conception which constitutes one of his main claims to the philosophical pre-eminence which he holds by the very general consent of mankind.

I need not go through the historical argument to show that his attempt was premature. I need but point out that Macedon failed to offer to the world a sufficient organisation, and that though the conquests of Alexander contributed to the extension of Greek civilisation, the break up of his empire after his death, and the terrible struggles consequent thereupon, contributed, together with internal decay, to a quite proportionate diminution of its internal vigour. We see that other powers, then out of the range of observation, had to appear on the stage, and that Greece in her exhaustion had to repose under the sway of Rome. We can trace in the two thousand years that have passed since the great attempt of Aristotle at a political construction, the growth of new elements which must powerfully modify such a construction in all but its fundamental ideas.

For instance, to take two capital points,—first, the position of the industrial classes; secondly, the question of

religion and the spiritual power. I have no intention of entering at present on the question of slavery, but it is clear from our after-experience that slavery is not the permanent condition of the industrial classes, any more than it was their universal condition even in Aristotle's time. The recurrence from time to time in the *Politics* of the problem—What should be the place allotted in the state to the free artisan? is sufficient to show that the acceptance of slavery as an institution did not, even for him, clear the subject of the labourer of all difficulties. And we can trace the germ of all subsequent discussions on the right social organisation of the proletariate, in the brief but repeated remarks of Aristotle on the βάναυσοι, or artisan population, which this recurring question drew from him. For the second point, that of religion and the spiritual power, a distinction must be drawn in limine. Whilst on the subject of religion, socially and politically considered, we are in possession of Aristotle's views, we have not, on the other hand, his treatment of the educational question. We see that he acquiesced in the polytheism of his day as the religion of the state, and that on various occasions he connects his regulations with it, by placing them under its sanction. He acquiesces, but we do not gather that he goes further. Any active influence of the gods in the affairs of man, whether viewed socially or individually, he would seem not to allow. Such is the natural inference from his statements in the *Ethics* and *Politics*. Intent on systematising the conceptions of man relative to the world without, relative to his own nature, and to the arrangements of society, the relations of man to the gods assume with him a secondary importance, or rather are practically ignored.

But on the subject of the spiritual power the case is different. Intimately connected as it is with the question of education, it may be that, had we his full treatment of education, we should, either explicitly or implicitly, have at the same time a spiritual power constituted. As it is, his construction remained essentially temporal, and the constitution of an independent spiritual power, side by side with the temporal, was left for the catholicism of the middle ages.

The work then done remains in principle true, though the altered conditions of society require its complete modification in all but its principle.

I have treated then of the primary intention and direct application of the *Politics*. I have also touched on their historical interest and the degree to which the lessons contained in the work are now applicable. But I would not rest my advocacy of their study on these grounds alone, but strictly, on the more definite one, that they are the first great systematic work on Political Science, and that that science, as every other, requires for its proper study that it should be studied historically, and traced from its origin downwards. By so doing we see the various problems arise, and are led to no fanciful, *à priori*, reconstruction of society, but to watch its actual construction as the records of history reveal it to us. The easier problem precedes the harder, the simpler the more complex. Of course our first notions of politics will be derived from the state of things around us, in the midst of which we have grown up; but the scientific correction of these first notions must be looked for elsewhere. It must be looked for in the study of the history of man, so far as it presents a connected series of events, combined with the study of the great works which at different periods have been written with the object of eliciting from past history and registering for future guidance its lessons on man and on society. Such works are but rare. There is no one before our own day comparable to that of Aristotle. In fact, since his time the student of political science will find, with very few exceptions, more direct instruction in the works of the principal historians than in writers who have specifically treated of politics. This at least is the conclusion I have been led to form, so far as I have studied the works of later writers, and I have found nothing to modify it in the criticisms of others.

There is one point more on which I would touch in the most general manner, and with it conclude this introduction. In it my only object has been to throw light on Aristotle's general view, and the position he holds in the ranks of political philosophers. It is with the same object that I would

draw attention to the fact that Aristotle is essentially relative in his judgments. All institutions are weighed by him with reference to the nature of man, and the circumstances in which he is placed; not with reference to any absolute standard. This is true of both parts of his political treatise —of the *Ethics* no less than of the *Politics*; and if true of the former, it seems to me a natural consequence that it should be true of the latter. The domain of morality is generally considered less relative than that of political science. It is, in fact, the stronghold of the opposite opinion. But this is a consideration for the editor of the *Ethics*. I have drawn attention to the point in consequence of the very general neglect of this relative point of view in all historical questions,—a neglect which appears to me to make false historical judgments prevalent amongst us, and to vitiate, consequently, the reasonings on the science which can rest on no other basis than sound historical conclusions.

BOOK I. SUMMARY.

THIS first book of the *Politics* forms the connecting link between the *Ethics* and the *Politics*, properly so called. It is in reality a treatise on Œconomics, in the sense Aristotle attached to the word. It is introductory and subordinate. It takes the lower and more elementary social union as the indispensable preliminary to the higher; the family as opposed to the state. But it is a social union that it takes, and not the individual man. We are at once brought into contact with an association. As, at the opening of the Ethics, every exertion of the individual man was said to aim at some definite good, so here every association of man is said to have the same character, that largest association under which all others fall more distinctly than any other. But to inquire into the organization of these various associations of man would be a waste of time, were it true that there is but one real difference in governments, that of number, the view of some philosophers, to whom a family is but a small state, a state but a large family, so that the principles of government are in both the same. This however is an error; an error which will appear to be so in the sequel. Sufficient here to mention it; we may then pass on to shew how that largest and sovereign association had its origin, trace it from its earliest beginnings upwards, and examine its component parts.

The first association is that between male and female, the second that between master and servant. Both are based on the natural wants of man, and the two together form the family. This increases and forms the village. Multiply villages over the face of a district, and you have the tribe, an aggregate of equal units capable of indefinite extension. Draw the bond of union tighter, concentrate or enlarge the village, and you have the state or city, the highest social organization which the Greek mind conceived, an organic whole not capable of indefinite extension, but in itself satisfying all the wants of man in his highest capacity. The union is natural—for the nature of man is man in his highest perfection, and the natural association will be the highest form of association. It is prior to the individual in conception, for it is only in relation to it that the

individual can be properly conceived. And yet, though such, it was necessary that it should have an originator, and he who did originate it was the greatest of benefactors. For man may fall lower than the beasts by virtue of those very faculties which, if properly employed, enable him to rise far above them. And this proper employment is only found in the political society, with its restraints of law and justice.

Such in outline is the origin of society and its justification. Physically, the part may be treated prior to the whole, and the unit in the social fabric is the family. That, if viewed strictly with relation to the state, offers us first the free and equal citizen in the husband and father; secondly, the wife and mother for the continuation of the social union; thirdly, the children, the generation which is to take the place of the actual one. But for the man to discharge his duties as a citizen, for the woman to be a proper mother of citizens, for the children to be trained to be citizens; the strict family, which these constitute, must base itself on certain conditions. It must have the means of subsistence, and these in quantity and kind such as to guarantee leisure. It must have the proper instruments for its work. These are found in the slave and in property, the living and the lifeless instrument. But the instruments so employed by the family only touch the state through the family, so they are treated of fully in this first book, which treats of the family, whilst the women and children, who much more closely and immediately concern the state, are treated of very slightly. Their relations to one another, or to the common head, are given, and the distinction is marked between the excellence required in them, and that required in the citizens. But the production of this excellence in either is the work of education, and that is a state question, and can only be satisfactorily treated at a later period, when we have sketched out the constitution of the state of which they are to be members—as all education must bear direct reference to the constitution.

To return to the point more fully treated, that of the instruments or necessary basis of the family life, with its twofold division into living and lifeless—slave and property. The first is more important than the second, and requires more attention.

Men are not equal in faculties any more than in outward form. Some are calculated for rule, others for subjection; the one guide, the other follow; and the relation between the ruler and the ruled, the master and servant, is, if there be wisdom applied, a wholesome one for both. But a servant to Aristotle, as to the ancients, universally, whether oriental, Greek, or Roman, was a slave, and the

relation therefore between master and slave, if there were goodness and wisdom in the master, was a wholesome one for both. That at times men were slaves who should have been masters, whether from exceptional cases of superiority in the barbarian, or from the accidents of war, in the case of the Greek, would not in Aristotle's eyes vitiate the institution. In the instances supposed there was an evil, but on the whole the institution remained good. The slave, if rightly a slave, would be unfortunate if not a slave; so the free artisan was really less fortunate than the slave, he had the evil without the good, the mental and political inferiority without the care and guidance which the relation to a master secured the slave.

With regard to the second division, that of inanimate property, true wealth would consist in that amount of property, that command over the means of subsistence which should be strictly subservient to the purposes of the family. Once let the amount pass that limit, and property becomes an end in itself, it ceases to be good, its pursuit is to be blamed. In the former case it is natural and laudable, in the latter, contrary to nature, and the object of blame. So that the acquisition of property is in the one case natural, œconomical, subservient to the higher wants of the family, and limited by those wants; and the science which treats of it, directs its attention to the whole question of the sustenance of the family, whether that sustenance be derived from its independent, isolated exertions, or require an union with others and is derived from exchange. The various modes, therefore, by which man secures his subsistence, and the phenomena of exchange, are equally in due limits a part of this true science.

In the other case, the acquisition of property, no longer a means but an end, is open to objections, and is contrary to nature, though not in all its branches equally blameable. It is the natural consequence of the former, for once extend the relations of man in respect of exchange beyond the family or village, and you want a medium. This medium is money, which once introduced leads to an immense development of commerce, becomes in men's minds not the representative of wealth, but wealth itself, ceases to be a mere means, and is pursued indefinitely as an end in itself. All this Aristotle objects to, but reserves his highest blame for that part of commerce where money itself is the material of the transactions; all interest is an object of his disapprobation.

From the theory he turns to the practice, but enters into no great detail.

So that the book falls into the following divisions under these

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A short connecting chapter closes the book.

ΠΟΛΙΤΙΚΩΝ Α.

ΕΠΕΙΔΗ πᾶσαν πόλιν ὁρῶμεν κοινωνίαν τινὰ οὖσαν καὶ 1252
πᾶσαν κοινωνίαν ἀγαθοῦ τινὸς ἕνεκεν συνεστηκυῖαν (τοῦ γὰρ εἶναι δοκοῦντος ἀγαθοῦ χάριν πάντα πράττουσι πάντες), δῆλον ὡς πᾶσαι μὲν ἀγαθοῦ τινὸς στοχάζονται, μάλιστα δέ, καὶ τοῦ κυριωτάτου πάντων, ἡ πασῶν κυριωτάτη καὶ πάσας περιέχουσα τὰς ἄλλας· αὕτη δ' ἐστὶν ἡ καλουμένη πόλις καὶ ἡ κοινωνία ἡ πολιτική. Ὅσοι μὲν οὖν οἴονται πολιτικὸν καὶ 2
βασιλικὸν καὶ οἰκονομικὸν καὶ δεσποτικὸν εἶναι τὸν αὐτόν, οὐ καλῶς λέγουσιν· πλήθει γὰρ καὶ ὀλιγότητι νομίζουσι διαφέρειν, ἀλλ' οὐκ εἴδει τούτων ἕκαστον, οἷον ἂν μὲν ὀλίγων, δεσπότην, ἂν δὲ πλειόνων, οἰκονόμον, ἂν δ' ἔτι πλειόνων, πολιτικὸν ἢ βασιλικόν, ὡς οὐδὲν διαφέρουσαν μεγάλην οἰκίαν ἢ μικρὰν πόλιν, καὶ πολιτικὸν δὲ καὶ βασιλικόν, ὅταν μὲν αὐτὸς ἐφεστήκῃ, βασιλικόν, ὅταν δὲ κατὰ λόγους τῆς ἐπιστήμης τῆς τοιαύτης, κατὰ μέρος ἄρχων καὶ ἀρχόμενος, πολιτικόν· ταῦτα δ' οὐκ ἔστιν ἀληθῆ. Δῆλον δ' ἔσται τὸ 3

I. 1 Comp. *Eth.* I. i. 4. p. 1094, 26, for the relation of political science to other sciences, and for the relation between the different associations of men, *Eth.* VIII. ii. 4. p. 1160, 8: συμπορεύονται ἐπί τινι συμφέροντι καὶ πορίζόμενοί τι τῶν εἰς τὸν βίον· καὶ ἡ πολιτικὴ δὲ κοινωνία τοῦ συμφέροντος ἕνεκα.

δῆλον ὡς, κ.τ.λ.] 'It is clear that whilst all aim at some good, yet in the highest degree and at the highest good does that aim which includes all the others,' μορίοις ἐοίκασι τῆς πολιτικῆς.

2 Ὅσοι μὲν οὖν] The allusion is to Plato, *Politicus*, 258 E, and the opinion if allowed would, in Aristotle's view, at once stop all further discussion. The body politic with its complex organization would disappear.

πλήθει γάρ] 'They are the same, they allege, for it is only in number that they differ.'

ὀλίγων] with Schneider make this depend on some such word as ἀρχῇ.

κατὰ λόγους, κ.τ.λ.] 'in the terms of this pretended political science,' a sneering expression used by those in whose mouth he puts this attempt at the simplification of the science of politics.

ταῦτα δέ] By altering the stopping

exception is easily explained. For in the middle ages there recurred in the Italian republics many of the phenomena of Greek society. The manner, consequently, in which, in the *Politics*, political problems are presented and treated, was likely to be appreciated there, as soon as ever the revival of the knowledge of Greek, or the translation of the work into Latin, had rendered it accessible. It might have had, of course, a similar interest for the communes of France, or the commercial towns of Flanders and Germany, but, so far as we know, the literary movement was much less active there.

In our own day, however, after the lapse of more than twenty centuries, such is the state of society, that the political philosopher may turn his attention to the *Politics* of Aristotle, if not for a direct solution of some of the problems which arise, yet for much indirect guidance. Over and above their interest, that is, from the historical point of view—an interest which never has been lost, as we may see from the great works of historians and political philosophers in all times—they may now once again have a direct political interest. For if, as M. Auguste Comte thinks, the great kingdoms of modern Europe are destined ultimately, and that at no very distant period, to break up into smaller wholes, more analogous in size and requirements to the states of Greek experience, in such case the work that embodies that experience will present a new attraction, and will be resorted to for the light it sheds on the true principles of the strictly political organisation. And even leaving out of view this contingency, it is justly remarked by the same philosopher, that in the present prevalence of theories subversive of property and the family, and through them subversive of the whole social organisation, men may refresh their convictions in favour of these institutions, and gain strength against their opponents, from the careful study of Aristotle's remarks on the dangerous reveries of Plato, the philosophical originator of most of the social errors of our day.

So far for Aristotle's general treatment of the subject of politics, and for the consequent neglect of his work during a long period by all but the professed student; lastly, for the marked revival of attention to it in the last half century.

Viewed philosophically, the object that he set before himself was synthetical and constructive. Accepting, that is, the elements offered him by the past as adequate, he aimed at such a combination and modification of them as should be satisfactory for the future guidance of the statesman. In this, as in other departments of human knowledge, it was a systematic construction that he wished to leave behind him; but—I speak with great hesitation on such a subject—in this, more than in the other departments, he thought his construction in its leading features final. That he was wrong in such an idea need scarcely be stated. His attempt at a synthesis was premature, but that does not detract from its philosophical value. It was an important gain, that in political science an account should be taken of the results attained, and that that science should be made to take its place in the co-ordination of the sciences—in other words, in the elaboration of the great system of philosophy. Aristotle was the first adequately to conceive this elaboration as the great problem proposed to the intellect of man, and it is this conception which constitutes one of his main claims to the philosophical pre-eminence which he holds by the very general consent of mankind.

I need not go through the historical argument to show that his attempt was premature. I need but point out that Macedon failed to offer to the world a sufficient organisation, and that though the conquests of Alexander contributed to the extension of Greek civilisation, the break up of his empire after his death, and the terrible struggles consequent thereupon, contributed, together with internal decay, to a quite proportionate diminution of its internal vigour. We see that other powers, then out of the range of observation, had to appear on the stage, and that Greece in her exhaustion had to repose under the sway of Rome. We can trace in the two thousand years that have passed since the great attempt of Aristotle at a political construction, the growth of new elements which must powerfully modify such a construction in all but its fundamental ideas.

For instance, to take two capital points,—first, the position of the industrial classes; secondly, the question of

religion and the spiritual power. I have no intention of entering at present on the question of slavery, but it is clear from our after-experience that slavery is not the permanent condition of the industrial classes, any more than it was their universal condition even in Aristotle's time. The recurrence from time to time in the *Politics* of the problem—What should be the place allotted in the state to the free artisan? is sufficient to show that the acceptance of slavery as an institution did not, even for him, clear the subject of the labourer of all difficulties. And we can trace the germ of all subsequent discussions on the right social organisation of the proletariate, in the brief but repeated remarks of Aristotle on the βάναυσοι, or artisan population, which this recurring question drew from him. For the second point, that of religion and the spiritual power, a distinction must be drawn in limine. Whilst on the subject of religion, socially and politically considered, we are in possession of Aristotle's views, we have not, on the other hand, his treatment of the educational question. We see that he acquiesced in the polytheism of his day as the religion of the state, and that on various occasions he connects his regulations with it, by placing them under its sanction. He acquiesces, but we do not gather that he goes further. Any active influence of the gods in the affairs of man, whether viewed socially or individually, he would seem not to allow. Such is the natural inference from his statements in the *Ethics* and *Politics*. Intent on systematising the conceptions of man relative to the world without, relative to his own nature, and to the arrangements of society, the relations of man to the gods assume with him a secondary importance, or rather are practically ignored.

But on the subject of the spiritual power the case is different. Intimately connected as it is with the question of education, it may be that, had we his full treatment of education, we should, either explicitly or implicitly, have at the same time a spiritual power constituted. As it is, his constitution remained essentially temporal, and the constitution of an independent spiritual power, side by side with the temporal, was left for the catholicism of the middle ages.

The work then done remains in principle true, though the altered conditions of society require its complete modification in all but its principle.

I have treated then of the primary intention and direct application of the *Politics*. I have also touched on their historical interest and the degree to which the lessons contained in the work are now applicable. But I would not rest my advocacy of their study on these grounds alone, but strictly, on the more definite one, that they are the first great systematic work on Political Science, and that that science, as every other, requires for its proper study that it should be studied historically, and traced from its origin downwards. By so doing we see the various problems arise, and are led to no fanciful, *à priori*, reconstruction of society, but to watch its actual construction as the records of history reveal it to us. The easier problem precedes the harder, the simpler the more complex. Of course our first notions of politics will be derived from the state of things around us, in the midst of which we have grown up; but the scientific correction of these first notions must be looked for elsewhere. It must be looked for in the study of the history of man, so far as it presents a connected series of events, combined with the study of the great works which at different periods have been written with the object of eliciting from past history and registering for future guidance its lessons on man and on society. Such works are but rare. There is no one before our own day comparable to that of Aristotle. In fact, since his time the student of political science will find, with very few exceptions, more direct instruction in the works of the principal historians than in writers who have specifically treated of politics. This at least is the conclusion I have been led to form, so far as I have studied the works of later writers, and I have found nothing to modify it in the criticisms of others.

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THIS first book of the *Politics* forms the connecting link between the *Ethics* and the *Politics*, properly so called. It is in reality a treatise on Œconomics, in the sense Aristotle attached to the word. It is introductory and subordinate. It takes the lower and more elementary social union as the indispensable preliminary to the higher; the family as opposed to the state. But it is a social union that it takes, and not the individual man. We are at once brought into contact with an association. As, at the opening of the Ethics, every exertion of the individual man was said to aim at some definite good, so here every association of man is said to have the same character, that largest association under which all others fall more distinctly than any other. But to inquire into the organization of these various associations of man would be a waste of time, were it true that there is but one real difference in governments, that of number, the view of some philosophers, to whom a family is but a small state, a state but a large family, so that the principles of government are in both the same. This however is an error; an error which will appear to be so in the sequel. Sufficient here to mention it; we may then pass on to shew how that largest and sovereign association had its origin, trace it from its earliest beginnings upwards, and examine its component parts.

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With regard to the second division, that of inanimate property, true wealth would consist in that amount of property, that command over the means of subsistence which should be strictly subservient to the purposes of the family. Once let the amount pass that limit, and property becomes an end in itself, it ceases to be good, its pursuit is to be blamed. In the former case it is natural and laudable, in the latter, contrary to nature, and the object of blame. So that the acquisition of property is in the one case natural, œconomical, subservient to the higher wants of the family, and limited by those wants; and the science which treats of it, directs its attention to the whole question of the sustenance of the family, whether that sustenance be derived from its independent, isolated exertions, or require an union with others and is derived from exchange. The various modes, therefore, by which man secures his subsistence, and the phenomena of exchange, are equally in due limits a part of this true science.

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ΠΟΛΙΤΙΚΩΝ Α.

ΕΠΕΙΔΗ πᾶσαν πόλιν ὁρῶμεν κοινωνίαν τινὰ οὖσαν καὶ 1252
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βασιλικὸν καὶ οἰκονομικὸν καὶ δεσποτικὸν εἶναι τὸν αὐτόν, οὐ καλῶς λέγουσιν· πλήθει γὰρ καὶ ὀλιγότητι νομίζουσι διαφέρειν, ἀλλ' οὐκ εἴδει τούτων ἕκαστον, οἷον ἂν μὲν ὀλίγων, δεσπότην, ἂν δὲ πλειόνων, οἰκονόμον, ἂν δ' ἔτι πλειόνων, πολιτικὸν ἢ βασιλικόν, ὡς οὐδὲν διαφέρουσαν μεγάλην οἰκίαν ἢ μικρὰν πόλιν, καὶ πολιτικὸν δὲ καὶ βασιλικόν, ὅταν μὲν αὐτὸς ἐφεστήκῃ, βασιλικόν, ὅταν δὲ κατὰ λόγους τῆς ἐπιστήμης τῆς τοιαύτης, κατὰ μέρος ἄρχων καὶ ἀρχόμενος,
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λεγόμενον ἐπισκοποῦσι κατὰ τὴν ὑφηγημένην μέθοδον· ὥσπερ γὰρ ἐν τοῖς ἄλλοις τὸ σύνθετον μέχρι τῶν ἀσυνθέτων ἀνάγκη διαιρεῖν (ταῦτα γὰρ ἐλάχιστα μόρια τοῦ παντός), οὕτω καὶ πόλιν ἐξ ὧν σύγκειται σκοποῦντες ὀψόμεθα καὶ περὶ τούτων μᾶλλον, τί τε διαφέρουσιν ἀλλήλων, καὶ εἴ τι τεχνικὸν ἐνδέχεται λαβεῖν περὶ ἕκαστον τῶν ῥηθέντων.

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2 θεωρήσειεν. Ἀνάγκη δὴ πρῶτον συνδυάζεσθαι τοὺς ἄνευ ἀλλήλων μὴ δυναμένους εἶναι, οἷον θῆλυ μὲν καὶ ἄρρεν τῆς γενέσεως ἕνεκεν (καὶ τοῦτο οὐκ ἐκ προαιρέσεως, ἀλλ' ὥσπερ καὶ ἐν τοῖς ἄλλοις ζῴοις καὶ φυτοῖς φυσικὸν τὸ ἐφίεσθαι, οἷον αὐτό, τοιοῦτον καταλιπεῖν ἕτερον), ἄρχον δὲ φύσει καὶ ἀρχόμενον διὰ τὴν σωτηρίαν· τὸ μὲν γὰρ δυνάμενον τῇ διανοίᾳ προορᾶν ἄρχον φύσει καὶ δεσπόζον φύσει, τὸ δὲ δυνάμενον τῷ σώματι ταῦτα ποιεῖν ἀρχόμενον καὶ φύσει
3 δοῦλον· διὸ δεσπότῃ καὶ δούλῳ ταὐτὸ συμφέρει. Φύσει μὲν

I wish to make it clear that this connects solely with what precedes.

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3 'Nature has marked the distinction between male and female, slave and master;' for on the productions of nature there is no stamp of poverty as there is on the Delphian knife, made to serve several purposes.

Δελφικὴ μάχαιρα] There seems nothing but the actual context from which we can gain any light on the subject of this instrument.

οὕτω γάρ] 'ita enim,' 'for so only, under this condition that it should not serve many purposes but one,' &c.

4 *ἐν δὲ τοῖς βαρβάροις*] Though nature has marked these distinctions, yet amongst the barbarians you find them obliterated, the woman and the slave are there undistinguishable, *τὴν αὐτὴν ἔχει τάξιν τοῖς ἄλλοις, τοῖς ἄρσεσι καὶ τοῖς δεσπόταις*. Comp. *Ed. Rev.*, Oct. 1853, p. 380. "The East may be said to be the land of equality, for there the highest personages are separated from the lowest members of society by an outward barrier only, and one which an unforeseen event may at any moment overturn." And again: "The feeling of equality between masters and servants" — "the patriarchal household system also extends to the slaves, indeed the latter are often the favourite children, and their portion that of Benjamin." This view of the passage differs from the ordinary one, which makes the remark only apply to the woman and the slave, but then the next clause loses its significance, as does the quotation from Euripides, and the inference it is made to support. To the Greek all non-Hellenes were slaves, proper objects for government, and finding their true interest in being governed by them.

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πρώτη] 'in its primary and simplest form.' Hesiod, *Works and Days*, 405. Göttl.

individual can be properly conceived. And yet, though such, it was necessary that it should have an originator, and he who did originate it was the greatest of benefactors. For man may fall lower than the beasts by virtue of those very faculties which, if properly employed, enable him to rise far above them. And this proper employment is only found in the political society, with its restraints of law and justice.

Such in outline is the origin of society and its justification. Physically, the part may be treated prior to the whole, and the unit in the social fabric is the family. That, if viewed strictly with relation to the state, offers us first the free and equal citizen in the husband and father; secondly, the wife and mother for the continuation of the social union; thirdly, the children, the generation which is to take the place of the actual one. But for the man to discharge his duties as a citizen, for the woman to be a proper mother of citizens, for the children to be trained to be citizens; the strict family, which these constitute, must base itself on certain conditions. It must have the means of subsistence, and these in quantity and kind such as to guarantee leisure. It must have the proper instruments for its work. These are found in the slave and in property, the living and the lifeless instrument. But the instruments so employed by the family only touch the state through the family, so they are treated of fully in this first book, which treats of the family, whilst the women and children, who much more closely and immediately concern the state, are treated of very slightly. Their relations to one another, or to the common head, are given, and the distinction is marked between the excellence required in them, and that required in the citizens. But the production of this excellence in either is the work of education, and that is a state question, and can only be satisfactorily treated at a later period, when we have sketched out the constitution of the state of which they are to be members—as all education must bear direct reference to the constitution.

To return to the point more fully treated, that of the instruments or necessary basis of the family life, with its twofold division into living and lifeless—slave and property. The first is more important than the second, and requires more attention.

Men are not equal in faculties any more than in outward form. Some are calculated for rule, others for subjection; the one guide, the other follow; and the relation between the ruler and the ruled, the master and servant, is, if there be wisdom applied, a wholesome one for both. But a servant to Aristotle, as to the ancients, universally, whether oriental, Greek, or Roman, was a slave, and the

relation therefore between master and slave, if there were goodness and wisdom in the master, was a wholesome one for both. That at times men were slaves who should have been masters, whether from exceptional cases of superiority in the barbarian, or from the accidents of war, in the case of the Greek, would not in Aristotle's eyes vitiate the institution. In the instances supposed there was an evil, but on the whole the institution remained good. The slave, if rightly a slave, would be unfortunate if not a slave; so the free artisan was really less fortunate than the slave, he had the evil without the good, the mental and political inferiority without the care and guidance which the relation to a master secured the slave.

With regard to the second division, that of inanimate property, true wealth would consist in that amount of property, that command over the means of subsistence which should be strictly subservient to the purposes of the family. Once let the amount pass that limit, and property becomes an end in itself, it ceases to be good, its pursuit is to be blamed. In the former case it is natural and laudable, in the latter, contrary to nature, and the object of blame. So that the acquisition of property is in the one case natural, œconomical, subservient to the higher wants of the family, and limited by those wants; and the science which treats of it, directs its attention to the whole question of the sustenance of the family, whether that sustenance be derived from its independent, isolated exertions, or require an union with others and is derived from exchange. The various modes, therefore, by which man secures his subsistence, and the phenomena of exchange, are equally in due limits a part of this true science.

In the other case, the acquisition of property, no longer a means but an end, is open to objections, and is contrary to nature, though not in all its branches equally blameable. It is the natural consequence of the former, for once extend the relations of man in respect of exchange beyond the family or village, and you want a medium. This medium is money, which once introduced leads to an immense development of commerce, becomes in men's minds not the representative of wealth, but wealth itself, ceases to be a mere means, and is pursued indefinitely as an end in itself. All this Aristotle objects to, but reserves his highest blame for that part of commerce where money itself is the material of the transactions; all interest is an object of his disapprobation.

From the theory he turns to the practice, but enters into no great detail.

So that the book falls into the following divisions under these

four heads: Civil Society, Slavery, Property, and the Family Relations.

Ch. 1 is a simple introduction of the subject.

2 contains the origin of all society, and the various degrees of the social union.

3—7 inclusive treat of Slavery—with his own view put forward first, and then the objections.

8—11 Property—treated similarly.

12 The relation between the members of the family in point of government.

13 The various excellencies of the governed, or subject elements.

A short connecting chapter closes the book.

ΠΟΛΙΤΙΚΩΝ Α.

ΕΠΕΙΔΗ πᾶσαν πόλιν ὁρῶμεν κοινωνίαν τινὰ οὖσαν καὶ 1252
πᾶσαν κοινωνίαν ἀγαθοῦ τινὸς ἕνεκεν συνεστηκυῖαν (τοῦ γὰρ εἶναι δοκοῦντος ἀγαθοῦ χάριν πάντα πράττουσι πάντες), δῆλον ὡς πᾶσαι μὲν ἀγαθοῦ τινὸς στοχάζονται, μάλιστα δέ, καὶ τοῦ κυριωτάτου πάντων, ἡ πασῶν κυριωτάτη καὶ πάσας περιέχουσα τὰς ἄλλας· αὕτη δ' ἐστὶν ἡ καλουμένη πόλις καὶ ἡ κοινωνία ἡ πολιτική. Ὅσοι μὲν οὖν οἴονται πολιτικὸν καὶ 2
βασιλικὸν καὶ οἰκονομικὸν καὶ δεσποτικὸν εἶναι τὸν αὐτόν, οὐ καλῶς λέγουσιν· πλήθει γὰρ καὶ ὀλιγότητι νομίζουσι διαφέρειν, ἀλλ' οὐκ εἴδει τούτων ἕκαστον, οἷον ἂν μὲν ὀλίγων, δεσπότην, ἂν δὲ πλειόνων, οἰκονόμον, ἂν δ' ἔτι πλειόνων, πολιτικὸν ἢ βασιλικόν, ὡς οὐδὲν διαφέρουσαν μεγάλην οἰκίαν ἢ μικρὰν πόλιν, καὶ πολιτικὸν δὲ καὶ βασιλικόν, ὅταν μὲν αὐτὸς ἐφεστήκῃ, βασιλικόν, ὅταν δὲ κατὰ λόγους τῆς ἐπιστήμης τῆς τοιαύτης, κατὰ μέρος ἄρχων καὶ ἀρχόμενος, πολιτικόν· ταῦτα δ' οὐκ ἔστιν ἀληθῆ. Δῆλον δ' ἔσται τὸ 3

I. 1 Comp. *Eth.* I. i. 4. p. 1094, 26, for the relation of political science to other sciences, and for the relation between the different associations of men, *Eth.* VIII. ii. 4. p. 1160, 8: *συμπορεύονται ἐπί τινι συμφέροντι καὶ πορίζόμενοί τι τῶν εἰς τὸν βίον· καὶ ἡ πολιτικὴ δὲ κοινωνία τοῦ συμφέροντος ἕνεκα.*

δῆλον ὡς, κ.τ.λ.] 'It is clear that whilst all aim at some good, yet in the highest degree and at the highest good does that aim which includes all the others,' *μορίοις ἐοίκασι τῆς πολιτικῆς.*

2 *Ὅσοι μὲν οὖν*] The allusion is to Plato, *Politicus*, 258 E, and the opinion if allowed would, in Aristotle's view, at once stop all further discussion. The body politic with its complex organization would disappear.

πλήθει γάρ] 'They are the same, they allege, for it is only in number that they differ.'

ὀλίγων] with Schneider make this depend on some such word as *ἀρχῇ*.

κατὰ λόγους, κ.τ.λ.] 'in the terms of this pretended political science,' a sneering expression used by those in whose mouth he puts this attempt at the simplification of the science of politics.

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2 θεωρήσειεν. Ἀνάγκη δὴ πρῶτον συνδυάζεσθαι τοὺς ἄνευ ἀλλήλων μὴ δυναμένους εἶναι, οἷον θῆλυ μὲν καὶ ἄρρεν τῆς γενέσεως ἕνεκεν (καὶ τοῦτο οὐκ ἐκ προαιρέσεως, ἀλλ' ὥσπερ καὶ ἐν τοῖς ἄλλοις ζῴοις καὶ φυτοῖς φυσικὸν τὸ ἐφίεσθαι, οἷον αὐτό, τοιοῦτον καταλιπεῖν ἕτερον), ἄρχον δὲ φύσει καὶ ἀρχόμενον διὰ τὴν σωτηρίαν· τὸ μὲν γὰρ δυνάμενον τῇ διανοίᾳ προορᾶν ἄρχον φύσει καὶ δεσπόζον φύσει, τὸ δὲ δυνάμενον τῷ σώματι ταῦτα ποιεῖν ἀρχόμενον καὶ φύσει

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πρώτη] 'in its primary and simplest form.' Hesiod, *Works and Days*, 405. Göttl.

Origin of Society.

ὁ γὰρ βοῦς ἀντ' οἰκέτου τοῖς πένησίν ἐστιν. Ἡ μὲν οὖν εἰς πᾶσαν ἡμέραν συνεστηκυῖα κοινωνία κατὰ φύσιν οἶκός ἐστιν· οὓς Χαρώνδας μὲν καλεῖ ὁμοσιπύους, Ἐπιμενίδης δὲ ὁ Κρὴς ὁμοκάπους· ἡ δ' ἐκ πλειόνων οἰκιῶν κοινωνία
6 πρώτη χρήσεως ἕνεκεν μὴ ἐφημέρου κώμη. μάλιστα δὲ κατὰ φύσιν ἔοικεν ἡ κώμη ἀποικία οἰκίας εἶναι· οὓς καλοῦσί τινες ὁμογάλακτας παῖδάς τε καὶ παίδων παῖδας· διὸ καὶ τὸ πρῶτον ἐβασιλεύοντο αἱ πόλεις, καὶ νῦν ἔτι τὰ ἔθνη· ἐκ βασιλευομένων γὰρ συνῆλθον. πᾶσα γὰρ οἰκία βασιλεύεται ὑπὸ τοῦ πρεσβυτάτου· ὥστε καὶ αἱ ἀποικίαι διὰ
7 τὴν συγγένειαν· καὶ τοῦτ' ἐστὶν ὃ λέγει Ὅμηρος,

θεμιστεύει δὲ ἕκαστος
παίδων ἠδ' ἀλόχων.

σποράδες γάρ· καὶ οὕτω τὸ ἀρχαῖον ᾤκουν· καὶ τοὺς θεοὺς δὲ διὰ τοῦτο πάντες φασὶ βασιλεύεσθαι, ὅτι καὶ

οὓς] 'It is the association of those whom,' &c.

ὁμοσιπύους] "having a separate meal-bin and fireplace," says Mr Grote (III. 78), reading **ὁμοκάπνους**, as does St Hil., and Vet. Tr. Bekker reads **ὁμοκάπους**, 'eating together.'

χρήσεως ἕνεκεν] opposed to **εἰς πᾶσαν ἡμέραν συνεστηκυῖα**, that association which is formed for meeting our daily wants is the family; that in which more than our every day wants are supplied is in its primary form the village.

6 **οὓς**] 'the association of those who, in the language of some, are suckled by the same milk.' Comp. Nieb. *Rom. Hist.* I. 303, not. 79 c.

διὸ καί] refers to the **οἰκίας ἀποικία**, the preceding remark being parenthetical. For the general subject see Mr Grote's paraphrase (II. 88). "Aristotle, in his general theory of government, lays down the position, that the earliest sources of obedience and authority among mankind are personal, exhibiting themselves most perfectly in the type of paternal supremacy; and that therefore the kingly government, as most conformable to this stage of social sentiment, became probably the first established every where." Comp. *Eth.* VIII. xii. 4, 5. p. 1160, b 24.

τὰ ἔθνη] the non-Hellenic nations, whether Persian, Scythian, Phœnician, or other. Comp. Thuc. II. 80, where some of the Illyrian tribes are mentioned as exceptions.

ὥστε καί] This reasoning holds good of the civil colonics of Greece, which originally were governed from the metropolis.

7 **τοῦτο**] **ὅτι βασιλεύεται ὑπὸ τοῦ πρεσβυτάτου**. The state described by Homer, *Od.* IX. 114, involves the government of the eldest, and a time prior to the formation of an association of families, prior to the **συνελθεῖν τοὺς βασιλευομένους**.

τοὺς θεοὺς διὰ τοῦτο] explained by the **ὅτι καί**. Comp. Grote, II. 80, also I. 5, "as the gods have houses and wives like men, so the present dynasty of gods must have a past to repose upon."

Origin of Society.

αὐτοὶ οἱ μὲν ἔτι καὶ νῦν, οἱ δὲ τὸ ἀρχαῖον ἐβασιλεύοντο·
ὥσπερ δὲ καὶ τὰ εἴδη ἑαυτοῖς ἀφομοιοῦσιν οἱ ἄνθρωποι,
οὕτω καὶ τοὺς βίους τῶν θεῶν. ἡ δ᾽ ἐκ πλειόνων κωμῶν 8
κοινωνία τέλειος πόλις, ἤ δὴ πάσης ἔχουσα πέρας τῆς
αὐταρκείας ὡς ἔπος εἰπεῖν, γινομένη μὲν οὖν τοῦ ζῆν ἕνεκεν,
οὖσα δὲ τοῦ εὖ ζῆν. Διὸ πᾶσα πόλις φύσει ἐστίν, εἴπερ
καὶ αἱ πρῶται κοινωνίαι· τέλος γὰρ αὕτη ἐκείνων, ἡ δὲ
φύσις τέλος ἐστίν· οἷον γὰρ ἕκαστόν ἐστι τῆς γενέσεως
τελεσθείσης, ταύτην φαμὲν τὴν φύσιν εἶναι ἑκάστου, ὥσπερ
ἀνθρώπου, ἵππου, οἰκίας. ἔτι τὸ οὗ ἕνεκα καὶ τὸ τέλος 9
βέλτιστον· ἡ δ᾽ αὐτάρκεια τέλος καὶ βέλτιστον. ἐκ τού- 1253
των οὖν φανερὸν ὅτι τῶν φύσει ἡ πόλις ἐστί, καὶ ὅτι
ἄνθρωπος φύσει πολῖτικὸν ζῷον, καὶ ὁ ἄπολις διὰ φύσιν

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8 Comp. Grote, II. 341, for the Greek view generally of the village and the city: "the former social union was unsatisfactory;" and again, p. 344, "the village was nothing more than a fraction and subordinate, appertaining as a limb to the organized body called the city. But the city and the state are in his mind and in his language one and the same; while no organization less than the city can satisfy the exigencies of an intelligent freeman, the city is itself a perfect and self-sufficient whole, admitting no incorporation into any higher political unity."

πάσης ἔχουσα πέρας] 'having attained the full limit of complete satisfaction of all our wants.' Comp. *Eth.* v. x. 4. 1134, 26: *ἐπὶ κοινωνῶν βίου πρὸς τὸ εἶναι αὐτάρκειαν τὸ πολιτικὸν δίκαιον.*

διὸ πᾶσα πόλις] After defining the state he proceeds to establish two propositions, that it is *φύσει*, natural, and that it is prior to the family and the individual. If the first associations, those of the family and village, are sanctioned by nature, using the word in its truest sense, that association in which they find their completion will be so too; it is their natural end; and this natural end of each thing, that state in which each thing finds its fullest development, this it is which he means by the word nature. The period of growth must have passed for the society as for the individual before either one or the other can be said to be perfect, to have attained nature. *οἷον γὰρ ἕκαστον*, 'that which each thing is when its growth is accomplished, that we say it is by nature in each case, whether it be man, horse, or family.'

9 *τὸ οὗ ἕνεκα καὶ τὸ τέλος βέλτιστον*] The object we aim at, the end, is higher than the exertions we make to attain it, the means. Complete satisfaction of our wants is an end we set before us, and it is an end secured by the state, and secured by the state through the instrumentality of those lower associations, the family and the village, which develope into the state.

φύσει πολιτικόν] It is needless to multiply quotations to shew that this is Aristotle's view throughout. The 1st chapter of the *Ethics* is sufficient for the purpose.

Origin of Society.

καὶ οὐ διὰ τύχην ἤτοι φαῦλός ἐστιν ἢ κρείττων ἢ ἄνθρωπος,
ὥσπερ καὶ ὁ ὑφ' Ὁμήρου λοιδορηθεὶς

ἀφρήτωρ, ἀθέμιστος, ἀνέστιος.

10 ἅμα γὰρ φύσει τοιοῦτος καὶ πολέμου ἐπιθυμητής, ἅτε περ
ἄζυξ ὢν ὥσπερ ἐν πεττοῖς. διότι δὲ πολιτικὸν ὁ ἄνθρωπος
ζῷον πάσης μελίττης καὶ παντὸς ἀγελαίου ζῴου μᾶλλον,
δῆλον. οὐθὲν γάρ, ὡς φαμέν, μάτην ἡ φύσις ποιεῖ, λόγον
11 δὲ μόνον ἄνθρωπος ἔχει τῶν ζῴων. ἡ μὲν οὖν φωνὴ τοῦ
λυπηροῦ καὶ ἡδέος ἐστὶ σημεῖον, διὸ καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις ὑπάρχει
ζῴοις· μέχρι γὰρ τούτου ἡ φύσις αὐτῶν ἐλήλυθεν, ὥστε
αἰσθάνεσθαι τοῦ λυπηροῦ καὶ ἡδέος καὶ ταῦτα σημαίνειν
ἀλλήλοις· ὁ δὲ λόγος ἐπὶ τῷ δηλοῦν ἐστὶ τὸ συμφέρον
καὶ τὸ βλαβερόν, ὥστε καὶ τὸ δίκαιον καὶ τὸ ἄδικον.
12 τοῦτο γὰρ πρὸς τἆλλα ζῷα τοῖς ἀνθρώποις ἴδιον, τὸ
μόνον ἀγαθοῦ καὶ κακοῦ καὶ δικαίου καὶ ἀδίκου καὶ τῶν
ἄλλων αἴσθησιν ἔχειν. ἡ δὲ τούτων κοινωνία ποιεῖ οἰκίαν
καὶ πόλιν. Καὶ πρότερον δὴ τῇ φύσει πόλις ἢ οἰκία καὶ
13 ἕκαστος ἡμῶν ἐστίν. τὸ γὰρ ὅλον πρότερον ἀναγκαῖον
εἶναι τοῦ μέρους· ἀναιρουμένου γὰρ τοῦ ὅλου οὐκ ἔσται

ἀφρήτωρ, κ.τ.λ.] *Il.* IX. 63. Comp. Grote, II. 114, not. 2, for the full sense of these words. They denote one excluded from, 1 the phratry, or family; 2 the θέμιστες or ἀγορά; 3 the hestia or hearth, the relations of guest and suppliant. The first two seem more legitimately within Aristotle's notion of ἄπολις.

10 'He who is an alien to the city is by virtue of that in a state of war; his hand is against every man, he stands alone like an unguarded piece in draughts.' I know of no support for this sense, but I have never seen any other.

διότι δέ] 'but that.' This is a common use of the word διότι in A.; frequent instances occur in the *Politics*. Compare Bonitz, *ad Metaph.* 162, a 6. Waitz, *ad Organ.* 58, b 7, gives a number of instances.

λόγον] 'rational speech.'

11 **φωνή**] is the inarticulate cry of animals; language, says de Tracy, but not developed.

μέχρι τούτου] 'so far, and so far only, has nature reached in their case.'

τὸ συμφέρον καὶ τὸ βλαβερόν] chosen apparently as the widest expression, including all others.

12 **τούτων**] either τοῦ ἀγαθοῦ κ.τ.λ.: or masculine, τῶν τὴν τοιαύτην αἴσθησιν ἐχόντων, 'the association of those who have the perception.' This I prefer.

πρότερον δή] Comp. *Eth.* VIII. xiv. 7. 1162, 17, for a sense in which the family precedes the state. For the general language comp. *Categ.* XII. p. 14, 26. Spengel, p. 7, note 8, collects several parallel passages.

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πούς οὐδὲ χείρ, εἰ μὴ ὁμωνύμως ὥσπερ εἴ τις λέγει τὴν
λιθίνην· διαφθαρεῖσα γὰρ ἔσται τοιαύτη. πάντα δὲ τῷ
ἔργῳ ὥρισται καὶ τῇ δυνάμει, ὥστε μηκέτι τοιαῦτα ὄντα
οὐ λεκτέον τὰ αὐτὰ εἶναι, ἀλλ' ὁμώνυμα. Ὅτι μὲν οὖν ἡ 14
πόλις καὶ φύσει καὶ πρότερον ἢ ἕκαστος, δῆλον· εἰ γὰρ
μὴ αὐτάρκης ἕκαστος χωρισθείς, ὁμοίως τοῖς ἄλλοις μέρεσιν
ἕξει πρὸς τὸ ὅλον· ὁ δὲ μὴ δυνάμενος κοινωνεῖν, ἢ μηθὲν
δεόμενος δι' αὐτάρκειαν, οὐθὲν μέρος πόλεως, ὥστε ἢ θηρίον
ἢ θεός. Φύσει μὲν οὖν ἡ ὁρμὴ ἐν πᾶσιν ἐπὶ τὴν τοιαύτην 15
κοινωνίαν· ὁ δὲ πρῶτος συστήσας μεγίστων ἀγαθῶν αἴτιος.
ὥσπερ γὰρ καὶ τελεωθὲν βέλτιστον τῶν ζῴων ἄνθρωπός
ἐστιν, οὕτω καὶ χωρισθὲν νόμου καὶ δίκης χείριστον πάντων.
χαλεπωτάτη γὰρ ἀδικία ἔχουσα ὅπλα· ὁ δ' ἄνθρωπος ὅπλα 16
ἔχων φύεται φρονήσει καὶ ἀρετῇ, οἷς ἐπὶ τἀναντία ἔστι

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13 *ὁμωνύμως, κ.τ.λ.*] 'equivocally, as one might use the term "hand" of a stone hand. For the hand when its natural purpose can no longer be served by it, when consequently it is destroyed, will be on a level with a hand of stone, and can only be called a hand improperly,' *καθ' ὁμοιότητα.*

τῷ ἔργῳ ὥρισται καὶ τῇ δυνάμει] Compare the definition of *ἀρετή* given *Eth.* II. v. 2. p. 1106, 16; also *Eth.* III. x. 6. p. 1115, b 22, and below, IV. 4, 5 (VII.).

14 This section seems parenthetical and superfluous. The clause *εἰ γὰρ μή—ὅλον* justifies the *πρότερον*; 'for unless each one is self complete when separate from all others he is but a part, and must be judged as a part; will stand, that is, in no different relation to the whole of which he is a part, from that in which other parts do to their wholes.' The next clause, *ὁ μὴ δυνάμενος*, supports the *φύσει*, and is to the same effect as § 9, very vigorously stated: the *μὴ δυνάμενος* from his nature being inadequate, the *διὰ φύσιν* of § 9, being below the social union, as the *μηθὲν δεόμενος* is above it; the former clause provided for the case of one who was competent to join in this union, but was cut off from it, *διὰ τύχην ἄπολις*.

15 *φύσει μὲν οὖν*] 'True there is by nature in us the impulse to join in a society such as I have described, in a state; still he who was the first to combine men, to organize this state, was the greatest of benefactors.' The language implies a time in the conception of Aristotle when no state existed. Compare the passage quoted above from Niebuhr.

16 Comp. *Eth.* VII. vii. 7, 1150, 1.

ὁ δ' ἄνθρωπος, κ.τ.λ.] 'Man is born with arms,' *ὅπλα ἔχων*, equivalent to *ὅπλοις*; 'these arms are his intellectual faculties, his moral instincts,' which A. here calls *φρονήσει καὶ ἀρετῇ*, which consistently he should have called *δεινότητι καὶ φυσικῇ ἀρετῇ*. Comp. *Eth.* VI. xiii. p. 1144. *Rhet.* I. i. 4, 20, 1355, b 3.

ἀρετή] in the strictest sense is complete moral virtue; *φρόνησις* involves the existence of that virtue.

Origin of Society. χρῆσθαι μάλιστα. διὸ ἀνοσιώτατον καὶ ἀγριώτατον ἄνευ ἀρετῆς, καὶ πρὸς ἀφροδίσια καὶ ἐδωδὴν χείριστον. ἡ δὲ δικαιοσύνη πολιτικόν· ἡ γὰρ δίκη πολιτικῆς κοινωνίας τάξις ἐστίν· ἡ δὲ δίκη τοῦ δικαίου κρίσις.

1253 B. 3 Slavery. Ἐπεὶ δὲ φανερὸν ἐξ ὧν μορίων ἡ πόλις συνέστηκεν, ἀναγκαῖον περὶ οἰκονομίας εἰπεῖν πρότερον· πᾶσα γὰρ πόλις ἐξ οἰκιῶν σύγκειται. οἰκίας δὲ μέρη, ἐξ ὧν αὖθις οἰκία συνίσταται· οἰκία δὲ τέλειος ἐκ δούλων καὶ ἐλευθέρων. ἐπεὶ δ' ἐν τοῖς ἐλαχίστοις πρῶτον ἕκαστον ζητητέον, πρῶτα δέ καὶ ἐλάχιστα μέρη οἰκίας δεσπότης καὶ δοῦλος καὶ πόσις καὶ ἄλοχος καὶ πατὴρ καὶ τέκνα, περὶ τριῶν ἂν
2 τούτων σκεπτέον εἴη τί ἕκαστον καὶ ποῖον δεῖ εἶναι. ταῦτα δ' ἐστὶ δεσποτικὴ καὶ γαμική (ἀνώνυμον γὰρ ἡ γυναικὸς καὶ ἀνδρὸς σύζευξις) καὶ τρίτον τεκνοποιητική· καὶ γὰρ αὕτη οὐκ ὠνόμασται ἰδίῳ ὀνόματι. ἔστωσαν δ' αὗται τρεῖς ἃς
3 εἴπομεν. ἔστι δέ τι μέρος ὃ δοκεῖ τοῖς μὲν εἶναι οἰκονομία, τοῖς δὲ μέγιστον μέρος αὐτῆς· ὅπως δ' ἔχει, θεωρητέον· λέγω δὲ περὶ τῆς καλουμένης χρηματιστικῆς. Πρῶτον δὲ περὶ δεσπότου καὶ δούλου εἴπωμεν, ἵνα τά τε πρὸς τὴν ἀναγκαίαν χρείαν ἴδωμεν, κἂν εἴ τι πρὸς τὸ εἰδέναι περὶ αὐτῶν δυναίμεθα λαβεῖν βέλτιον τῶν νῦν ὑπολαμβανομένων.

διό] 'So armed man is,' &c.

ἡ δὲ δικαιοσύνη] Man needs the restraints of law and justice, νόμου καὶ δίκης, in one word, δικαιοσύνης; this is emphatically the creature of society, of the political union; for the administration of justice (δίκη) is an arrangement depending on political society, and this administration is but the decision what is just between man and man, and the term just implies justice. Comp. *Eth.* v. x. 4. p. 1134, 26. Cic. *de Nat. Deor.* I. xli. 116 986 b. Ed. Nobbe. 'Est enim pietas justitia adversus Deos cum quibus quid potest nobis esse juris, quum homini nulla cum Deo sit communitas.'

III. 1 περὶ οἰκονομίας] This sufficiently indicates the purpose of the book, πρότερον, sc. τῆς πόλεως.

ἐξ ὧν αὖθις] 'of which in its turn the house consists.'

2 This is simply in defence of his terminology: the term γαμικός is wanted in *Eth.* v. x. 9. p. 1134, b 15, where he speaks of τὸ πρὸς γυναῖκα δίκαιον, and the same want is felt in *Eth.* VIII. xiii. 4. p. 1161, 22.

3 μέγιστον μέρος] 'A very large part.' He says himself οἰκονομικῆς τέλος πλοῦτος, *Eth.* I. i. 3. p. 1094, 9.

τὰ πρὸς τὴν ἀναγκαίαν χρείαν] 'The practical solution for the wants of ordinary life.' πρὸς τὸ εἰδέναι, 'with a view to the scientific theory of the subject.' τῶν νῦν ὑπολαμβανομένων, 'better than the present notions on the subject.'

Slavery.

τοῖς μὲν γὰρ δοκεῖ ἐπιστήμη τέ τις εἶναι ἡ δεσποτεία, καὶ
ἡ αὐτὴ οἰκονομία καὶ δεσποτεία καὶ πολιτικὴ καὶ βασιλική, 4
καθάπερ εἴπομεν ἀρχόμενοι· τοῖς δὲ παρὰ φύσιν τὸ δεσπόζειν· νόμῳ γὰρ τὸν μὲν δοῦλον εἶναι τὸν δ' ἐλεύθερον, φύσει δ' οὐθὲν διαφέρειν· διόπερ οὐδὲ δίκαιον· βίαιον γάρ.
Ἐπεὶ οὖν ἡ κτῆσις μέρος τῆς οἰκίας ἐστὶ καὶ ἡ κτητικὴ 4
μέρος τῆς οἰκονομίας· ἄνευ γὰρ τῶν ἀναγκαίων ἀδύνατον καὶ ζῆν καὶ εὖ ζῆν· ὥσπερ δὲ ἐν ταῖς ὡρισμέναις τέχναις ἀναγκαῖον ἂν εἴη ὑπάρχειν τὰ οἰκεῖα ὄργανα, εἰ μέλλει ἀποτελεσθήσεσθαι τὸ ἔργον, οὕτω καὶ τῶν οἰκονομικῶν.
τῶν δ' ὀργάνων τὰ μὲν ἄψυχα τὰ δ' ἔμψυχα, οἷον τῷ 2
κυβερνήτῃ ὁ μὲν οἴαξ ἄψυχον, ὁ δὲ πρωρεὺς ἔμψυχον· ὁ γὰρ ὑπηρέτης ἐν ὀργάνου εἴδει ταῖς τέχναις ἐστίν. οὕτω καὶ τὸ κτῆμα ὄργανον πρὸς ζωήν ἐστι, καὶ ἡ κτῆσις πλῆθος ὀργάνων ἐστί, καὶ ὁ δοῦλος κτῆμά τι ἔμψυχον, καὶ ὥσπερ ὄργανον πρὸ ὀργάνων, πᾶς ὁ ὑπηρέτης. εἰ γὰρ ἠδύνατο 3

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4 *νόμῳ γάρ*] This explains the *παρὰ φύσιν*, and is by an alteration in the stopping connected more closely with it. So also *διόπερ οὐδὲ δίκαιον* is brought into close connexion with *φύσει οὐθὲν διαφέρειν*.

IV. 1 There is something very awkward about this sentence as it stands. The simplest way seems to be to make *καί* mark the apodosis. 'Since then property is an element in the family, the art of acquiring property will enter into the management of the family. That property is such is clear from the fact that without food and clothing, the necessaries of life, it is impossible to live, much less to live well; and as in all the definite arts the proper instruments for the work must necessarily be ready to the hand of the workman, if the work is to be accomplished, so it is in the management of the family.' If with Victorius and the Vet. Tr. we adopt the more symmetrical reading of *τῷ οἰκονομικῷ*, 'so his proper instruments must be ready to the hand of the master of the family.' If the genitive is kept it must be construed with *οἰκεῖα*, a construction of which we have an instance later, III. iii. 3, *οἰκεῖος τῆς ἀπορίας ταύτης*.

2 *ἐν ὀργάνου εἴδει*] 'is in kind but an instrument,' 'does not differ in kind from the instrument used in the arts.' *ταῖς τέχναις, ταῖς ὡρισμέναις* of the last section.

οὕτω καί] as the pilot had instruments of two kinds, so it will be with the head of the family. The instrument in this case, whether animate or inanimate, is denoted by the word *κτῆμα*, and the aggregate of such instruments by *κτῆσις*. Compare *Eth.* v. x. 8. p. 1134, b 10.

ὄργανον πρὸ ὀργάνων] 'one instrument in the place of many,' not, as St Hil. says, "le premier de tous," agreeing with Vict. as quoted by Schneider

Slavery. ἕκαστον τῶν ὀργάνων κελευσθὲν ἢ προαισθανόμενον ἀποτελεῖν τὸ αὑτοῦ ἔργον, ὥσπερ τὰ Δαιδάλου φασὶν ἢ τοὺς τοῦ Ἡφαίστου τρίποδας, οὕς φησιν ὁ ποιητὴς αὐτομάτους θεῖον δύεσθαι ἀγῶνα, οὕτως αἱ κερκίδες ἐκέρκιζον αὐταὶ καὶ τὰ πλῆκτρα ἐκιθάριζεν, οὐδὲν ἂν ἔδει οὔτε τοῖς ἀρχιτέκτο-
1254 4 σιν ὑπηρετῶν οὔτε τοῖς δεσπόταις δούλων. τὰ μὲν οὖν λεγόμενα ὄργανα ποιητικὰ ὄργανά ἐστι, τὸ δὲ κτῆμα πρακτικόν· ἀπὸ μὲν γὰρ τῆς κερκίδος ἕτερόν τι γίνεται παρὰ τὴν χρῆσιν αὐτῆς, ἀπὸ δὲ τῆς ἐσθῆτος καὶ τῆς κλίνης ἡ χρῆσις μόνον. ἔτι δ' ἐπεὶ διαφέρει ἡ ποίησις εἴδει καὶ ἡ πρᾶξις, δέονται δ' ἀμφότεραι ὀργάνων, ἀνάγκη καὶ ταῦτα
5 τὴν αὐτὴν ἔχειν διαφοράν. ὁ δὲ βίος πρᾶξις, οὐ ποίησίς ἐστιν· διὸ καὶ ὁ δοῦλος ὑπηρέτης τῶν πρὸς τὴν πρᾶξιν. τὸ δὲ κτῆμα λέγεται ὥσπερ καὶ τὸ μόριον. τό τε γὰρ μόριον οὐ μόνον ἄλλου ἐστὶ μόριον, ἀλλὰ καὶ ὅλως ἄλλου· ὁμοίως δὲ καὶ τὸ κτῆμα. διὸ ὁ μὲν δεσπότης τοῦ δούλου δεσπότης μόνον, ἐκείνου δ' οὐκ ἔστιν· ὁ δὲ δοῦλος οὐ μόνον
6 δεσπότου δοῦλός ἐστιν, ἀλλὰ καὶ ὅλως ἐκείνου. τίς μὲν οὖν ἡ φύσις τοῦ δούλου καὶ τίς ἡ δύναμις, ἐκ τούτων δῆλον·

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in the passage. The translation given refers it more definitely to the superior adaptability of the slave.

3 *Il.* XVIII. 376.

4 τὰ μὲν οὖν λεγόμενα] 'Instruments, in the sense in which the word is generally applied, are for production, whereas κτῆμα in this comprehensive sense is the unproductive part of a man's property.' As unproductive it is called πρακτικόν. Compare *Eth.* VI. ii. 5. p. 1139, b 1. 5, 4. 1140, b 6.

διαφέρει ἡ ποίησις] *Eth.* VI. iv. 1. p. 1140, 4.

καὶ ταῦτα] The instruments of the two respectively.

5 διὸ καὶ ὁ δοῦλος] as being κτῆμα ἔμψυχον πρὸς ζωήν.

τὸ δὲ κτῆμα] In the passage referred to above on § 2, *Eth.* V. x. 8, he uses the same language, ὥσπερ μέρος αὐτοῦ τὸ κτῆμα.

διὸ ὁ μὲν δεσπότης] 'Hence whilst the master is only a master in reference to his slave, and in no sense belongs to him, but is in the main considered quite in a different capacity, the slave, on the other hand, is not merely to be viewed from this point of view amongst others, that he is the slave of a master, but he is absolutely and entirely that master's, he has no other side of his existence distinct from his master's.'

6 It is the essential idea of slavery that in it the person becomes a thing, and loses all his rights as a person. He stands related to human society only in and through his master, he has no proper life and no proper happiness.

Slavery.

ὁ γὰρ μὴ αὑτοῦ φύσει ἀλλ' ἄλλου, ἄνθρωπος δέ, οὗτος φύσει
δοῦλός ἐστιν. ἄλλου δ' ἐστὶν ἄνθρωπος, ὃς ἂν κτῆμα ᾖ
ἄνθρωπος ὤν. κτῆμα δὲ ὄργανον πρακτικὸν καὶ χωριστόν.
Πότερον δ' ἐστί τις φύσει τοιοῦτος ἢ οὔ, καὶ πότερον βέλ-
τιον καὶ δίκαιόν τινι δουλεύειν ἢ οὔ, ἀλλὰ πᾶσα δουλεία
παρὰ φύσιν ἐστί, μετὰ ταῦτα σκεπτέον. οὐ χαλεπὸν δὲ
καὶ τῷ λόγῳ θεωρῆσαι καὶ ἐκ τῶν γινομένων καταμαθεῖν.
τὸ γὰρ ἄρχειν καὶ ἄρχεσθαι οὐ μόνον τῶν ἀναγκαίων ἀλλὰ 2
καὶ τῶν συμφερόντων ἐστί, καὶ εὐθὺς ἐκ γενετῆς ἔνια διέ-
στηκε τὰ μὲν ἐπὶ τὸ ἄρχεσθαι τὰ δ' ἐπὶ τὸ ἄρχειν. καὶ
εἴδη πολλὰ καὶ ἀρχόντων καὶ ἀρχομένων ἐστίν, καὶ ἀεὶ βελ-
τίων ἡ ἀρχὴ ἡ τῶν βελτιόνων ἀρχομένων, οἷον ἀνθρώπου ἢ
θηρίου. τὸ γὰρ ἀποτελούμενον ἀπὸ τῶν βελτιόνων βέλτιον 3
ἔργον· ὅπου δὲ τὸ μὲν ἄρχει τὸ δ' ἄρχεται, ἐστί τι τούτων
ἔργον· ὅσα γὰρ ἐκ πλειόνων συνέστηκε καὶ γίνεται ἕν τι
κοινόν, εἴτε ἐκ συνεχῶν εἴτ' ἐκ διῃρημένων, ἐν ἅπασιν ἐμ-
φαίνεται τὸ ἄρχον καὶ τὸ ἀρχόμενον. καὶ τοῦτο ἐκ τῆς 4

V. 1 But then comes the question: Is there such a being? As a fact it was not doubtful that there were such; society was based on the existence of such. But is there such a being naturally? Has nature given her sanction to the fact? Is it for the real interest of some, is it just for some, that they should be in this state, or is slavery in principle a violation of nature? These are the points at issue in the next two chapters, and Aristotle's answers are in favour of slavery.

τῷ λόγῳ] 'by theory.' **ἐκ τῶν γινομένων**, 'from actual experience.'

2 'The distinction of ruler and ruled appears even at birth, some take their stand on one side, some on the other.' Inequality and consequent subordination are facts which you cannot get rid of, and which may be shewn to be for the interest of mankind generally, **οὐ μόνον τῶν ἀναγκαίων ἀλλὰ καὶ τῶν συμφερόντων**. Nor is this all. 'There are distinctions in the kind of rule depending on the rulers and the ruled, and in proportion as these are better the rule is in itself nobler.'

3 **ὅπου δέ**] They come into relation. *ἐν κοινωνίᾳ ἤδη ὁ ἄρχων. Eth.* v. iii. 16. p. 1130, 2. They form a system with parts working together for a common end. That end is their work, and the work will be better done in proportion as the parts are better.

ὅσα γάρ] 'for wherever you have a combination of several parts and some one common result, whether those parts be continuous, as in the natural body, or distinct, as in the body politic, there you have evidently the distinction between ruler and ruled.' In *Eth.* II. v. 4. p. 1106, 26, we have the terms *συνεχεῖ καὶ διαιρετῷ*.

4 *ἐκ τῆς ἁπάσης φύσεως*] "Bei der gesammten Natur vorzugsweise." Stahr. Correctly as to the sense. 'This subordination is found in all nature, but is

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ἁπάσης φύσεως ἐνυπάρχει τοῖς ἐμψύχοις· καὶ γὰρ ἐν τοῖς μὴ μετέχουσι ζωῆς ἐστί τις ἀρχή, οἷον ἁρμονίας· ἀλλὰ ταῦτα μὲν ἴσως ἐξωτερικωτέρας ἐστὶ σκέψεως. Τὸ δὲ ζῷον πρῶτον συνέστηκεν ἐκ ψυχῆς καὶ σώματος, ὧν τὸ μὲν ἄρχον ἐστὶ φύσει τὸ δ' ἀρχόμενον· δεῖ δὲ σκοπεῖν ἐν τοῖς κατὰ φύσιν ἔχουσι μᾶλλον τὸ φύσει, καὶ μὴ ἐν τοῖς διεφθαρμένοις· διὸ καὶ τὸν βέλτιστα διακείμενον καὶ κατὰ σῶμα καὶ κατὰ ψυχὴν ἄνθρωπον θεωρητέον, ἐν ᾧ τοῦτο
1254 B δῆλον· τῶν γὰρ μοχθηρῶν ἢ μοχθηρῶς ἐχόντων δόξειεν ἂν ἄρχειν πολλάκις τὸ σῶμα τῆς ψυχῆς διὰ τὸ φαύλως καὶ
6 παρὰ φύσιν ἔχειν. ἔστι δ' οὖν, ὥσπερ λέγομεν, πρῶτον ἐν ζῴῳ θεωρῆσαι καὶ δεσποτικὴν ἀρχὴν καὶ πολιτικήν· ἡ μὲν γὰρ ψυχὴ τοῦ σώματος ἄρχει δεσποτικὴν ἀρχήν, ὁ δὲ νοῦς τῆς ὀρέξεως πολιτικὴν καὶ βασιλικήν· ἐν οἷς φανερόν ἐστιν ὅτι κατὰ φύσιν καὶ συμφέρον τὸ ἄρχεσθαι τῷ σώματι ὑπὸ τῆς ψυχῆς καὶ τῷ παθητικῷ μορίῳ ὑπὸ τοῦ νοῦ καὶ τοῦ

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found more particularly, is more truly inherent in the things that have life.' *καὶ γάρ.* 'I say in all nature, for even in those things which have no life there is a certain rule exercised, such as the power of harmony.' Compare Wordsworth's *Ode on the power of Sound*, XII.

ἐξωτερικωτέρας] This word has been frequently discussed. The result of the discussion seems to be that it often means nothing more than 'another,' 'an inquiry foreign to the present inquiry.' In this actual passage this meaning is sufficient. The whole subject is treated by Ravaisson, *Métaphysique d'Aristot.* Part. III. Livre I. ch. i. Vol. I. pp. 224 and foll.

Stahr ends the period at *σκέψεως*, and it is I think plainer so.

πρῶτον] 'To begin with.'

5 *δεῖ δὲ σκοπεῖν*] It might be urged that practically this is not always the case. But, says Aristotle, you must not take a bad instance, but a good. To judge any thing truly, you must take it at its best, look at it such as it is by nature, using nature of course as above, I. 2. 8.

ἐν ᾧ τοῦτο δῆλον] 'and in him this is clear,' *τοῦτο*, that the soul rules, the body obeys.

6 *ἐν ζῴῳ*] 'in any animal.'

ἡ μὲν γὰρ ψυχή] Compare *Eth.* V. 15, 9. p. 1138, b 5.

δεσποτικήν] that is, for the good of the soul.

τῆς ὀρέξεως] Cicero, *de Rep.* III. XXV. 21. p. 1161. b. Ed. Nobbe, takes a different view: 'Nam ut animus corpori dicitur imperare, dicitur etiam libidini; sed corpori, ut Rex civibus suis, aut parens liberis; libidini autem ut servis dominus, quod eam coercet et frangit.' *ὄρεξις*, in Aristotle, is larger, equivalent to the *ἐπιθυμητικόν* of the *Ethics*, I. xiii.

ἐν οἷς] 'and in these cases it is quite clear.'

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μορίου τοῦ λόγον ἔχοντος, τὸ δ' ἐξ ἴσου ἢ ἀνάπαλιν βλα-
βερὸν πᾶσιν. πάλιν ἐν ἀνθρώπῳ καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις ζῴοις 7
ὡσαύτως· τὰ μὲν γὰρ ἥμερα τῶν ἀγρίων βελτίω τὴν φύσιν,
τούτοις δὲ πᾶσι βέλτιον ἄρχεσθαι ὑπ' ἀνθρώπου· τυγχάνει
γὰρ σωτηρίας οὕτως. ἔτι δὲ τὸ ἄρρεν πρὸς τὸ θῆλυ φύσει
τὸ μὲν κρεῖττον τὸ δὲ χεῖρον, τὸ μὲν ἄρχον τὸ δ' ἀρχόμε-
νον. τὸν αὐτὸν δὲ τρόπον ἀναγκαῖον εἶναι καὶ ἐπὶ πάντων
ἀνθρώπων. Ὅσοι μὲν οὖν τοσοῦτον διεστᾶσιν ὅσον ψυχὴ 8
σώματος καὶ ἄνθρωπος θηρίου (διάκεινται δὲ τοῦτον τὸν
τρόπον, ὅσων ἐστὶν ἔργον ἡ τοῦ σώματος χρῆσις, καὶ τοῦτ'
ἔστ' ἀπ' αὐτῶν βέλτιστον), οὗτοι μέν εἰσι φύσει δοῦλοι,
οἷς βέλτιόν ἐστιν ἄρχεσθαι ταύτην τὴν ἀρχήν, εἴπερ καὶ
τοῖς εἰρημένοις. ἔστι γὰρ φύσει δοῦλος ὁ δυνάμενος ἄλλου 9
εἶναι (διὸ καὶ ἄλλου ἐστίν) καὶ ὁ κοινωνῶν λόγου τοσοῦτον
ὅσον αἰσθάνεσθαι ἀλλὰ μὴ ἔχειν· τὰ γὰρ ἄλλα ζῷα οὐ
λόγου αἰσθανόμενα, ἀλλὰ παθήμασιν ὑπηρετεῖ. καὶ ἡ χρεία

ἐξ ἴσου] 'To put the two on a level in point of government, or to reverse the order, is in all cases injurious.'

7 πάλιν, κ.τ.λ.] 'Again, the case is exactly the same as between man and the other animals,' and does not hold merely in man's individual nature.

τὰ μὲν γὰρ ἥμερα, κ.τ.λ.] Compare Bacon on Atheism, Vol. I. p. 53. Ed. Montagu.

τυγχάνει γὰρ σωτηρίας] So above, II. 2. διὰ τὴν σωτηρίαν, safety was the object of the union.

τὸν αὐτόν, κ.τ.λ.] From the individual man he passed to man in relation to the animals, then to man in relation to woman, now he has reached the last stage, the relations of men to each other.

8 ταύτην τὴν ἀρχήν] τὴν δεσποτικήν, that of a master over slaves, the point he wants to come to.

τοῖς εἰρημένοις] τῷ σώματι, τῷ παθητικῷ μορίῳ, τῷ θηρίῳ, τῷ θήλει.

9 διὸ καὶ ἄλλου ἐστίν] This must not be pressed too far, but taken as an assertion of the general rule, that the slave was so by virtue of a natural inferiority. It does not exclude, as is clear from the next chapter, the possibility of an unjust slavery, of an inversion of the natural order. It does not exclude what Cicero speaks of, "genus injustæ servitutis, quum hi sunt alterius, qui sui possunt esse." *De Rep.* III. xxv. 22. 1161, 6.

τοσοῦτον] 'only so far.' Compare I. II. 2. τὸ δυνάμενον τῷ σώματι ταῦτα ποιεῖν.

τὰ γὰρ ἄλλα] The construction is irregular, but the sense is clear. This definition still leaves the slave, as man, a higher position than the animals; the τοσοῦτον is exclusive both ways; the slave shares in reason, but only to a certain point.

καὶ ἡ χρεία] 'The use to which the two are put,' the slave and the animal, 'varies but little.'

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δὲ παραλλάττει μικρόν· ἡ γὰρ πρὸς τἀναγκαῖα τῷ σώματι βοήθεια γίνεται παρ' ἀμφοῖν, παρά τε τῶν δούλων καὶ παρὰ
10 τῶν ἡμέρων ζῴων. Βούλεται μὲν οὖν ἡ φύσις καὶ τὰ σώματα διαφέροντα ποιεῖν τὰ τῶν ἐλευθέρων καὶ τῶν δούλων, τὰ μὲν ἰσχυρὰ πρὸς τὴν ἀναγκαίαν χρῆσιν, τὰ δ' ὀρθὰ καὶ ἄχρηστα πρὸς τὰς τοιαύτας ἐργασίας, ἀλλὰ χρήσιμα πρὸς πολιτικὸν βίον (οὗτος δὲ καὶ γίνεται διῃρημένος εἴς τε τὴν πολεμικὴν χρείαν καὶ τὴν εἰρηνικήν), συμβαίνει δὲ πολλάκις καὶ τοὐναντίον, τοὺς μὲν τὰ σώματ' ἔχειν ἐλευθέρων τοὺς δὲ τὰς ψυχάς· ἐπεὶ τοῦτό γε φανερόν, ὡς εἰ τοσοῦτον γένοιντο διάφοροι τὸ σῶμα μόνον ὅσον αἱ τῶν θεῶν εἰκόνες, τοὺς ὑπολειπομένους πάντες φαῖεν ἂν ἀξίους εἶναι τούτοις
11 δουλεύειν. εἰ δ' ἐπὶ τοῦ σώματος τοῦτ' ἀληθές, πολὺ δικαιότερον ἐπὶ τῆς ψυχῆς τοῦτο διωρίσθαι· ἀλλ' οὐχ ὁμοίως ῥᾴδιον ἰδεῖν τό τε τῆς ψυχῆς κάλλος καὶ τὸ τοῦ σώματος.
1255 Ὅτι μὲν τοίνυν εἰσὶ φύσει τινὲς οἱ μὲν ἐλεύθεροι οἱ δὲ δοῦλοι, φανερόν, οἷς καὶ συμφέρει τὸ δουλεύειν καὶ δίκαιόν
6 ἐστιν. Ὅτι δὲ καὶ οἱ τἀναντία φάσκοντες τρόπον τινὰ

ἡ τῷ σώματι βοήθεια] 'The assistance given with the body,' the dative of the instrument, "mit ihrem Körper." Stahr.

10 But an objector might urge: The animals differ from man in outward form, the slave and the freeman his master do not so differ. It is the tendency of nature, answers Aristotle, to do this, to mark a difference, but a tendency often defeated; as a practical fact we often see the very reverse the case, συμβαίνει δὲ πολλάκις καὶ τοὐναντίον.

ἐργασίας] 'Such offices, or services.'

οὗτος δὲ καί, κ.τ.λ.] One of the many places where a remark is introduced with so little need for it, so little à propos, that one suspects another hand.

τοὺς ὑπολειπομένους] 'those who fall short.' Compare Herod. v. 47 for the effect in a Greek city of a striking superiority in beauty. Compare also Grote, VIII. pp. 217, 218, on the Athenian treatment of Dorieus.

11 πολὺ δικαιότερον] 'with far more justice would the distinction hold good in the case of the soul.'

ὅτι μὲν οὖν] After weighing the objections he comes then decidedly to a conclusion in favour of slavery. 'There are some by nature free, others by nature slaves, and for these their state as slaves is both advantageous and just,' καὶ συμφέρει καὶ δίκαιον. The mental differences are sufficient, where nature has failed to mark the bodily.

VI. 1 οἱ τἀναντία φάσκοντες] 'those who put forward the exactly opposite view, they too in a certain sense are right.' There is an ambiguity in the language.

λέγουσιν ὀρθῶς, οὐ χαλεπὸν ἰδεῖν. διχῶς γὰρ λέγεται τὸ δουλεύειν καὶ ὁ δοῦλος. ἔστι γάρ τις καὶ κατὰ νόμον δοῦλος καὶ δουλεύων· ὁ γὰρ νόμος ὁμολογία τίς ἐστιν, ἐν ᾧ τὰ κατὰ πόλεμον κρατούμενα τῶν κρατούντων εἶναί φασιν. τοῦτο δὴ τὸ δίκαιον πολλοὶ τῶν ἐν τοῖς νόμοις ὥσπερ 2 ῥήτορα γράφονται παρανόμων, ὡς δεινὸν εἰ τοῦ βιάσασθαι δυναμένου καὶ κατὰ δύναμιν κρείττονος ἔσται δοῦλον καὶ ἀρχόμενον τὸ βιασθέν. Καὶ τοῖς μὲν οὕτω δοκεῖ τοῖς δ' ἐκείνως, καὶ τῶν σοφῶν. αἴτιον δὲ ταύτης τῆς ἀμφισβη- 3

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καὶ κατὰ νόμον] 'by law also' as well as φύσει.

ὁ γὰρ νόμος] 'The law I mean is a species of recognised agreement.' Compare Hermann (C. F.) § 9. 4, and the references there given, especially Xen. *Cyr.* VII. 5, 73, **νόμος γὰρ ἐν πᾶσιν ἀνθρώποις ἀΐδιός ἐστιν, ὅταν πολεμούντων πόλις ἁλῷ, τῶν ἑλόντων εἶναι καὶ τὰ σώματα τῶν ἐν τῇ πόλει καὶ τὰ χρήματα.**

2 **τοῦτο δὴ τὸ δίκαιον**] 'It is this justice then that many writers on institutions indict as unconstitutional.'

κατὰ δύναμιν κρείττονος] 'superior in mere strength.'

οὕτω] the last opinion that it is monstrous.

ἐκείνως] the opposite one that this state is the right one, and the wise are not agreed on this point.

3 Before entering on the two next sections I would remark, that the course of the reasoning would be uninterrupted if we at once went on with § 5, **Ὅλως δ' ἀντεχόμενοί τινες κ.τ.λ.** The intervening part is a subsidiary explanation. 'The origin of this dispute, that which makes it capable of being a dispute, is that in a certain sense it is true that virtue, with adequate means at its disposal, is even more than any other power able to *force* its way; it is true further that he who is *master* is so always by virtue of a real superiority in some point, so that his power of compulsion seems not to be separable from virtue, and the only discussion that can take place is on this point: Is it, or is it not, right that such power, partly simple power, partly moral superiority, should be accepted? Looking at the consequences that follow, if you adopt this principle, some have been led to seek the only sanction for rule in the mutual consent of the parties, the ruler and subject. Unable to concede this, as in fact impracticable, others have acquiesced in the simple test of superior might, without any considerations of the moral element, as an adequate definition of justice. And these are the only two admissible opinions, since if you distinguish them one from the other, and when distinguished put them both on one side, the third opinion, which with reference to the other two is called **ἄτεροι λόγοι**, is seen to be devoid of force or plausibility, the opinion, namely, that the better ought not by virtue of his excellence to rule over the inferior, whether that rule be such as you may call government in a political sense, or the absolute government of a master over slaves, **ἄρχειν καὶ δεσπόζειν**.' Such is the best rendering I can give of this difficult passage. To follow it in detail.

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τίσεως, καὶ ὃ ποιεῖ τοὺς λόγους ἐπαλλάττειν, ὅτι τρόπον
τινὰ ἀρετὴ τυγχάνουσα χορηγίας καὶ βιάζεσθαι δύναται
μάλιστα, καὶ ἔστιν ἀεὶ τὸ κρατοῦν ἐν ὑπεροχῇ ἀγαθοῦ
τινός, ὥστε δοκεῖν μὴ ἄνευ ἀρετῆς εἶναι τὴν βίαν, ἀλλὰ περὶ
4 τοῦ δικαίου μόνον εἶναι τὴν ἀμφισβήτησιν. διὰ γὰρ τοῦτο
τοῖς μὲν εὔνοια δοκεῖ τὸ δίκαιον εἶναι, τοῖς δ' αὐτὸ τοῦτο
δίκαιον, τὸ τὸν κρείττονα ἄρχειν, ἐπεὶ διαστάντων γε χωρὶς
τούτων τῶν λόγων οὔτ' ἰσχυρὸν οὐθὲν ἔχουσιν οὔτε πιθανὸν
ἅτεροι λόγοι, ὡς οὐ δεῖ τὸ βέλτιον κατ' ἀρετὴν ἄρχειν καὶ
5 δεσπόζειν. Ὅλως δ' ἀντεχόμενοί τινες, ὡς οἴονται, δικαίου
τινός (ὁ γὰρ νόμος δίκαιόν τι) τὴν κατὰ πόλεμον δουλείαν
τιθέασι δικαίαν, ἅμα δ' οὔ φασιν. τήν τε γὰρ ἀρχὴν ἐνδέ-
χεται μὴ δικαίαν εἶναι τῶν πολέμων, καὶ τὸν ἀνάξιον δου-
λεύειν οὐδαμῶς ἂν φαίη τις δοῦλον εἶναι· εἰ δὲ μή, συμ-
βήσεται τοὺς εὐγενεστάτους εἶναι δοκοῦντας δούλους εἶναι
6 καὶ ἐκ δούλων, ἐὰν συμβῇ πραθῆναι ληφθέντας. διόπερ
αὑτοὺς οὐ βούλονται λέγειν δούλους, ἀλλὰ τοὺς βαρβάρους.
καίτοι ὅταν τοῦτο λέγωσιν, οὐθὲν ἄλλο ζητοῦσιν ἢ τὸ
φύσει δοῦλον, ὅπερ ἐξ ἀρχῆς εἴπομεν· ἀνάγκη γὰρ εἶναί

ἐπαλλάττειν] is 'to interchange, to alternate.' "Ut in utramque partem disputari et dici possit." Schneider. Stahr agrees: "was für beide Ansichten Gründe aufzustellen verstattet." The arguments run into one another, and the confusion that arises enables both sides plausibly to maintain their respective positions.

περὶ τοῦ δικαίου] 'about the right,' whether it is right or no.

4 **διὰ τοῦτο**] 'because of this dispute.'

ἐπεὶ διαστάντων] Stahr differs as to this passage, and construes it: "Since now of these opposed views, the grounds alleged in support of the one, viz. that the superior in excellence ought not therefore to rule and govern, cannot hold, and have no power to convince in them, therefore &c.," taking away the stop at **δεσπόζειν** and making **ὅλως δέ** the apodosis. I refer **διαστάντων** to the distinction between the two views, **χωρίς** to the distinction between the two together and the third.

κατ' ἀρετήν] 'By virtue of its excellence.'

ἄρχειν καὶ δεσπόζειν] opposed to **κρατοῦν** and **βιάζεσθαι**, and this opposition must be kept in sight carefully.

5 **ἅμα δ' οὔ φασιν**] 'But at the same time they virtually deny it.'

εἰ δὲ μή] 'if otherwise.'

6 **αὑτοὺς βούλονται**] 'The Greeks do not intend to speak of themselves as slaves, they never think of themselves in that light, but only the barbarians.'

ἀνάγκη γὰρ φάναι] 'For they must allow that there are some who are slaves wherever they are, others just the contrary.'

τινας φάναι τοὺς μὲν πανταχοῦ δούλους τοὺς δ' οὐδαμοῦ. Slavery.
τὸν αὐτὸν δὲ τρόπον καὶ περὶ εὐγενείας· αὐτοὺς μὲν γὰρ 7
οὐ μόνον παρ' αὐτοῖς εὐγενεῖς ἀλλὰ πανταχοῦ νομίζουσιν,
τοὺς δὲ βαρβάρους οἴκοι μόνον, ὡς ὄν τι τὸ μὲν ἁπλῶς
εὐγενὲς καὶ ἐλεύθερον τὸ δ' οὐχ ἁπλῶς, ὥσπερ ἡ Θεοδέκτου
Ἑλένη φησὶ

> *θείων δ' ἀπ' ἀμφοῖν ἔκγονον ῥιζωμάτων*
> *τίς ἂν προσειπεῖν ἀξιώσειεν λάτριν;*

ὅταν δὲ τοῦτο λέγωσιν, οὐθενὶ ἀλλ' ἢ ἀρετῇ καὶ κακίᾳ διο- 8
ρίζουσι τὸ δοῦλον καὶ ἐλεύθερον καὶ τοὺς εὐγενεῖς καὶ τοὺς
δυσγενεῖς. ἀξιοῦσι γάρ, ὥσπερ ἐξ ἀνθρώπου ἄνθρωπον καὶ 1255 B
ἐκ θηρίων γίνεσθαι θηρίον, οὕτω καὶ ἐξ ἀγαθῶν ἀγαθόν· ἡ
δὲ φύσις βούλεται μὲν τοῦτο ποιεῖν πολλάκις, οὐ μέντοι δύ-
ναται. Ὅτι μὲν οὖν ἔχει τινὰ λόγον ἡ ἀμφισβήτησις, καὶ 9
οὐκ εἰσὶν οἱ μὲν φύσει δοῦλοι οἱ δ' ἐλεύθεροι, δῆλον· καὶ ὅτι
ἔν τισι διώρισται τὸ τοιοῦτον, ὧν συμφέρει τῷ μὲν τὸ δου-
λεύειν τῷ δὲ τὸ δεσπόζειν, καὶ δίκαιον, καὶ δεῖ τὸ μὲν ἄρ-
χεσθαι τὸ δ' ἄρχειν, ἣν πεφύκασιν ἀρχὴν ἄρχειν, ὥστε καὶ
δεσπόζειν. τὸ δὲ κακῶς ἀσυμφόρως ἐστὶν ἀμφοῖν· τὸ γὰρ 10

πανταχοῦ] = **φύσει**. Comp. *Eth.* v. 10. (7) I. p. 1134. b 19, **φυσικὸν μὲν τὸ πανταχοῦ τὴν αὐτὴν ἔχον δύναμιν**; and again, a little below in the same chapter, **τὸ μὲν φύσει ἀκίνητον καὶ πανταχοῦ τὴν αὐτὴν ἔχει δύναμιν, ὥσπερ τὸ πῦρ καὶ ἔνθαδε καὶ ἐν Πέρσαις καίει.**

7 **Θεοδέκτου**] Theodectes of Phaselis, a pupil and friend of Aristotle, a rhetorician and dramatic writer.

8 **ὅταν δὲ τοῦτο λέγωσιν**] 'The use of language of this sort does in fact make the distinctions between slave and free, well born and low born, depend on moral differences,' and assumes that those moral differences are hereditary and ineffaceable. There may be a tendency to the perpetuation of such distinctions in man, says Aristotle, but it is by no means always a tendency that becomes a law. "Fortes creantur fortibus et bonis," is anything but universally true.

9 The result then is, that the objection to the conclusion of ch. 5 is allowed not to be without ground, and that it is true that some are not by nature slaves, others by nature free, if you interpret aright *the some* and *the others*, **οἱ μέν, οἱ δέ.**

ἔν τισι] 'in certain cases the distinction is drawn.'

ἣν πεφύκασιν ἀρχὴν] 'with the power for which they are naturally qualified, consequently with that of a master over slaves, if they are qualified for it.' As the rest of the sentence stands, **πέφυκεν** would have been more regular, or the omission of the last **ἄρχειν** would be desirable; but in any case the sense is clear.

10 **τὸ δὲ κακῶς**] 'That the power should be badly exercised is against the interests of both equally, **ἀμφοῖν**.'

Slavery. αὐτὸ συμφέρει τῷ μέρει καὶ τῷ ὅλῳ καὶ σώματι καὶ ψυχῇ, ὁ δὲ δοῦλος μέρος τι τοῦ δεσπότου, οἷον ἔμψυχόν τι τοῦ σώματος κεχωρισμένον δὲ μέρος. διὸ καὶ συμφέρον ἐστί τι καὶ φιλία δούλῳ καὶ δεσπότῃ πρὸς ἀλλήλους τοῖς φύσει τούτων ἠξιωμένοις· τοῖς δὲ μὴ τοῦτον τὸν τρόπον, ἀλλὰ κατὰ νόμον καὶ βιασθεῖσι, τοὐναντίον.

7 Φανερὸν δὲ καὶ ἐκ τούτων ὅτι οὐ ταὐτόν ἐστι δεσποτεία καὶ πολιτική, οὐδὲ πᾶσαι ἀλλήλαις αἱ ἀρχαί, ὥσπερ τινές φασιν. ἡ μὲν γὰρ ἐλευθέρων φύσει ἡ δὲ δούλων ἐστίν, καὶ ἡ μὲν οἰκονομικὴ μοναρχία (μοναρχεῖται γὰρ πᾶς οἶκος),
2 ἡ δὲ πολιτικὴ ἐλευθέρων καὶ ἴσων ἀρχή. Ὁ μὲν οὖν δεσπότης οὐ λέγεται κατ' ἐπιστήμην, ἀλλὰ τῷ τοιόσδ' εἶναι· ὁμοίως δὲ καὶ ὁ δοῦλος καὶ ὁ ἐλεύθερος. ἐπιστήμη δ' ἂν εἴη

διὸ καί] 'As there is this relation between the slave and master, there is also some common interest between the two, and good feeling towards one another in all cases where nature dictates this relation, *τούτων φύσει ἠξιωμένοις*; when this is not the case, but they stand related as master and slave only by law and force, then there is no common interest, no opening for affection.' Compare *Eth.* VIII. xiii. 6, 7. p. 1161, 30 sqq. on the existence of friendship between master and slave, where the relation in itself scarcely receives so favourable a judgment.

VII. He has stated what a slave is in his view, and that slavery is an institution natural and desirable, without denying that there are cases when it is not so. He returns in this chapter to a point which was touched on in ch. 1, and again in ch. 3, § 4: Is the government of slaves a science, is it further identical with the government of a household and a state, are all governments in short identical? The answer to this last is, he thinks, evident, from what has been said. The government differs with the difference of the governed, ch. 5, § 2, *εἴδη πολλά*. So the government of the free will differ from that of the slave. And all governments are not identical, for whilst a family is a monarchy, political government is the rule over free and equal men. The former leaves no freedom to its subjects, but the will of the head is supreme law, the latter allows for the idea of freedom.

2 *κατ' ἐπιστήμην*] 'because of any knowledge that he has, but simply because he is such, a master;' it is the statement of a fact, an actual relation, not involving any qualifications.

ἐπιστήμη δ' ἂν εἴη] 'Still you may speak of a science with reference to masters and slaves.' The knowledge which slaves require to make them good servants may be called *ἐπιστήμη δουλική*. The knowledge which a master requires for the right use of slaves would be *ἐπιστήμη δεσποτική*. But when possible this is transferred to subordinates. Distinct from both these branches of knowledge stands a third, the acquisition of slaves.

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καὶ δεσποτικὴ καὶ δουλική, δουλικὴ μὲν οἵαν περ ὁ ἐν Συρακούσαις ἐπαίδευεν· ἐκεῖ γὰρ λαμβάνων τις μισθὸν ἐδίδασκε τὰ ἐγκύκλια διακονήματα τοὺς παῖδας. εἴη δ' ἂν καὶ ἐπὶ 3
πλεῖον τῶν τοιούτων μάθησις, οἷον ὀψοποιικὴ καὶ τἆλλα τὰ τοιαῦτα γένη τῆς διακονίας. ἔστι γὰρ ἕτερα ἑτέρων τὰ μὲν ἐντιμότερα ἔργα τὰ δ' ἀναγκαιότερα, καὶ κατὰ τὴν παροιμίαν

δοῦλος πρὸ δούλου, δεσπότης πρὸ δεσπότου.

αἱ μὲν οὖν τοιαῦται πᾶσαι δουλικαὶ ἐπιστῆμαί εἰσι, δεσπο- 4
τικὴ δ' ἐπιστήμη ἐστὶν ἡ χρηστικὴ δούλων· ὁ γὰρ δεσπότης οὐκ ἐν τῷ κτᾶσθαι τοὺς δούλους, ἀλλ' ἐν τῷ χρῆσθαι δούλοις. ἔστι δ' αὕτη ἡ ἐπιστήμη οὐδὲν μέγα ἔχουσα οὐδὲ σεμνόν· ἃ γὰρ τὸν δοῦλον ἐπίστασθαι δεῖ ποιεῖν, ἐκεῖνον δεῖ ταῦτα ἐπίστασθαι ἐπιτάττειν. διὸ ὅσοις ἐξουσία μὴ αὐ- 5
τοὺς κακοπαθεῖν, ἐπίτροπος λαμβάνει ταύτην τὴν τιμήν, αὐτοὶ δὲ πολιτεύονται ἢ φιλοσοφοῦσιν. ἡ δὲ κτητικὴ ἑτέρα ἀμφοτέρων τούτων, οἷον ἡ δικαία, πολεμική τις οὖσα ἢ θηρευτική. Περὶ μὲν οὖν δούλου καὶ δεσπότου τοῦτον διωρίσθω τὸν τρόπον.

Ὅλως δὲ περὶ πάσης κτήσεως καὶ χρηματιστικῆς θεω- 8 1256
ρήσωμεν κατὰ τὸν ὑφηγημένον τρόπον, ἐπείπερ καὶ ὁ δοῦλος τῆς κτήσεως μέρος τι ἦν. Πρῶτον μὲν οὖν ἀπορήσειεν ἂν

τὰ ἐγκύκλια διακονήματα] 'the ordinary services, the common duties of servants.'

3 δοῦλος πρὸ δούλου] Philemon the elder. Suidas under πρό. Meineke, *Com. Græc.* IV. p. 16, takes it as ἀντί. I should construe it as, 'one slave is before another—better than.'

5 τιμήν] 'this office.'

πολιτεύονται ἢ φιλοσοφοῦσιν] 'mix in political life, or cultivate speculative studies,' the two alternatives for the Greek freeman.

κτητική] Comp. below, ch. VIII. § 12.

τούτων] δεσποτικὴ καὶ δουλική.

οἷον ἡ δικαία] 'I mean that art of acquiring slaves which is just and lawful.'

VIII. 1 The slave was singled out from other property as resting on other grounds, and requiring quite a separate discussion. He now turns from the ἔμψυχον to the ἄψυχον ὄργανον, from the living to the lifeless instrument, so to complete the subject of property, κτῆσις, which is by I. IV. 3, πλῆθος ὀργάνων.

ἐπείπερ] the method he had adopted in the treatment of the slave he would naturally continue in the treatment of the rest of property.

Origin of Society. χρῆσθαι μάλιστα. διὸ ἀνοσιώτατον καὶ ἀγριώτατον ἄνευ ἀρετῆς, καὶ πρὸς ἀφροδίσια καὶ ἐδωδὴν χείριστον. ἡ δὲ δικαιοσύνη πολιτικόν· ἡ γὰρ δίκη πολιτικῆς κοινωνίας τάξις ἐστίν· ἡ δὲ δίκη τοῦ δικαίου κρίσις.

1253 B. Slavery. 3 Ἐπεὶ δὲ φανερὸν ἐξ ὧν μορίων ἡ πόλις συνέστηκεν, ἀναγκαῖον περὶ οἰκονομίας εἰπεῖν πρότερον· πᾶσα γὰρ πόλις ἐξ οἰκιῶν σύγκειται. οἰκίας δὲ μέρη, ἐξ ὧν αὖθις οἰκία συνίσταται· οἰκία δὲ τέλειος ἐκ δούλων καὶ ἐλευθέρων. ἐπεὶ δ' ἐν τοῖς ἐλαχίστοις πρῶτον ἕκαστον ζητητέον, πρῶτα δέ καὶ ἐλάχιστα μέρη οἰκίας δεσπότης καὶ δοῦλος καὶ πόσις καὶ ἄλοχος καὶ πατὴρ καὶ τέκνα, περὶ τριῶν ἂν
2 τούτων σκεπτέον εἴη τί ἕκαστον καὶ ποῖον δεῖ εἶναι. ταῦτα δ' ἐστὶ δεσποτικὴ καὶ γαμική (ἀνώνυμον γὰρ ἡ γυναικὸς καὶ ἀνδρὸς σύζευξις) καὶ τρίτον τεκνοποιητική· καὶ γὰρ αὕτη οὐκ ὠνόμασται ἰδίῳ ὀνόματι. ἔστωσαν δ' αὗται τρεῖς ἃς
3 εἴπομεν. ἔστι δέ τι μέρος ὃ δοκεῖ τοῖς μὲν εἶναι οἰκονομία, τοῖς δὲ μέγιστον μέρος αὐτῆς· ὅπως δ' ἔχει, θεωρητέον· λέγω δὲ περὶ τῆς καλουμένης χρηματιστικῆς. Πρῶτον δὲ περὶ δεσπότου καὶ δούλου εἴπωμεν, ἵνα τά τε πρὸς τὴν ἀναγκαίαν χρείαν ἴδωμεν, κἂν εἴ τι πρὸς τὸ εἰδέναι περὶ αὐτῶν δυναίμεθα λαβεῖν βέλτιον τῶν νῦν ὑπολαμβανομένων.

διό] 'So armed man is,' &c.

ἡ δὲ δικαιοσύνη] Man needs the restraints of law and justice, **νόμου καὶ δίκης**, in one word, **δικαιοσύνης**; this is emphatically the creature of society, of the political union; for the administration of justice (**δίκη**) is an arrangement depending on political society, and this administration is but the decision what is just between man and man, and the term just implies justice. Comp. *Eth.* v. x. 4. p. 1134, 26. Cic. *de Nat. Deor.* I. xli. 116 986 b. Ed. Nobbe. 'Est enim pietas justitia adversus Deos cum quibus quid potest nobis esse juris, quum homini nulla cum Deo sit communitas.'

III. 1 **περὶ οἰκονομίας**] This sufficiently indicates the purpose of the book, **πρότερον**, sc. **τῆς πόλεως**.

ἐξ ὧν αὖθις] 'of which in its turn the house consists.'

2 This is simply in defence of his terminology: the term **γαμικός** is wanted in *Eth.* v. x. 9. p. 1134, b 15, where he speaks of **τὸ πρὸς γυναῖκα δίκαιον**, and the same want is felt in *Eth.* VIII. xiii. 4. p. 1161, 22.

3 **μέγιστον μέρος**] 'A very large part.' He says himself **οἰκονομικῆς τέλος πλοῦτος**, *Eth.* I. i. 3. p. 1094, 9.

τὰ πρὸς τὴν ἀναγκαίαν χρείαν] 'The practical solution for the wants of ordinary life.' **πρὸς τὸ εἰδέναι**, 'with a view to the scientific theory of the subject.' **τῶν νῦν ὑπολαμβανομένων**, 'better than the present notions on the subject.'

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τοῖς μὲν γὰρ δοκεῖ ἐπιστήμη τέ τις εἶναι ἡ δεσποτεία, καὶ ἡ αὐτὴ οἰκονομία καὶ δεσποτεία καὶ πολιτικὴ καὶ βασιλική, 4
καθάπερ εἴπομεν ἀρχόμενοι· τοῖς δὲ παρὰ φύσιν τὸ δεσπόζειν· νόμῳ γὰρ τὸν μὲν δοῦλον εἶναι τὸν δ' ἐλεύθερον, φύσει δ' οὐθὲν διαφέρειν· διόπερ οὐδὲ δίκαιον· βίαιον γάρ.

Ἐπεὶ οὖν ἡ κτῆσις μέρος τῆς οἰκίας ἐστὶ καὶ ἡ κτητική 4
μέρος τῆς οἰκονομίας· ἄνευ γὰρ τῶν ἀναγκαίων ἀδύνατον καὶ ζῆν καὶ εὖ ζῆν· ὥσπερ δὲ ἐν ταῖς ὡρισμέναις τέχναις ἀναγκαῖον ἂν εἴη ὑπάρχειν τὰ οἰκεῖα ὄργανα, εἰ μέλλει ἀποτελεσθήσεσθαι τὸ ἔργον, οὕτω καὶ τῶν οἰκονομικῶν. τῶν δ' ὀργάνων τὰ μὲν ἄψυχα τὰ δ' ἔμψυχα, οἷον τῷ 2
κυβερνήτῃ ὁ μὲν οἴαξ ἄψυχον, ὁ δὲ πρωρεὺς ἔμψυχον· ὁ γὰρ ὑπηρέτης ἐν ὀργάνου εἴδει ταῖς τέχναις ἐστίν. οὕτω καὶ τὸ κτῆμα ὄργανον πρὸς ζωήν ἐστι, καὶ ἡ κτῆσις πλῆθος ὀργάνων ἐστί, καὶ ὁ δοῦλος κτῆμά τι ἔμψυχον, καὶ ὥσπερ ὄργανον πρὸ ὀργάνων, πᾶς ὁ ὑπηρέτης. εἰ γὰρ ἠδύνατο 3

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4 *νόμῳ γάρ*] This explains the *παρὰ φύσιν*, and is by an alteration in the stopping connected more closely with it. So also *διόπερ οὐδὲ δίκαιον* is brought into close connexion with *φύσει οὐθὲν διαφέρειν*.

IV. 1 There is something very awkward about this sentence as it stands. The simplest way seems to be to make *καί* mark the apodosis. 'Since then property is an element in the family, the art of acquiring property will enter into the management of the family. That property is such is clear from the fact that without food and clothing, the necessaries of life, it is impossible to live, much less to live well; and as in all the definite arts the proper instruments for the work must necessarily be ready to the hand of the workman, if the work is to be accomplished, so it is in the management of the family.' If with Victorius and the Vet. Tr. we adopt the more symmetrical reading of *τῷ οἰκονομικῷ*, 'so his proper instruments must be ready to the hand of the master of the family.' If the genitive is kept it must be construed with *οἰκεῖα*, a construction of which we have an instance later, III. iii. 3, *οἰκεῖος τῆς ἀπορίας ταύτης*.

2 *ἐν ὀργάνου εἴδει*] 'is in kind but an instrument,' 'does not differ in kind from the instrument used in the arts.' *ταῖς τέχναις*, *ταῖς ὡρισμέναις* of the last section.

οὕτω καί] as the pilot had instruments of two kinds, so it will be with the head of the family. The instrument in this case, whether animate or inanimate, is denoted by the word *κτῆμα*, and the aggregate of such instruments by *κτῆσις*. Compare *Eth.* v. x. 8. p. 1134, b 10.

ὄργανον πρὸ ὀργάνων] 'one instrument in the place of many,' not, as St Hil. says, "le premier de tous," agreeing with Vict. as quoted by Schneider

Slavery. ἕκαστον τῶν ὀργάνων κελευσθὲν ἢ προαισθανόμενον ἀποτε-
λεῖν τὸ αὑτοῦ ἔργον, ὥσπερ τὰ Δαιδάλου φασὶν ἢ τοὺς
τοῦ Ἡφαίστου τρίποδας, οὕς φησιν ὁ ποιητὴς αὐτομάτους
θεῖον δύεσθαι ἀγῶνα, οὕτως αἱ κερκίδες ἐκέρκιζον αὐταὶ καὶ
τὰ πλῆκτρα ἐκιθάριζεν, οὐδὲν ἂν ἔδει οὔτε τοῖς ἀρχιτέκτο-
1254 4 σιν ὑπηρετῶν οὔτε τοῖς δεσπόταις δούλων. τὰ μὲν οὖν
λεγόμενα ὄργανα ποιητικὰ ὄργανά ἐστι, τὸ δὲ κτῆμα
πρακτικόν· ἀπὸ μὲν γὰρ τῆς κερκίδος ἕτερόν τι γίνεται
παρὰ τὴν χρῆσιν αὐτῆς, ἀπὸ δὲ τῆς ἐσθῆτος καὶ τῆς κλίνης
ἡ χρῆσις μόνον. ἔτι δ' ἐπεὶ διαφέρει ἡ ποίησις εἴδει καὶ ἡ
πρᾶξις, δέονται δ' ἀμφότεραι ὀργάνων, ἀνάγκη καὶ ταῦτα
5 τὴν αὐτὴν ἔχειν διαφοράν. ὁ δὲ βίος πρᾶξις, οὐ ποίησίς
ἐστιν· διὸ καὶ ὁ δοῦλος ὑπηρέτης τῶν πρὸς τὴν πρᾶξιν.
τὸ δὲ κτῆμα λέγεται ὥσπερ καὶ τὸ μόριον. τό τε γὰρ
μόριον οὐ μόνον ἄλλου ἐστὶ μόριον, ἀλλὰ καὶ ὅλως ἄλλου·
ὁμοίως δὲ καὶ τὸ κτῆμα. διὸ ὁ μὲν δεσπότης τοῦ δούλου
δεσπότης μόνον, ἐκείνου δ' οὐκ ἔστιν· ὁ δὲ δοῦλος οὐ μόνον
6 δεσπότου δοῦλός ἐστιν, ἀλλὰ καὶ ὅλως ἐκείνου. τίς μὲν
οὖν ἡ φύσις τοῦ δούλου καὶ τίς ἡ δύναμις, ἐκ τούτων δῆλον·

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in the passage. The translation given refers it more definitely to the superior adaptability of the slave.

3 *Il.* xviii. 370.

4 τὰ μὲν οὖν λεγόμενα] 'Instruments, in the sense in which the word is generally applied, are for production, whereas κτῆμα in this comprehensive sense is the unproductive part of a man's property.' As unproductive it is called πρακτικόν. Compare *Eth.* vi. iv. 5. p. 1140. b 1. 5. 4. 1140. b 6.

διαφέρει ἡ ποίησις] *Eth.* vi. iv. 1. p. 1140 a 4.

καὶ ταῦτα] The instruments of the two respectively.

5 διὸ καὶ ὁ δοῦλος] as being κτῆμα ἔμψυχον πρὸς ζωήν.

τὸ δὲ κτῆμα] In the passage referred to above on § 2, *Eth.* v. x. 8, he uses the same language, ὥσπερ μέρος αὐτοῦ τὸ κτῆμα.

διὸ ὁ μὲν δεσπότης] 'Hence whilst the master is only a master in reference to his slave, and in no sense belongs to him, but is in the main considered quite in a different capacity, the slave, on the other hand, is not merely to be viewed from this point of view amongst others, that he is the slave of a master, but he is absolutely and entirely that master's, he has no other side of his existence distinct from his master's.'

6 It is the essential idea of slavery that in it the person becomes a thing, and loses all his rights as a person. He stands related to human society only in and through his master, he has no proper life and no proper happiness.

Slavery.

ὁ γὰρ μὴ αὑτοῦ φύσει ἀλλ' ἄλλου, ἄνθρωπος δέ, οὗτος φύσει δοῦλός ἐστιν. ἄλλου δ' ἐστὶν ἄνθρωπος, ὃς ἂν κτῆμα ᾖ ἄνθρωπος ὤν. κτῆμα δὲ ὄργανον πρακτικὸν καὶ χωριστόν. Πότερον δ' ἐστί τις φύσει τοιοῦτος ἢ οὔ, καὶ πότερον βέλτιον καὶ δίκαιόν τινι δουλεύειν ἢ οὔ, ἀλλὰ πᾶσα δουλεία παρὰ φύσιν ἐστί, μετὰ ταῦτα σκεπτέον. οὐ χαλεπὸν δὲ καὶ τῷ λόγῳ θεωρῆσαι καὶ ἐκ τῶν γινομένων καταμαθεῖν. τὸ γὰρ ἄρχειν καὶ ἄρχεσθαι οὐ μόνον τῶν ἀναγκαίων ἀλλὰ 2
καὶ τῶν συμφερόντων ἐστί, καὶ εὐθὺς ἐκ γενετῆς ἔνια διέστηκε τὰ μὲν ἐπὶ τὸ ἄρχεσθαι τὰ δ' ἐπὶ τὸ ἄρχειν. καὶ εἴδη πολλὰ καὶ ἀρχόντων καὶ ἀρχομένων ἐστίν, καὶ ἀεὶ βελτίων ἡ ἀρχὴ ἡ τῶν βελτιόνων ἀρχομένων, οἷον ἀνθρώπου ἢ θηρίου. τὸ γὰρ ἀποτελούμενον ἀπὸ τῶν βελτιόνων βέλτιον 3
ἔργον· ὅπου δὲ τὸ μὲν ἄρχει τὸ δ' ἄρχεται, ἐστί τι τούτων ἔργον· ὅσα γὰρ ἐκ πλειόνων συνέστηκε καὶ γίνεται ἕν τι κοινόν, εἴτε ἐκ συνεχῶν εἴτ' ἐκ διῃρημένων, ἐν ἅπασιν ἐμφαίνεται τὸ ἄρχον καὶ τὸ ἀρχόμενον. καὶ τοῦτο ἐκ τῆς 4

V. 1 But then comes the question: Is there such a being? As a fact it was not doubtful that there were such; society was based on the existence of such. But is there such a being naturally? Has nature given her sanction to the fact? Is it for the real interest of some, is it just for some, that they should be in this state, or is slavery in principle a violation of nature? These are the points at issue in the next two chapters, and Aristotle's answers are in favour of slavery.

τῷ λόγῳ] 'by theory.' ἐκ τῶν γινομένων, 'from actual experience.'

2 'The distinction of ruler and ruled appears even at birth, some take their stand on one side, some on the other.' Inequality and consequent subordination are facts which you cannot get rid of, and which may be shewn to be for the interest of mankind generally, οὐ μόνον τῶν ἀναγκαίων ἀλλὰ καὶ τῶν συμφερόντων. Nor is this all. 'There are distinctions in the kind of rule depending on the rulers and the ruled, and in proportion as these are better the rule is in itself nobler.'

3 ὅπου δέ] They come into relation. ἐν κοινωνίᾳ ἤδη ὁ ἄρχων. *Eth.* v. iii. 16. p. 1130, 2. They form a system with parts working together for a common end. That end is their work, and the work will be better done in proportion as the parts are better.

ὅσα γάρ] 'for wherever you have a combination of several parts and some one common result, whether those parts be continuous, as in the natural body, or distinct, as in the body politic, there you have evidently the distinction between ruler and ruled.' In *Eth.* II. v. 4. p. 1106, 26, we have the terms συνεχεῖ καὶ διαιρετῷ.

4 ἐκ τῆς ἁπάσης φύσεως] "Bei der gesammten Natur vorzugsweise." Stahr. Correctly as to the sense. 'This subordination is found in all nature, but is

Slavery ἁπάσης φύσεως ἐνυπάρχει τοῖς ἐμψύχοις· καὶ γὰρ ἐν τοῖς μὴ μετέχουσι ζωῆς ἐστί τις ἀρχή, οἷον ἁρμονίας· ἀλλὰ ταῦτα μὲν ἴσως ἐξωτερικωτέρας ἐστὶ σκέψεως. Τὸ δὲ ζῷον πρῶτον συνέστηκεν ἐκ ψυχῆς καὶ σώματος, ὧν τὸ μὲν ἄρχον ἐστὶ φύσει τὸ δ' ἀρχόμενον· δεῖ δὲ σκοπεῖν ἐν τοῖς κατὰ φύσιν ἔχουσι μᾶλλον τὸ φύσει, καὶ μὴ ἐν τοῖς διεφθαρμένοις· διὸ καὶ τὸν βέλτιστα διακείμενον καὶ κατὰ σῶμα καὶ κατὰ ψυχὴν ἄνθρωπον θεωρητέον, ἐν ᾧ τοῦτο
1254 b δῆλον· τῶν γὰρ μοχθηρῶν ἢ μοχθηρῶς ἐχόντων δόξειεν ἂν ἄρχειν πολλάκις τὸ σῶμα τῆς ψυχῆς διὰ τὸ φαύλως καὶ
6 παρὰ φύσιν ἔχειν. ἔστι δ' οὖν, ὥσπερ λέγομεν, πρῶτον ἐν ζῴῳ θεωρῆσαι καὶ δεσποτικὴν ἀρχὴν καὶ πολιτικήν· ἡ μὲν γὰρ ψυχὴ τοῦ σώματος ἄρχει δεσποτικὴν ἀρχήν, ὁ δὲ νοῦς τῆς ὀρέξεως πολιτικὴν καὶ βασιλικήν· ἐν οἷς φανερόν ἐστιν ὅτι κατὰ φύσιν καὶ συμφέρον τὸ ἄρχεσθαι τῷ σώματι ὑπὸ τῆς ψυχῆς καὶ τῷ παθητικῷ μορίῳ ὑπὸ τοῦ νοῦ καὶ τοῦ

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found more particularly, is more truly inherent in the things that have life.' **καὶ γάρ.** 'I say in all nature, for even in those things which have no life there is a certain rule exercised, such as the power of harmony.' Compare Wordsworth's *Ode on the power of Sound*, XII.

ἐξωτερικωτέρας] This word has been frequently discussed. The result of the discussion seems to be that it often means nothing more than 'another,' 'an inquiry foreign to the present inquiry.' In this actual passage this meaning is sufficient. The whole subject is treated by Ravaisson, *Métaphysique d'Aristote* Part III. Livre I. ch. i. Vol. I. pp. 244 and foll.

Stahr ends the period at σκέψεως, and it is I think plainer so.

πρῶτον] 'To begin with.'

δεῖ δὲ σκοπεῖν] It might be urged that practically this is not always the case. But, says Aristotle, you must not take a bad instance, but a good. To judge any thing truly, you must take it at its best, look at it such as it is by nature, using nature of course as above, I. 2. 8.

ἐν ᾧ τοῦτο δῆλον] 'and in him this is clear,' **τοῦτο**, that the soul rules, the body obeys.

6 **ἐν ζῴῳ**] 'in any animal.'

ἡ μὲν γὰρ ψυχή] Compare *Eth.* V. 15, 9. p. 1138, b 5.

δεσποτικήν] that is, for the good of the soul.

τῆς ὀρέξεως] Cicero, *de Rep.* III. XXV. 21. p. 1161. b. Ed. Nobbe, takes a different view: 'Nam ut animus corpori dicitur imperare, dicitur etiam libidini; sed corpori, ut Rex civibus suis, aut parens liberis; libidini autem ut servis dominus, quod eam coercet et frangit.' **ὄρεξις**, in Aristotle, is larger, equivalent to the **ἐπιθυμητικόν** of the *Ethics*, I. xiii.

ἐν οἷς] 'and in these cases it is quite clear.'

μορίου τοῦ λόγον ἔχοντος, τὸ δ' ἐξ ἴσου ἢ ἀνάπαλιν βλα- Slavery
βερὸν πᾶσιν. πάλιν ἐν ἀνθρώπῳ καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις ζῴοις 7
ὡσαύτως· τὰ μὲν γὰρ ἥμερα τῶν ἀγρίων βελτίω τὴν φύσιν,
τούτοις δὲ πᾶσι βέλτιον ἄρχεσθαι ὑπ' ἀνθρώπου· τυγχάνει
γὰρ σωτηρίας οὕτως. ἔτι δὲ τὸ ἄρρεν πρὸς τὸ θῆλυ φύσει
τὸ μὲν κρεῖττον τὸ δὲ χεῖρον, τὸ μὲν ἄρχον τὸ δ' ἀρχόμε-
νον. τὸν αὐτὸν δὲ τρόπον ἀναγκαῖον εἶναι καὶ ἐπὶ πάντων
ἀνθρώπων. Ὅσοι μὲν οὖν τοσοῦτον διεστᾶσιν ὅσον ψυχὴ 8
σώματος καὶ ἄνθρωπος θηρίου (διάκεινται δὲ τοῦτον τὸν
τρόπον, ὅσων ἐστὶν ἔργον ἡ τοῦ σώματος χρῆσις, καὶ τοῦτ'
ἔστ' ἀπ' αὐτῶν βέλτιστον), οὗτοι μέν εἰσι φύσει δοῦλοι,
οἷς βέλτιόν ἐστιν ἄρχεσθαι ταύτην τὴν ἀρχήν, εἴπερ καὶ
τοῖς εἰρημένοις. ἔστι γὰρ φύσει δοῦλος ὁ δυνάμενος ἄλλου 9
εἶναι (διὸ καὶ ἄλλου ἐστίν) καὶ ὁ κοινωνῶν λόγου τοσοῦτον
ὅσον αἰσθάνεσθαι ἀλλὰ μὴ ἔχειν· τὰ γὰρ ἄλλα ζῷα οὐ
λόγου αἰσθανόμενα, ἀλλὰ παθήμασιν ὑπηρετεῖ. καὶ ἡ χρεία

ἐξ ἴσου] 'To put the two on a level in point of government, or to reverse the order, is in all cases injurious.'

7 *πάλιν, κ.τ.λ.*] 'Again, the case is exactly the same as between man and the other animals,' and does not hold merely in man's individual nature.

τὰ μὲν γὰρ ἥμερα, κ.τ.λ.] Compare Bacon on Atheism, Vol. I. p. 53. Ed. Montagu.

τυγχάνει γὰρ σωτηρίας] So above, II. 2. *διὰ τὴν σωτηρίαν*, safety was the object of the union.

τὸν αὐτόν, κ.τ.λ.] From the individual man he passed to man in relation to the animals, then to man in relation to woman, now he has reached the last stage, the relations of men to each other.

8 *ταύτην τὴν ἀρχήν*] *τὴν δεσποτικήν*, that of a master over slaves, the point he wants to come to.

τοῖς εἰρημένοις] *τῷ σώματι, τῷ παθητικῷ μορίῳ, τῷ θηρίῳ, τῷ θήλει.*

9 *διὸ καὶ ἄλλου ἐστίν*] This must not be pressed too far, but taken as an assertion of the general rule, that the slave was so by virtue of a natural inferiority. It does not exclude, as is clear from the next chapter, the possibility of an unjust slavery, of an inversion of the natural order. It does not exclude what Cicero speaks of, "genus injustæ servitutis, quum hi sunt alterius, qui sui possunt esse." *De Rep.* III. XXV. 22. 1161, 6.

τοσοῦτον] 'only so far.' Compare I. II. 2. *τὸ δυνάμενον τῷ σώματι ταῦτα ποιεῖν.*

τὰ γὰρ ἄλλα] The construction is irregular, but the sense is clear. This definition still leaves the slave, as man, a higher position than the animals; the *τοσοῦτον* is exclusive both ways; the slave shares in reason, but only to a certain point.

καὶ ἡ χρεία] 'The use to which the two are put,' the slave and the animal, 'varies but little.'

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δὲ παραλλάττει μικρόν· ἡ γὰρ πρὸς τἀναγκαῖα τῷ σώματι βοήθεια γίνεται παρ' ἀμφοῖν, παρά τε τῶν δούλων καὶ παρὰ
10 τῶν ἡμέρων ζῴων. βούλεται μὲν οὖν ἡ φύσις καὶ τὰ σώματα διαφέροντα ποιεῖν τὰ τῶν ἐλευθέρων καὶ τῶν δούλων, τὰ μὲν ἰσχυρὰ πρὸς τὴν ἀναγκαίαν χρῆσιν, τὰ δ' ὀρθὰ καὶ ἄχρηστα πρὸς τὰς τοιαύτας ἐργασίας, ἀλλὰ χρήσιμα πρὸς πολιτικὸν βίον (οὗτος δὲ καὶ γίνεται διῃρημένος εἴς τε τὴν πολεμικὴν χρείαν καὶ τὴν εἰρηνικήν), συμβαίνει δὲ πολλάκις καὶ τοὐναντίον, τοὺς μὲν τὰ σώματ' ἔχειν ἐλευθέρων τοὺς δὲ τὰς ψυχάς· ἐπεὶ τοῦτό γε φανερόν, ὡς εἰ τοσοῦτον γένοιντο διάφοροι τὸ σῶμα μόνον ὅσον αἱ τῶν θεῶν εἰκόνες, τοὺς ὑπολειπομένους πάντες φαῖεν ἂν ἀξίους εἶναι τούτοις
11 δουλεύειν. εἰ δ' ἐπὶ τοῦ σώματος τοῦτ' ἀληθές, πολὺ δικαιότερον ἐπὶ τῆς ψυχῆς τοῦτο διωρίσθαι· ἀλλ' οὐχ ὁμοίως ῥᾴδιον ἰδεῖν τό τε τῆς ψυχῆς κάλλος καὶ τὸ τοῦ σώματος.
1255 Ὅτι μὲν τοίνυν εἰσὶ φύσει τινὲς οἱ μὲν ἐλεύθεροι οἱ δὲ δοῦλοι, φανερόν, οἷς καὶ συμφέρει τὸ δουλεύειν καὶ δίκαιόν
6 ἐστιν. Ὅτι δὲ καὶ οἱ τἀναντία φάσκοντες τρόπον τινὰ

ἡ τῷ σώματι βοήθεια] 'The assistance given with the body,' the dative of the instrument, "mit ihrem Körper." Stahr.

10 But an objector might urge: The animals differ from man in outward form, the slave and the freeman his master do not so differ. It is the tendency of nature, answers Aristotle, to do this, to mark a difference, but a tendency often defeated; as a practical fact we often see the very reverse the case, *συμβαίνει δὲ πολλάκις καὶ τοὐναντίον*.

ἐργασίας] 'Such offices, or services.'

οὗτος δὲ καί, κ.τ.λ.] One of the many places where a remark is introduced with so little need for it, so little à propos, that one suspects another hand.

τοὺς ὑπολειπομένους] 'those who fall short.' Compare Herod. v. 47 for the effect in a Greek city of a striking superiority in beauty. Compare also Grote, VIII. pp. 217, 218, on the Athenian treatment of Dorieus.

11 *πολὺ δικαιότερον*] 'with far more justice would the distinction hold good in the case of the soul.'

ὅτι μὲν οὖν] After weighing the objections he comes then decidedly to a conclusion in favour of slavery. 'There are some by nature free, others by nature slaves, and for those their state as slaves is both advantageous and just,' *καὶ συμφέρει καὶ δίκαιον*. The mental differences are sufficient, where nature has failed to mark the bodily.

VI. 1 *οἱ τἀναντία φάσκοντες*] 'those who put forward the exactly opposite view, they too in a certain sense are right.' There is an ambiguity in the language.

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λέγουσιν ὀρθῶς, οὐ χαλεπὸν ἰδεῖν. διχῶς γὰρ λέγεται τὸ δουλεύειν καὶ ὁ δοῦλος. ἔστι γάρ τις καὶ κατὰ νόμον δοῦλος καὶ δουλεύων· ὁ γὰρ νόμος ὁμολογία τίς ἐστιν, ἐν ᾧ τὰ κατὰ πόλεμον κρατούμενα τῶν κρατούντων εἶναί φασιν. τοῦτο δὴ τὸ δίκαιον πολλοὶ τῶν ἐν τοῖς νόμοις ὥσπερ 2
ῥήτορα γράφονται παρανόμων, ὡς δεινὸν εἰ τοῦ βιάσασθαι δυναμένου καὶ κατὰ δύναμιν κρείττονος ἔσται δοῦλον καὶ ἀρχόμενον τὸ βιασθέν. Καὶ τοῖς μὲν οὕτω δοκεῖ τοῖς δ' ἐκείνως, καὶ τῶν σοφῶν. αἴτιον δὲ ταύτης τῆς ἀμφισβη- 3

καὶ κατὰ νόμον] 'by law also' as well as φύσει.

ὁ γὰρ νόμος] 'The law I mean is a species of recognised agreement.' Compare Hermann (C. F.) § 9. 4, and the references there given, especially Xen. *Cyr.* VII. 5, 73, νόμος γὰρ ἐν πᾶσιν ἀνθρώποις ἀΐδιός ἐστιν, ὅταν πολεμούντων πόλις ἁλῷ, τῶν ἑλόντων εἶναι καὶ τὰ σώματα τῶν ἐν τῇ πόλει καὶ τὰ χρήματα.

2 **τοῦτο δὴ τὸ δίκαιον**] 'It is this justice then that many writers on institutions indict as unconstitutional.'

κατὰ δύναμιν κρείττονος] 'superior in mere strength.'

οὕτω] the last opinion that it is monstrous.

ἐκείνως] the opposite one that this state is the right one, and the wise are not agreed on this point.

3 Before entering on the two next sections I would remark, that the course of the reasoning would be uninterrupted if we at once went on with § 5, Ὅλως δ' ἀντεχόμενοί τινες κ.τ.λ. The intervening part is a subsidiary explanation. 'The origin of this dispute, that which makes it capable of being a dispute, is that in a certain sense it is true that virtue, with adequate means at its disposal, is even more than any other power able to *force* its way; it is true further that he who is *master* is so always by virtue of a real superiority in some point, so that his power of compulsion seems not to be separable from virtue, and the only discussion that can take place is on this point: Is it, or is it not, right that such power, partly simple power, partly moral superiority, should be accepted? Looking at the consequences that follow, if you adopt this principle, some have been led to seek the only sanction for rule in the mutual consent of the parties, the ruler and subject. Unable to concede this, as in fact impracticable, others have acquiesced in the simple test of superior might, without any considerations of the moral element, as an adequate definition of justice. And these are the only two admissible opinions, since if you distinguish them one from the other, and when distinguished put them both on one side, the third opinion, which with reference to the other two is called ἄτεροι λόγοι, is seen to be devoid of force or plausibility, the opinion, namely, that the better ought not by virtue of his excellence to rule over the inferior, whether that rule be such as you may call government in a political sense, or the absolute government of a master over slaves, ἄρχειν καὶ δεσπόζειν.' Such is the best rendering I can give of this difficult passage. To follow it in detail.

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τήσεως, καὶ ὃ ποιεῖ τοὺς λόγους ἐπαλλάττειν, ὅτι τρόπον τινὰ ἀρετὴ τυγχάνουσα χορηγίας καὶ βιάζεσθαι δύναται μάλιστα, καὶ ἔστιν ἀεὶ τὸ κρατοῦν ἐν ὑπεροχῇ ἀγαθοῦ τινός, ὥστε δοκεῖν μὴ ἄνευ ἀρετῆς εἶναι τὴν βίαν, ἀλλὰ περὶ
4 τοῦ δικαίου μόνον εἶναι τὴν ἀμφισβήτησιν. διὰ γὰρ τοῦτο τοῖς μὲν εὔνοια δοκεῖ τὸ δίκαιον εἶναι, τοῖς δ' αὐτὸ τοῦτο δίκαιον, τὸ τὸν κρείττονα ἄρχειν, ἐπεὶ διαστάντων γε χωρὶς τούτων τῶν λόγων οὔτ' ἰσχυρὸν οὐθὲν ἔχουσιν οὔτε πιθανὸν ἅτεροι λόγοι, ὡς οὐ δεῖ τὸ βέλτιον κατ' ἀρετὴν ἄρχειν καὶ
5 δεσπόζειν. Ὅλως δ' ἀντεχόμενοί τινες, ὡς οἴονται, δικαίου τινός (ὁ γὰρ νόμος δίκαιόν τι) τὴν κατὰ πόλεμον δουλείαν τιθέασι δικαίαν, ἅμα δ' οὔ φασιν. τήν τε γὰρ ἀρχὴν ἐνδέχεται μὴ δικαίαν εἶναι τῶν πολέμων, καὶ τὸν ἀνάξιον δουλεύειν οὐδαμῶς ἂν φαίη τις δοῦλον εἶναι· εἰ δὲ μή, συμβήσεται τοὺς εὐγενεστάτους εἶναι δοκοῦντας δούλους εἶναι
6 καὶ ἐκ δούλων, ἐὰν συμβῇ πραθῆναι ληφθέντας. διόπερ αὐτοὺς οὐ βούλονται λέγειν δούλους, ἀλλὰ τοὺς βαρβάρους. καίτοι ὅταν τοῦτο λέγωσιν, οὐθὲν ἄλλο ζητοῦσιν ἢ τὸ φύσει δοῦλον, ὅπερ ἐξ ἀρχῆς εἴπομεν· ἀνάγκη γὰρ εἶναί

ἐπαλλάττειν] is 'to interchange, to alternate.' "Ut in utramque partem disputari et dici possit." Schneider. Stahr agrees: "was für beide Ansichten Gründe aufzustellen verstattet." The arguments run into one another, and the confusion that arises enables both sides plausibly to maintain their respective positions.

περὶ τοῦ δικαίου] 'about the right,' whether it is right or no.

4 διὰ τοῦτο] 'because of this dispute.'

ἐπεὶ διαστάντων] Stahr differs as to this passage, and construes it: "Since now of these opposed views, the grounds alleged in support of the one, viz. that the superior in excellence ought and therefore to rule and govern, cannot hold, and have no power to convince in them, therefore &c.," taking away the stop at δεσπόζειν and making ὅλως δέ the apodosis. I refer διαστάντων to the distinction between the two views, χωρὶς to the distinction between the two together and the third.

κατ' ἀρετὴν] 'By virtue of its excellence.'

ἄρχειν καὶ δεσπόζειν] opposed to κρατοῦν and βιάζεσθαι, and this opposition must be kept in sight carefully.

5 ἅμα δ' οὔ φασιν] 'But at the same time they virtually deny it.'

εἰ δὲ μή] 'if otherwise.'

6 αὐτοὺς βούλονται] 'The Greeks do not intend to speak of themselves as slaves, they never think of themselves in that light, but only the barbarians.'

ἀνάγκη γὰρ φάναι] 'For they must allow that there are some who are slaves wherever they are, others just the contrary.'

τινας φάναι τοὺς μὲν πανταχοῦ δούλους τοὺς δ' οὐδαμοῦ. Slavery.
τὸν αὐτὸν δὲ τρόπον καὶ περὶ εὐγενείας· αὐτοὺς μὲν γὰρ 7
οὐ μόνον παρ' αὑτοῖς εὐγενεῖς ἀλλὰ πανταχοῦ νομίζουσιν, τοὺς δὲ βαρβάρους οἴκοι μόνον, ὡς ὄν τι τὸ μὲν ἁπλῶς εὐγενὲς καὶ ἐλεύθερον τὸ δ' οὐχ ἁπλῶς, ὥσπερ ἡ Θεοδέκτου Ἑλένη φησὶ

θείων δ' ἀπ' ἀμφοῖν ἔκγονον ῥιζωμάτων
τίς ἂν προσειπεῖν ἀξιώσειεν λάτριν;

ὅταν δὲ τοῦτο λέγωσιν, οὐθενὶ ἀλλ' ἢ ἀρετῇ καὶ κακίᾳ διο- 8
ρίζουσι τὸ δοῦλον καὶ ἐλεύθερον καὶ τοὺς εὐγενεῖς καὶ τοὺς
δυσγενεῖς. ἀξιοῦσι γάρ, ὥσπερ ἐξ ἀνθρώπου ἄνθρωπον καὶ 1255 B
ἐκ θηρίων γίνεσθαι θηρίον, οὕτω καὶ ἐξ ἀγαθῶν ἀγαθόν· ἡ δὲ φύσις βούλεται μὲν τοῦτο ποιεῖν πολλάκις, οὐ μέντοι δύ-
ναται. Ὅτι μὲν οὖν ἔχει τινὰ λόγον ἡ ἀμφισβήτησις, καὶ 9
οὐκ εἰσὶν οἱ μὲν φύσει δοῦλοι οἱ δ' ἐλεύθεροι, δῆλον· καὶ ὅτι ἔν τισι διώρισται τὸ τοιοῦτον, ὧν συμφέρει τῷ μὲν τὸ δουλεύειν τῷ δὲ τὸ δεσπόζειν, καὶ δίκαιον, καὶ δεῖ τὸ μὲν ἄρχεσθαι τὸ δ' ἄρχειν, ἣν πεφύκασιν ἀρχὴν ἄρχειν, ὥστε καὶ
δεσπόζειν. τὸ δὲ κακῶς ἀσυμφόρως ἐστὶν ἀμφοῖν· τὸ γὰρ 10

πανταχοῦ] = φύσει. Comp. *Eth.* v. 10. (7) I. p. 1134. b 19, φυσικὸν μὲν τὸ πανταχοῦ τὴν αὐτὴν ἔχον δύναμιν; and again, a little below in the same chapter, τὸ μὲν φύσει ἀκίνητον καὶ πανταχοῦ τὴν αὐτὴν ἔχει δύναμιν, ὥσπερ τὸ πῦρ καὶ ἔνθαδε καὶ ἐν Πέρσαις καίει.

7 Θεοδέκτου] Theodectes of Phaselis, a pupil and friend of Aristotle, a rhetorician and dramatic writer.

8 ὅταν δὲ τοῦτο λέγωσιν] 'The use of language of this sort does in fact make the distinctions between slave and free, well born and low born, depend on moral differences,' and assumes that those moral differences are hereditary and ineffaceable. There may be a tendency to the perpetuation of such distinctions in man, says Aristotle, but it is by no means always a tendency that becomes a law. "Fortes creantur fortibus et bonis," is anything but universally true.

9 The result then is, that the objection to the conclusion of ch. 5 is allowed not to be without ground, and that it is true that some are not by nature slaves, others by nature free, if you interpret aright *the some* and *the others*, οἱ μέν, οἱ δέ.

ἔν τισι] 'in certain cases the distinction is drawn.'

ἣν πεφύκασιν ἀρχὴν] 'with the power for which they are naturally qualified, consequently with that of a master over slaves, if they are qualified for it.' As the rest of the sentence stands, πέφυκεν would have been more regular, or the omission of the last ἄρχειν would be desirable; but in any case the sense is clear.

10 τὸ δὲ κακῶς] 'That the power should be badly exercised is against the interests of both equally, ἀμφοῖν.'

Slavery.

αὐτὸ συμφέρει τῷ μέρει καὶ τῷ ὅλῳ καὶ σώματι καὶ ψυχῇ, ὁ δὲ δοῦλος μέρος τι τοῦ δεσπότου, οἷον ἔμψυχόν τι τοῦ σώματος κεχωρισμένον δὲ μέρος. διὸ καὶ συμφέρον ἐστί τι καὶ φιλία δούλῳ καὶ δεσπότῃ πρὸς ἀλλήλους τοῖς φύσει τούτων ἠξιωμένοις· τοῖς δὲ μὴ τοῦτον τὸν τρόπον, ἀλλὰ κατὰ νόμον καὶ βιασθεῖσι, τοὐναντίον.

7 Φανερὸν δὲ καὶ ἐκ τούτων ὅτι οὐ ταὐτόν ἐστι δεσποτεία καὶ πολιτική, οὐδὲ πᾶσαι ἀλλήλαις αἱ ἀρχαί, ὥσπερ τινές φασιν. ἡ μὲν γὰρ ἐλευθέρων φύσει ἡ δὲ δούλων ἐστίν, καὶ ἡ μὲν οἰκονομικὴ μοναρχία (μοναρχεῖται γὰρ πᾶς οἶκος),
2 ἡ δὲ πολιτικὴ ἐλευθέρων καὶ ἴσων ἀρχή. Ὁ μὲν οὖν δεσπότης οὐ λέγεται κατ' ἐπιστήμην, ἀλλὰ τῷ τοιόσδ' εἶναι· ὁμοίως δὲ καὶ ὁ δοῦλος καὶ ὁ ἐλεύθερος. ἐπιστήμη δ' ἂν εἴη

διὸ καί] 'As there is this relation between the slave and master, there is also some common interest between the two, and good feeling towards one another in all cases where nature dictates this relation, *τούτων φύσει ἠξιωμένοις*; when this is not the case, but they stand related as master and slave only by law and force, then there is no common interest, no opening for affection.' Compare *Eth.* VIII. xiii. 6, 7. p. 1161, 30 sqq. on the existence of friendship between master and slave, where the relation in itself scarcely receives so favourable a judgment.

VII. He has stated what a slave is in his view, and that slavery is an institution natural and desirable, without denying that there are cases when it is not so. He returns in this chapter to a point which was touched on in ch. 1, and again in ch. 3, § 4: Is the government of slaves a science, is it further identical with the government of a household and a state, are all governments in short identical? The answer to this last is, he thinks, evident, from what has been said. The government differs with the difference of the governed, ch. 5, § 2, *εἴδη πολλά*. So the government of the free will differ from that of the slave. And all governments are not identical, for whilst a family is a monarchy, political government is the rule over free and equal men. The former leaves no freedom to its subjects, but the will of the head is supreme law, the latter allows for the idea of freedom.

2 *κατ' ἐπιστήμην*] 'because of any knowledge that he has, but simply because he is such, a master;' it is the statement of a fact, an actual relation, not involving any qualifications.

ἐπιστήμη δ' ἂν εἴη] 'Still you may speak of a science with reference to masters and slaves.' The knowledge which slaves require to make them good servants may be called *ἐπιστήμη δουλική*. The knowledge which a master requires for the right use of slaves would be *ἐπιστήμη δεσποτική*. But when possible this is transferred to subordinates. Distinct from both these branches of knowledge stands a third, the acquisition of slaves.

καὶ δεσποτικὴ καὶ δουλική, δουλικὴ μὲν οἵαν περ ὁ ἐν Συρα- Slavery.
κούσαις ἐπαίδευεν· ἐκεῖ γὰρ λαμβάνων τις μισθὸν ἐδίδασκε
τὰ ἐγκύκλια διακονήματα τοὺς παῖδας. εἴη δ' ἂν καὶ ἐπὶ 3
πλεῖον τῶν τοιούτων μάθησις, οἷον ὀψοποιικὴ καὶ τἆλλα
τὰ τοιαῦτα γένη τῆς διακονίας. ἔστι γὰρ ἕτερα ἑτέρων τὰ
μὲν ἐντιμότερα ἔργα τὰ δ' ἀναγκαιότερα, καὶ κατὰ τὴν
παροιμίαν

δοῦλος πρὸ δούλου, δεσπότης πρὸ δεσπότου.

αἱ μὲν οὖν τοιαῦται πᾶσαι δουλικαὶ ἐπιστῆμαί εἰσι, δεσπο- 4
τικὴ δ' ἐπιστήμη ἐστὶν ἡ χρηστικὴ δούλων· ὁ γὰρ δεσπότης
οὐκ ἐν τῷ κτᾶσθαι τοὺς δούλους, ἀλλ' ἐν τῷ χρῆσθαι δού-
λοις. ἔστι δ' αὕτη ἡ ἐπιστήμη οὐδὲν μέγα ἔχουσα οὐδὲ
σεμνόν· ἃ γὰρ τὸν δοῦλον ἐπίστασθαι δεῖ ποιεῖν, ἐκεῖνον δεῖ
ταῦτα ἐπίστασθαι ἐπιτάττειν. διὸ ὅσοις ἐξουσία μὴ αὐ- 5
τοὺς κακοπαθεῖν, ἐπίτροπος λαμβάνει ταύτην τὴν τιμήν,
αὐτοὶ δὲ πολιτεύονται ἢ φιλοσοφοῦσιν. ἡ δὲ κτητικὴ ἑτέρα
ἀμφοτέρων τούτων, οἷον ἡ δικαία, πολεμική τις οὖσα ἢ
θηρευτική. Περὶ μὲν οὖν δούλου καὶ δεσπότου τοῦτον διω-
ρίσθω τὸν τρόπον.

Ὅλως δὲ περὶ πάσης κτήσεως καὶ χρηματιστικῆς θεω- 8 1256
ρήσωμεν κατὰ τὸν ὑφηγημένον τρόπον, ἐπείπερ καὶ ὁ δοῦλος
τῆς κτήσεως μέρος τι ἦν. Πρῶτον μὲν οὖν ἀπορήσειεν ἂν

τὰ ἐγκύκλια διακονήματα] 'the ordinary services, the common duties of servants.'

3 δοῦλος πρὸ δούλου] Philemon the elder. Suidas under πρό. Meineke, *Com. Græc.* IV. p. 16, takes it as ἀντί. I should construe it as, 'one slave is before another—better than.'

5 τιμήν] 'this office.'

πολιτεύονται ἢ φιλοσοφοῦσιν] 'mix in political life, or cultivate speculative studies,' the two alternatives for the Greek freeman.

κτητική] Comp. below, ch. VIII. § 12.

τούτων] δεσποτικὴ καὶ δουλική.

οἷον ἡ δικαία] 'I mean that art of acquiring slaves which is just and lawful.'

VIII. 1 The slave was singled out from other property as resting on other grounds, and requiring quite a separate discussion. He now turns from the ἔμψυχον to the ἄψυχον ὄργανον, from the living to the lifeless instrument, so to complete the subject of property, κτῆσις, which is by I. IV. 3, πλῆθος ὀργάνων.

ἐπείπερ] the method he had adopted in the treatment of the slave he would naturally continue in the treatment of the rest of property.

Property. τις πότερον ἡ χρηματιστικὴ ἡ αὐτὴ τῇ οἰκονομικῇ ἐστὶν ἢ μέρος τι ἢ ὑπηρετική, καὶ εἰ ὑπηρετική, πότερον, ὡς ἡ κερκιδοποιικὴ τῇ ὑφαντικῇ ἢ ὡς ἡ χαλκουργικὴ τῇ ἀνδριαντοποιίᾳ· οὐ γὰρ ὡσαύτως ὑπηρετοῦσιν, ἀλλ' ἡ μὲν ὄργανα
2 παρέχει, ἡ δὲ τὴν ὕλην. λέγω δὲ ὕλην τὸ ὑποκείμενον, ἐξ οὗ τι ἀποτελεῖται ἔργον, οἷον ὑφάντῃ μὲν ἔρια, ἀνδριαντοποιῷ δὲ χαλκόν. Ὅτι μὲν οὖν οὐχ ἡ αὐτὴ ἡ οἰκονομικὴ τῇ χρηματιστικῇ, δῆλον. τῆς μὲν γὰρ τὸ πορίσασθαι, τῆς δὲ τὸ χρήσασθαι· τίς γὰρ ἔσται ἡ χρησομένη τοῖς κατὰ τὴν οἰκίαν παρὰ τὴν οἰκονομικήν; πότερον δὲ μέρος αὐτῆς
3 ἐστί τι ἢ ἕτερον εἶδος, ἔχει διαμφισβήτησιν. εἰ γάρ ἐστι τοῦ χρηματιστικοῦ θεωρῆσαι πόθεν χρήματα καὶ κτῆσις ἔσται, ἡ δὲ κτῆσις πολλὰ περιείληφε μέρη καὶ ὁ πλοῦτος· ὥστε πρῶτον ἡ γεωργικὴ πότερον μέρος τι τῆς χρηματιστικῆς ἢ ἕτερόν τι γένος, καὶ καθόλου ἡ περὶ τὴν τροφὴν
4 ἐπιμέλεια καὶ κτῆσις; ἀλλὰ μὴν εἴδη γε πολλὰ τροφῆς, διὸ καὶ βίοι πολλοὶ καὶ τῶν ζῴων καὶ τῶν ἀνθρώπων εἰσίν· οὐ γὰρ οἷόν τε ζῆν ἄνευ τροφῆς, ὥστε αἱ διαφοραὶ τῆς

πότερον ἡ χρηματιστική] There are three questions: is the art of acquiring property identical with the art of managing a family? or, 2ndly, is it a part of it? or, 3rdly, is it instrumental to it? Adopt this last, and there still remains the distinction as to the mode in which it is instrumental. The first is answered in the negative.

κερκιδοποιική] 'the art of making shuttles.'

2 *παρὰ τὴν οἰκονομικήν*] 'besides,' or 'if it be not.'

ἕτερον εἶδος] 'distinct in kind,' "une science à part." St Hil.

ἔχει διαμφισβήτησιν] 'involves a thorough discussion,' to get at the different senses.

3 *εἰ γάρ ἐστι*] Grant that it is the province of him who has to provide wealth to consider from what sources he is to acquire money and property, (*τῆς μὲν γὰρ τὸ πορίσασθαι*) yet this does not clear up the point; property and wealth are terms of wide extent. Many branches may come under them with which we are not concerned, and each branch may require consideration. So that some *χρηματιστική* may be within the province of the *οἰκόνομος*, whilst the larger part of it is not. And the first and most natural branch is that of agriculture, as concerned with the food of man. In fact it would be as well to generalise at once, and consider all such occupations as concern the food of men, *καὶ καθόλου ἡ περὶ τὴν τροφήν*.

4 *ἀλλὰ μήν*] 'Not however that this question of food is simple; the food of men differs widely as does that of animals, and according to the difference of food is the difference of life.'

Property.

τροφῆς τοὺς βίους πεποιήκασι διαφέροντας τῶν ζῴων. τῶν
τε γὰρ θηρίων τὰ μὲν ἀγελαῖα τὰ δὲ σποραδικά ἐστιν, 5
ὁποτέρως συμφέρει πρὸς τὴν τροφὴν αὐτοῖς, διὰ τὸ τὰ
μὲν ζῳοφάγα τὰ δὲ καρποφάγα τὰ δὲ παμφάγα αὐτῶν
εἶναι· ὥστε πρὸς τὰς ῥαστώνας καὶ τὴν αἵρεσιν τὴν τούτων
ἡ φύσις τοὺς βίους αὐτῶν διώρισεν. ἐπεὶ δ᾽ οὐ ταὐτὸ
ἑκάστῳ ἡδὺ κατὰ φύσιν ἀλλ᾽ ἕτερα ἑτέροις, καὶ αὐτῶν τῶν
ζῳοφάγων καὶ τῶν καρποφάγων οἱ βίοι πρὸς ἄλληλα
διεστᾶσιν. ὁμοίως δὲ καὶ τῶν ἀνθρώπων· πολὺ γὰρ διαφέ- 6
ρουσιν οἱ τούτων βίοι. οἱ μὲν οὖν ἀργότατοι νομάδες εἰσίν·
ἡ γὰρ ἀπὸ τῶν ἡμέρων τροφὴ ζῴων ἄνευ πόνου γίνεται
σχολάζουσιν· ἀναγκαίου δ᾽ ὄντος μεταβάλλειν τοῖς κτήνεσι
διὰ τὰς νομὰς καὶ αὐτοὶ ἀναγκάζονται συνακολουθεῖν, ὥσπερ
γεωργίαν ζῶσαν γεωργοῦντες. οἱ δ᾽ ἀπὸ θήρας ζῶσι, καὶ 7
θήρας ἕτεροι ἑτέρας, οἷον οἱ μὲν ἀπὸ λῃστείας, οἱ δ᾽ ἀφ᾽
ἁλιείας, ὅσοι λίμνας καὶ ἕλη καὶ ποταμοὺς ἢ θάλατταν
τοιαύτην προσοικοῦσιν, οἱ δ᾽ ἀπ᾽ ὀρνίθων ἢ θηρίων ἀγρίων.
τὸ δὲ πλεῖστον γένος τῶν ἀνθρώπων ἀπὸ τῆς γῆς ζῇ καὶ

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5 ῥαστώνας] 'facilities.' τούτων = τροφῆς. The plural pronoun seems to me quite in keeping with his usually rather lax use of the pronouns, influenced here perhaps by the plural involved in the terms ζῳοφάγα, &c.

6 πολὺ γάρ] Aristotle accounts for the different modes of life by reference to the difference of food; for that the modes of life do differ widely is a simple fact.

Aristotle seems to put the nomad, pastoral life the lowest, on the ground that it requires the least exertion. To him also the hunter life would rise in proportion, as under it is placed the catching of slaves, whose importance he could not underrate. Later writers on the same subject put the hunter lowest. I need only refer to M. Dunoyer, *Liberté du Travail*, Vol. I. Compare Adam Smith's *Wealth of Nations*, Introduction, or Mill's *Political Economy*, Introd. Chapter. The ground is its uncertain character and its alternations of extreme fatigue and indulgence, tending to degrade the man.

τοῖς κτήνεσι] depends on ἀναγκαίου. 'The cattle require change for their pasture, the men are compelled to move with them, for the field they cultivate has, as it were, life and motion,' "un champ vivant."

7 ἀπὸ λῃστείας] This quiet mention of privateering or piracy, the buccaneer life, is illustrated by *Od.* IX. 254, for the earlier period of Greece, and by Thuc. I. 5 for a later period than Homer's and for the continental tribes of his own day, of whom he says οἷς κόσμος καλῶς τοῦτο δρᾶν. Compare also II. 32, for the Locrians III. 51.

τοιαύτην] 'Such as suits for fishing.'

Property. τῶν ἡμέρων καρπῶν. Οἱ μὲν οὖν βίοι τοσοῦτοι σχεδόν
8 εἰσιν, ὅσοι γε αὐτόφυτον ἔχουσι τὴν ἐργασίαν καὶ μὴ δι'
1256 B ἀλλαγῆς καὶ καπηλείας πορίζονται τὴν τροφήν, νομαδικός,
γεωργικός, λῃστρικός, ἁλιευτικός, θηρευτικός· οἱ δὲ καὶ
μιγνύντες ἐκ τούτων ἡδέως ζῶσι, προσαναπληροῦντες τὸν
ἐνδεέστατον βίον, ᾗ τυγχάνει ἐλλείπων πρὸς τὸ αὐτάρκης
εἶναι, οἷον οἱ μὲν νομαδικὸν ἅμα καὶ λῃστρικόν, οἱ δὲ γεωρ-
9 γικὸν καὶ θηρευτικόν. ὁμοίως δὲ καὶ περὶ τοὺς ἄλλους, ὡς
ἂν ἡ χρεία συναναγκάζῃ, τοῦτον τὸν τρόπον διάγουσιν.
Ἡ μὲν οὖν τοιαύτη κτῆσις ὑπ' αὐτῆς φαίνεται τῆς φύσεως
διδομένη πᾶσιν, ὥσπερ κατὰ τὴν πρώτην γένεσιν εὐθύς, οὕτω
10 καὶ τελειωθεῖσιν. καὶ γὰρ κατὰ τὴν ἐξ ἀρχῆς γένεσιν τὰ
μὲν συνεκτίκτει τῶν ζῴων τοσαύτην τροφὴν ὡς ἱκανὴν εἶναι
μέχρις οὗ ἂν δύνηται αὐτὸ αὑτῷ πορίζειν τὸ γεννηθέν, οἷον
ὅσα σκωληκοτοκεῖ ἢ ᾠοτοκεῖ· ὅσα δὲ ζῳοτοκεῖ, τοῖς γενο-
μένοις ἔχει τροφὴν ἐν αὑτοῖς μέχρι τινός, τὴν τοῦ καλου-
11 μένου γάλακτος φύσιν. ὥστε ὁμοίως δῆλον ὅτι καὶ γενομέ-
νοις οἰητέον τά τε φυτὰ τῶν ζῴων ἕνεκεν εἶναι καὶ τἆλλα
ζῷα τῶν ἀνθρώπων χάριν, τὰ μὲν ἥμερα καὶ διὰ τὴν
χρῆσιν καὶ διὰ τὴν τροφήν, τῶν δ' ἀγρίων, εἰ μὴ πάντα,

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8 **αὐτόφυτον ἔχουσι τὴν ἐργασίαν**] ‘all, that is, that depend on their own unaided labour,’ their native industry merely, and do not look to barter and trade. This is the primitive and lower stage of social development, and is represented by the Arab of the desert, the piratical tribes of the Malay Archipelago, the Esquimaux, and the Red Indian. For, **αὐτόφυτον**, native, self grown, see Liddell and Scott, Lex. where the word **αὐτουργία** is quoted as equivalent to the expression **αὐτόφυτον ἐργασίαν**.

μιγνύντες] Practically this is the general rule; rarely do we find an entire exclusion of barter. And the precariousness of the hunter's life renders the admixture of tillage almost indispensable.

9 **ὡς ἂν ἡ χρεία**] ‘just as their wants may compel them, so do they frame their life.’

τοιαύτη] ‘property in this sense is evidently given to all by Nature herself, not merely at once, at the very moment of their birth, but also when they are arrived at maturity.’

10 **σκωληκοτοκεῖ ἢ ᾠοτοκεῖ**] I have no knowledge of natural history, but it would seem that the term vermiparous is obsolete, that in fact oviparous and viviparous are exhaustive.

ζῳοτοκεῖ] ‘all viviparous creatures have in themselves a certain supply of food for their young in the shape of that which is called milk.’

11 **γενομένοις**] = **τελειωθεῖσιν**, § 9. Compare v. 5. 5, **ἀνδράσι γενομένοις καὶ τελειωθεῖσιν**.

ἀλλὰ τά γε πλεῖστα τῆς τροφῆς καὶ ἄλλης βοηθείας ἕνεκεν, ἵνα καὶ ἐσθὴς καὶ ἄλλα ὄργανα γίνηται ἐξ αὐτῶν. Property.
εἰ οὖν ἡ φύσις μηθὲν μήτε ἀτελὲς ποιεῖ μήτε μάτην, ἀναγ- 12
καῖον τῶν ἀνθρώπων ἕνεκεν αὐτὰ πάντα πεποιηκέναι τὴν φύσιν. διὸ καὶ ἡ πολεμικὴ φύσει κτητική πως ἔσται. ἡ γὰρ θηρευτικὴ μέρος αὐτῆς, ᾗ δεῖ χρῆσθαι πρός τε τὰ θηρία, καὶ τῶν ἀνθρώπων ὅσοι πεφυκότες ἄρχεσθαι μὴ θέλουσιν, ὡς φύσει δίκαιον τοῦτον ὄντα τὸν πόλεμον. Ἓν 13
μὲν οὖν εἶδος κτητικῆς κατὰ φύσιν τῆς οἰκονομικῆς μέρος ἐστίν· ὃ δεῖ ἤτοι ὑπάρχειν ἢ πορίζειν αὐτὴν ὅπως ὑπάρχῃ, ὧν ἐστὶ θησαυρισμὸς χρημάτων πρὸς ζωὴν ἀναγκαίων καὶ χρησίμων εἰς κοινωνίαν πόλεως ἢ οἰκίας. καὶ ἔοικεν ὅ γ' 14
ἀληθινὸς πλοῦτος ἐκ τούτων εἶναι. ἡ γὰρ τῆς τοιαύτης κτήσεως αὐτάρκεια πρὸς ἀγαθὴν ζωὴν οὐκ ἄπειρός ἐστιν, ὥσπερ Σόλων φησὶ ποιήσας

πλούτου δ' οὐθὲν τέρμα πεφασμένον ἀνδράσι κεῖται.

κεῖται γὰρ ὥσπερ καὶ ταῖς ἄλλαις τέχναις· οὐδὲν γὰρ 15
ὄργανον ἄπειρον οὐδεμιᾶς ἐστὶ τέχνης οὔτε πλήθει οὔτε μεγέθει, ὁ δὲ πλοῦτος ὀργάνων πλῆθός ἐστιν οἰκονομικῶν

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12 ἀτελές] 'incomplete.' Compare below, XIII. 11, ὁ παῖς ἀτελής.

διὸ καὶ ἡ πολεμικὴ φύσει] 'War then, so far as it is natural, or an institution of nature, will be a certain form of the art of acquiring; for war includes, as a branch of it, the hunter's art, which you are bound to employ against the animals, and also against all men who naturally calculated for subjects are inclined to dispute this decree of nature; and you are bound to do this on the ground that war for such an object is naturally just.' Compare IV. II. 15. "La guerre est un moyen naturel d'acquérir," says St Hil, construing the φύσει with κτητική.

13 'One form then of the art of acquiring property is a branch of Œconomics.' So far we have got.

ὃ δεῖ, κ.τ.λ.] 'For there must either be already in existence, or it must take measures that there exist a supply of those things which are necessary for life, and useful for the association of men either in states or families, and which admit of accumulation.' ὅ, 'quod,' does not lose its relative sense.

14 καὶ ἔοικεν] 'and wealth, so far as it is true wealth, or wealth in its true sense, is composed of these objects.'

ἡ γάρ] 'I say ἀληθινός, for there are two kinds, and the adequate supply of such property as this is not, in the language of Solon, without a limit.'

Solon: *Relliquiæ*. Fr. XII. ed. Bergk. It is also given with a slight variation in the fragments of Theognis, 227.

True wealth is a means to an end,

Property. καὶ πολιτικῶν. Ὅτι μὲν τοίνυν ἔστι τις κτητικὴ κατὰ φύσιν τοῖς οἰκονόμοις καὶ τοῖς πολιτικοῖς, καὶ δι' ἣν αἰτίαν, δῆλον.

9 Ἔστι δὲ γένος ἄλλο κτητικῆς, ἣν μάλιστα καλοῦσι,
1257 καὶ δίκαιον αὐτὸ καλεῖν, χρηματιστικήν, δι' ἣν οὐδὲν δοκεῖ πέρας εἶναι πλούτου καὶ κτήσεως· ἣν ὡς μίαν καὶ τὴν αὐτὴν τῇ λεχθείσῃ πολλοὶ νομίζουσι διὰ τὴν γειτνίασιν. ἔστι δ' οὔτε ἡ αὐτὴ τῇ εἰρημένῃ οὔτε πόρρω ἐκείνης. ἔστι δ' ἡ μὲν φύσει ἡ δ' οὐ φύσει αὐτῶν, ἀλλὰ δι' ἐμπειρίας τινὸς
2 καὶ τέχνης γίνεται μᾶλλον. λάβωμεν δὲ περὶ αὐτῆς τὴν ἀρχὴν ἐντεῦθεν. ἑκάστου γὰρ κτήματος διττὴ ἡ χρῆσίς ἐστιν, ἀμφότεραι δὲ καθ' αὑτὸ μὲν ἀλλ' οὐχ ὁμοίως καθ' αὑτό, ἀλλ' ἡ μὲν οἰκεία ἡ δ' οὐκ οἰκεία τοῦ πράγματος, οἷον ὑποδήματος ἥ τε ὑπόδεσις καὶ ἡ μεταβλητική. ἀμφό-
3 τεραι γὰρ ὑποδήματος χρήσεις. καὶ γὰρ ὁ ἀλλαττόμενος τῷ δεομένῳ ὑποδήματος ἀντὶ νομίσματος ἢ τροφῆς χρῆται τῷ ὑποδήματι ᾗ ὑπόδημα, ἀλλ' οὐ τὴν οἰκείαν χρῆσιν· οὐ γὰρ ἀλλαγῆς ἕνεκεν γέγονεν. τὸν αὐτὸν δὲ τρόπον ἔχει
4 καὶ περὶ τῶν ἄλλων κτημάτων. ἔστι γὰρ ἡ μεταβλητικὴ πάντων, ἀρξαμένη τὸ μὲν πρῶτον ἐκ τοῦ κατὰ φύσιν, τῷ

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but it is absurd to suppose a means without a limit.

15 ὅτι μὲν τοίνυν] This concluding clause, like the similar one at the end of Ch. V., gives Aristotle's positive conclusion. So far as wealth is looked on as the command of the necessary instruments for family and political life, so far the science that treats of it is one in accordance with nature, and properly within the province of the political writer.

δι' ἣν αἰτίαν] 'the grounds on which.'

IX. 1 γένος ἄλλο] the ἕτερον εἶδος of VIII. 2, Ch. VIII. having given us the μέρος.

δι' ἣν] 'And it is this species that has given rise to the opinion that wealth and property have no limit.'

τὴν γειτνίασιν] = γειτονίαν, 'neighbourhood,' 'near connexion of the two.'

οὐ φύσει] It is not the necessary accompaniment of society in any shape; it is rather the result of experience, the result, in fact, of the sense of need and the wish to remedy that need. This remedying of a need felt is the object of art.' Compare *Ethics*, I. iv. 15. p. 1097, 5, πᾶσαι γὰρ τὸ ἐνδεὲς ἐπιζητοῦσαι.

2 ἡ μεταβλητική] sc. χρῆσις. 'The use of it as a shoe, and its use in exchange.'

3 οὐ γὰρ ἀλλαγῆς ἕνεκεν γέγονεν] True of its ultimate, but not of its primary, destination.

4 ἀρξαμένη, κ.τ.λ.] Aristotle allows the natural origin of commerce. It is

Property.

τὰ μὲν πλείω τὰ δὲ ἐλάττω τῶν ἱκανῶν ἔχειν τοὺς ἀνθρώ-
πους. ᾗ καὶ δῆλον ὅτι οὐκ ἔστι φύσει τῆς χρηματιστικῆς
ἡ καπηλική· ὅσον γὰρ ἱκανὸν αὐτοῖς, ἀναγκαῖον ἦν ποιεῖ-
σθαι τὴν ἀλλαγήν. Ἐν μὲν οὖν τῇ πρώτῃ κοινωνίᾳ 5
(τοῦτο δ' ἐστὶν οἰκία) φανερὸν ὅτι οὐδέν ἐστιν ἔργον αὐτῆς,
ἀλλ' ἤδη πλείονος τῆς κοινωνίας οὔσης. οἱ μὲν γὰρ τῶν
αὐτῶν ἐκοινώνουν πάντων, οἱ δὲ κεχωρισμένοι πολλῶν πάλιν
καὶ ἑτέρων· ὧν κατὰ τὰς δεήσεις ἀναγκαῖον ποιεῖσθαι τὰς
μεταδόσεις, καθάπερ ἔτι πολλὰ ποιεῖ καὶ τῶν βαρβαρικῶν
ἐθνῶν, κατὰ τὴν ἀλλαγήν. αὐτὰ γὰρ τὰ χρήσιμα πρὸς 6
αὐτὰ καταλλάττονται, ἐπὶ πλέον δ' οὐθέν, οἷον οἶνον πρὸς
σῖτον διδόντες καὶ λαμβάνοντες, καὶ τῶν ἄλλων τῶν τοιού-
των ἕκαστον. Ἡ μὲν οὖν τοιαύτη μεταβλητικὴ οὔτε παρὰ
φύσιν οὔτε χρηματιστικῆς ἐστὶν εἶδος οὐδέν· εἰς ἀναπλή-

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a question of degree into which it resolves itself.

ἐλάττω τῶν ἱκανῶν] Here is the sense of want (*τὸ ἐνδεές*), and that want is the result of a natural arrangement. So man naturally seeks a remedy, and art or skill steps in.

τῆς χρηματιστικῆς] in its true sense, that of the last chapter, which in § 18 he speaks of as *ἀναγκαίας—οἰκονομικῆς κατὰ φύσιν—τῆς περὶ τὴν τροφήν.*

ἡ καπηλική] retail trade seems the common sense, but it may here well stand for trade in general.

ὅσον γάρ] 'Had it been so, the exchange would have ceased when it had reached the point of supplying the deficiency felt.' But where is the limit to be fixed—what is *τὸ ἱκανόν*? Looking at the human race as a whole, connected, amongst other bonds, by this powerful one of mutual wants, of need of mutual service, any attempt to say where the limit of trade shall be seems arbitrary, and leads to endless difficulties. It will be always a question of practical sense.

5. *οὐδέν ἐστιν ἔργον αὐτῆς*] 'There is no opening for it.' *αὐτῆς = τῆς καπηλικῆς.*

ἤδη πλείονος, κ.τ.λ.] 'only when the intercourse is on a more extended scale.'

οἱ μὲν γάρ, κ.τ.λ.] sc. *ἐν τῇ οἰκίᾳ*, 'had all things in common.'

οἱ δέ, κ.τ.λ.] The others by virtue of their being apart would have, looked at as a whole, many things in common (*ἐκοινώνουν πολλῶν*), but different parts of the whole would have different parts of that common stock (*καὶ ἑτέρων*). These different objects they would want, and would necessarily be led to exchange one with the other, and would adopt the method yet in use among many of the barbarous nations, namely, actual barter. Such, paraphrased, seems the sense of the passage. But Aristotle does not seem to see with sufficient clearness that this is what all commerce ultimately is, and ever must be, an exchange of objects of use, 'un troc des produits.' It is only to facilitate this that the complicated commercial system of his own or of our times has been introduced.

6 *χρηματιστικῆς*] 'The art of making money.' Here used in its bad sense,

Property. ρωσιν γὰρ τῆς κατὰ φύσιν αὐταρκείας ἦν. ἐκ μέντοι
7 ταύτης ἐγένετ' ἐκείνη κατὰ λόγον. ξενικωτέρας γὰρ γινομένης τῆς βοηθείας τῷ εἰσάγεσθαι ὧν ἐνδεεῖς καὶ ἐκπέμπειν ὧν ἐπλεόναζον, ἐξ ἀνάγκης ἡ τοῦ νομίσματος ἐπορίσθη
8 χρῆσις. οὐ γὰρ εὐβάστακτον ἕκαστον τῶν κατὰ φύσιν ἀναγκαίων· διὸ πρὸς τὰς ἀλλαγὰς τοιοῦτόν τι συνέθεντο πρὸς σφᾶς αὐτοὺς διδόναι καὶ λαμβάνειν ὃ τῶν χρησίμων αὐτὸ ὂν εἶχε τὴν χρείαν εὐμεταχείριστον πρὸς τὸ ζῆν, οἷον σίδηρος καὶ ἄργυρος, κἂν εἴ τι τοιοῦτον ἕτερον, τὸ μὲν πρῶτον ἁπλῶς ὁρισθὲν μεγέθει καὶ σταθμῷ, τὸ δὲ τελευταῖον καὶ χαρακτῆρα ἐπιβαλλόντων, ἵνα ἀπολύσῃ τῆς

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and as equivalent to **καπηλική**, § 4, and X. 4, and to the **μεταβλητικῆς** of the same section.

εἰς ἀναπλήρωσιν] So there was a previous want felt; this appears from *Eth.* x. iii. 6. p. 1173 B 7.

τῆς κατὰ φύσιν αὐταρκείας] 'It is needed to enable man to attain his full completeness, to gratify all his natural wants'—a state which though **κατὰ φύσιν** he is conceived not to have attained. Compare the expression **τῆς κατὰ φύσιν ἕξεως**, *Eth.* VII. xiii. 3. p. 1153, 14.

7 **ταύτης**] is the **τοιαύτη μεταβλητική**—**ἐκείνη** is the **χρηματιστικῆς**—**κατὰ λόγον**, by a natural sequence, 'as a logical consequence there arose another kind.' Compare *Eth.* I. xi. 4. p. 1100, 23. **τελευτήσαντι κατὰ λόγον**.

ξενικωτέρας] 'more widely extended.'

ἐξ ἀνάγκης] Some medium became absolutely indispensable.

8 **οὐ γάρ, κ.τ.λ.**] 'Something more portable was required, the majority of commodities being very inconvenient in this respect.'

ὃ τῶν χρησίμων, κ.τ.λ.] 'which itself was something useful for the daily purposes of life, and was in use easily manageable.'

μεγέθει καὶ σταθμῷ] 'by size and weight.'

χαρακτῆρα ἐπιβαλλόντων] 'determined in value by men putting a stamp upon it, in order that it may save them from the trouble of weighing it.'

Compare Adam Smith, Bk. I. ch. iv. and for this actual definition Michel Chevalier, Vol. III. ch. iii. p. 36. It is very good as a definition. It takes for money something which is an article of commerce, and capable at the same time of becoming a medium of exchange. "Aristote," says M. Chevalier, "dont le nom était entouré d'un si grand respect pendant les siècles du moyen âge, n'avait cependant point admis la notion d'après laquelle la monnaie ne serait qu'un signe. Il avait au contraire, parfaitement exposé dans sa *Politique*, l'origine de la monnaie, et il en avait bien déterminé les caractères principaux. On en jugera par l'extrait suivant." He then quotes M. St Hilaire's translation of the passage, and adds: "En ces termes la question est admirablement posée et résolue en même temps. Il n'y a de signe dans la monnaie que l'empreinte qu'elle porte, et sous ce signe il y a inséparablement la substance."

μετρήσεως αὐτούς· ὁ γὰρ χαρακτὴρ ἐτέθη τοῦ ποσοῦ Property.
σημεῖον. πορισθέντος οὖν ἤδη νομίσματος ἐκ τῆς ἀναγκαίας 9 1257 B
ἀλλαγῆς θάτερον εἶδος τῆς χρηματιστικῆς ἐγένετο, τὸ
καπηλικόν, τὸ μὲν πρῶτον ἁπλῶς ἴσως γινόμενον, εἶτα δι'
ἐμπειρίας ἤδη τεχνικώτερον, πόθεν καὶ πῶς μεταβαλλόμενον
πλεῖστον ποιήσει κέρδος. διὸ δοκεῖ ἡ χρηματιστικὴ μά- 10
λιστα περὶ τὸ νόμισμα εἶναι, καὶ ἔργον αὐτῆς τὸ δύνασθαι
θεωρῆσαι πόθεν ἔσται πλῆθος χρημάτων· ποιητικὴ γὰρ
εἶναι τοῦ πλούτου καὶ χρημάτων. καὶ γὰρ τὸν πλοῦτον
πολλάκις τιθέασι νομίσματος πλῆθος, διὰ τὸ περὶ τοῦτ'
εἶναι τὴν χρηματιστικὴν καὶ τὴν καπηλικήν. ὁτὲ δὲ πάλιν 11
λῆρος εἶναι δοκεῖ τὸ νόμισμα καὶ νόμος παντάπασι, φύσει
δ' οὐθέν, ὅτι, μεταθεμένων τε τῶν χρωμένων, οὐθενὸς ἄξιον
οὐδὲ χρήσιμον πρὸς οὐδὲν τῶν ἀναγκαίων ἐστί, καὶ νομίσ-
ματος πλουτῶν πολλάκις ἀπορήσει τῆς ἀναγκαίας τροφῆς·
καίτοι ἄτοπον τοιοῦτον εἶναι πλοῦτον οὗ εὐπορῶν λιμῷ
ἀπολεῖται, καθάπερ καὶ τὸν Μίδαν ἐκεῖνον μυθολογοῦσι διὰ
τὴν ἀπληστίαν τῆς εὐχῆς πάντων αὐτῷ γιγνομένων τῶν

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9 πορισθέντος οὖν, κ.τ.λ.] 'When then money had been already introduced on the demand of this necessary species of exchange.' This is one rendering of the ἐκ, or it may be, as a second step in the process, 'from this necessary exchange there arose the second species.'

τὸ καπηλικόν] 'Trade.'

ἁπλῶς ἴσως γιγνόμενον] 'simple perhaps in its forms.'

τεχνικώτερον] 'more systematic,' or 'scientific,' I. 3.

μεταβαλλόμενον] sc. τὸ νόμισμα.

10 Διὸ δοκεῖ, κ.τ.λ.] And this latter species absorbs the name, for in proportion as χρηματιστική becomes more reduced to a system it seems to pay more and more attention to money as the higher and more difficult part of the art. περὶ δὲ τὸ χαλεπώτερον ἀεὶ καὶ τέχνη γίνεται καὶ ἀρετή· καὶ γὰρ τὸ εὖ βέλτιον ἐν τούτῳ. *Eth.* II. ii. 10. p. 1105, 9.

ἔργον αὐτῆς] Compare *Eth.* VI. iv. 4. p. 1140, 11. τέχνη πᾶσα περὶ γένεσιν καὶ τὸ τεχνάζειν καὶ τὸ θεωρεῖν ὅπως ἂν γένηται, κ.τ.λ. Compare also *Rhet.* I. ii. 1. p. 1355, B. 26.

ποιητική] This again brings it under τέχνη, whose definition is *Eth.* VI. iv. 3. p. 1140, 10, ἕξις ποιητική.

καὶ γάρ, κ.τ.λ.] 'for indeed not unfrequently men identify wealth with money;' the thing signified with the sign; the exchangeable property with the instrument of exchange. An old error of very great tenacity.

11 νόμος] 'merely conventional.'

οὐθέν] 'nothing.' The substantival sense.

ὅτι, κ.τ.λ.] 'both because, if those who employ it choose to change it, it becomes of no value.'

ἀπληστίαν τῆς εὐχῆς] 'The insatiate desire of his prayer.' The sentence

Property.

παρατιθεμένων χρυσῶν. διὸ ζητοῦσιν ἕτερόν τι τὸν πλοῦ-
12 τον καὶ τὴν χρηματιστικήν, ὀρθῶς ζητοῦντες. ἔστι γὰρ ἑτέρα ἡ χρηματιστικὴ καὶ ὁ πλοῦτος ὁ κατὰ φύσιν, καὶ αὕτη μὲν οἰκονομική, ἡ δὲ καπηλικὴ ποιητικὴ χρημάτων, οὐ πάντως ἀλλ᾽ ἢ διὰ χρημάτων μεταβολῆς. καὶ δοκεῖ περὶ τὸ νόμισμα αὕτη εἶναι· τὸ γὰρ νόμισμα στοιχεῖον καὶ
13 πέρας τῆς ἀλλαγῆς ἐστίν. καὶ ἄπειρος δὴ οὗτος ὁ πλοῦτος ὁ ἀπὸ ταύτης τῆς χρηματιστικῆς. ὥσπερ γὰρ ἡ ἰατρικὴ τοῦ ὑγιαίνειν εἰς ἄπειρόν ἐστι καὶ ἑκάστη τῶν τεχνῶν τοῦ τέλους εἰς ἄπειρον (ὅτι μάλιστα γὰρ ἐκεῖνο βούλονται ποιεῖν), τῶν δὲ πρὸς τὸ τέλος οὐκ εἰς ἄπειρον (πέρας γὰρ τὸ πέλος πάσαις), οὕτω καὶ ταύτης τῆς χρηματιστικῆς οὐκ ἔστι τοῦ τέλους πέρας, τέλος δὲ ὁ τοιοῦτος πλοῦτος καὶ
14 χρημάτων κτῆσις. τῆς δ᾽ οἰκονομικῆς, οὐ χρηματιστικῆς ἔστι πέρας· οὐ γὰρ τοῦτο τῆς οἰκονομικῆς ἔργον. διὸ τῇ μὲν φαίνεται ἀναγκαῖον εἶναι παντὸς πλούτου πέρας, ἐπὶ δὲ τῶν γινομένων ὁρῶμεν συμβαῖνον τοὐναντίον· πάντες γὰρ εἰς ἄπειρον αὔξουσιν οἱ χρηματιζόμενοι τὸ νόμισμα. αἴτιον
15 δὲ τὸ σύνεγγυς αὐτῶν. ἐπαλλάττει γὰρ ἡ χρῆσις τοῦ

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requires ἀπολέσθαι to complete it.

12 τὸν πλοῦτον] 'the real wealth.' τὴν χρηματιστικήν, 'the true science of acquiring wealth.'

αὕτη μέν] 'and whilst this (ἡ κατὰ φύσιν) the natural one is part of the management of the family.'

στοιχεῖον καὶ πέρας] 'The first element and the ultimate limit;' the beginning and the end of the process.

13 ἄπειρος δή, κ.τ.λ.] Money, the means to the οἰκόνομος, becomes the end to the καπηλικός; finite therefore to the former, it is infinite to the latter. Compare Ch. VIII. § 14.

14 τῆς δ᾽ οἰκονομικῆς] This clause is difficult, from its abruptness. The thought meant to be conveyed seems to be as follows: In the former species, the false art of acquiring wealth, money is the avowed object, and is sought for without any limit. In the second and true species, which is subordinate to the higher objects of the family, (οἰκονομικῆς) and is not merely concerned with making money (χρηματιστικῆς) there is a limit to wealth and to the efforts made to secure it; that limit is fixed by those higher objects; πέρας γὰρ τὸ τέλος, οὐ γὰρ τοῦτο, 'for the making of money is not the object of the family life.'

τῇ μέν] 'Though in one sense.'

τὸ σύνεγγυς αὐτῶν] 'The nearness of the senses of the words.' Compare *Eth.* v. ii. 1. p. 1129, 27, ἀλλὰ διὰ τὸ σύνεγγυς εἶναι τὴν ὁμωνυμίαν αὐτῶν λανθάνει καὶ οὐχ ὥσπερ ἐπὶ τῶν πόρρω δήλη μᾶλλον.

15 ἐπαλλάττει γάρ, κ.τ.λ.] 'For the two uses of the same article run

αὐτοῦ οὖσα ἑκατέρα τῆς χρηματιστικῆς. τῆς γὰρ αὐτῆς Property.
ἐστὶ χρήσεως κτῆσις, ἀλλ' οὐ κατὰ ταὐτόν, ἀλλὰ τῆς μὲν
ἕτερον τέλος, τῆς δ' ἡ αὔξησις. ὥστε δοκεῖ τισὶ τοῦτ'
εἶναι τῆς οἰκονομικῆς ἔργον, καὶ διατελοῦσιν ἢ σώζειν οἰό-
μενοι δεῖν ἢ αὔξειν τὴν τοῦ νομίσματος οὐσίαν εἰς ἄπειρον.
αἴτιον δὲ ταύτης τῆς διαθέσεως τὸ σπουδάζειν περὶ τὸ ζῆν, 16
ἀλλὰ μὴ τὸ εὖ ζῆν· εἰς ἄπειρον οὖν ἐκείνης τῆς ἐπιθυμίας 1258
οὔσης, καὶ τῶν ποιητικῶν ἀπείρων ἐπιθυμοῦσιν. ὅσοι δὲ
καὶ τοῦ εὖ ζῆν ἐπιβάλλονται, τὸ πρὸς τὰς ἀπολαύσεις τὰς
σωματικὰς ζητοῦσιν, ὥστ' ἐπεὶ καὶ τοῦτ' ἐν τῇ κτήσει φαί-
νεται ὑπάρχειν, πᾶσα ἡ διατριβὴ περὶ τὸν χρηματισμόν
ἐστι, καὶ τὸ ἕτερον εἶδος τῆς χρηματιστικῆς διὰ τοῦτ' ἐλή-
λυθεν. ἐν ὑπερβολῇ γὰρ οὔσης τῆς ἀπολαύσεως, τὴν τῆς 17
ἀπολαυστικῆς ὑπερβολῆς ποιητικὴν ζητοῦσιν· κἂν μὴ διὰ
τῆς χρηματιστικῆς δύνωνται πορίζειν, δι' ἄλλης αἰτίας
τοῦτο πειρῶνται, ἑκάστῃ χρώμενοι τῶν δυνάμεων οὐ κατὰ
φύσιν. ἀνδρίας γὰρ οὐ χρήματα ποιεῖν ἐστὶν ἀλλὰ θάρσος,
οὐδὲ στρατηγικῆς καὶ ἰατρικῆς, ἀλλὰ τῆς μὲν νίκην τῆς δ'
ὑγίειαν. οἱ δὲ πάσας ποιοῦσι χρηματιστικάς, ὡς τοῦτο 18
τέλος ὄν, πρὸς δὲ τὸ τέλος ἅπαντα δέον ἀπαντᾶν. Περὶ
μὲν οὖν τῆς τε μὴ ἀναγκαίας χρηματιστικῆς, καὶ τίς, καὶ δι'
αἰτίαν τίνα ἐν χρείᾳ ἐσμὲν αὐτῆς, εἴρηται· καὶ περὶ τῆς
ἀναγκαίας, ὅτι ἑτέρα μὲν αὐτῆς οἰκονομικὴ δὲ κατὰ φύσιν ἡ

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into one another and become confused, and each of the two respectively comes under the science that deals with property.'

χρήσεως κτῆσις] rather κτήσεως χρῆσις, at least this seems much the easier form. 'It is the same piece of property that we use, but the use to which we put it is not the same.' Bekker's text is defended by Klotz, (Jahn and Klotz, *Ann. Phil. et Pæd.* VI. xvii. I, p. 20,) who translates it: 'desselben Gebrauchs ist nämlich ein Eigenthum.' But I do not see that this explains the Greek. Stahr changes it as I do, with the remark, 'vulgo ineptè.'

τοῦτο] sc. ἡ αὔξησις.

τὴν τοῦ νομίσματος οὐσίαν] 'Their property in money.'

16 τοῦ εὖ ζῆν ἐπιβάλλονται] 'grasp at, make an effort after living well:' the εὖ ζῆν is ambiguous.

17 δι' ἄλλης αἰτίας] 'by the instrumentality of something else.'

ἑκάστῃ χρώμενοι] Compare Plat. *Rep.* I. 364, on the subject of μισθαρνητική.

18 ἀπαντᾶν] 'meet, combine in forwarding.'

Property. περὶ τὴν τροφήν, οὐχ ὥσπερ αὐτὴ ἄπειρος, ἀλλ' ἔχουσα ὅρον.

10 Δῆλον δὲ καὶ τὸ ἀπορούμενον ἐξ ἀρχῆς, πότερον τοῦ οἰκονομικοῦ καὶ πολιτικοῦ ἐστὶν ἡ χρηματιστικὴ ἢ οὔ, ἀλλὰ δεῖ τοῦτο μὲν ὑπάρχειν· ὥσπερ γὰρ καὶ ἀνθρώπους οὐ ποιεῖ ἡ πολιτική, ἀλλὰ λαβοῦσα παρὰ τῆς φύσεως χρῆται αὐτοῖς, οὕτω καὶ τροφὴν τὴν φύσιν δεῖ παραδοῦναι γῆν ἢ θάλατταν ἢ ἄλλο τι· ἐκ δὲ τούτων, ὡς δεῖ, ταῦτα διαθεῖναι προσήκει
2 τὸν οἰκονόμον. οὐ γὰρ τῆς ὑφαντικῆς ἔρια ποιῆσαι, ἀλλὰ χρήσασθαι αὐτοῖς, καὶ γνῶναι δὲ τὸ ποῖον χρηστὸν καὶ ἐπιτήδειον ἢ φαῦλον καὶ ἀνεπιτήδειον. καὶ γὰρ ἀπορήσειεν ἄν τις διὰ τί ἡ μὲν χρηματιστικὴ μόριον τῆς οἰκονομίας, ἡ δ' ἰατρικὴ οὐ μόριον· καίτοι δεῖ ὑγιαίνειν τοὺς κατὰ τὴν
3 οἰκίαν, ὥσπερ ζῆν ἢ ἄλλο τι τῶν ἀναγκαίων. ἐπεὶ δ' ἔστι μὲν ὡς τοῦ οἰκονόμου καὶ τοῦ ἄρχοντος καὶ περὶ ὑγιείας ἰδεῖν, ἔστι δ' ὡς οὔ, ἀλλὰ τοῦ ἰατροῦ, οὕτω καὶ περὶ τῶν χρημάτων ἔστι μὲν ὡς τοῦ οἰκονόμου, ἔστι δ' ὡς οὔ, ἀλλὰ τῆς ὑπηρετικῆς· μάλιστα δέ, καθάπερ εἴρηται πρότερον, δεῖ φύσει τοῦτο ὑπάρχειν. φύσεως γάρ ἐστιν ἔργον τροφὴν τῷ γεννηθέντι παρέχειν· παντὶ γὰρ ἐξ οὗ γίνεται, τροφὴ

αὐτή] justified by the *αὐτῆς* in the preceding line.

The conclusion of the chapter distinguishes very clearly the two branches of the science, the one not necessary, the other indispensable, with its proper object, the maintenance of the family, and having its due limit set by that object.

X. 1 The distinction drawn in Ch. IX. carries with it a clear answer to the original question: is the science that treats of property the province of the father of a family and the statesman? It is not so, it is a subordinate science to theirs, but the necessary condition of theirs: *δεῖ τοῦτο μὲν ὑπάρχειν*. It and its results must be presupposed. For this seems the full force of *τοῦτο*.

ἐκ δὲ τούτων] 'then, as the next step.'

2 *καὶ γὰρ ἀπορήσειεν, κ.τ.λ.*] 'For if we answered the question differently then it might become a difficulty,' &c.

3 *τοῦτο*] sc. *τὰ χρήματα*.

φύσεως γάρ, κ.τ.λ.] Compare above Ch. VIII. § 9, 10, for the reasoning out of what is here concisely stated. In itself the passage is obscure, but put side by side with the former one need present no difficulty. 'For it is the business of nature to provide food for that which is born; for everything finds its sustenance in what remains of that from which it is born.'

Property.

τὸ λειπόμενόν ἐστιν. διὸ κατὰ φύσιν ἐστὶν ἡ χρηματιστικὴ πᾶσιν ἀπὸ τῶν καρπῶν καὶ τῶν ζῴων. διπλῆς δ' 4 οὔσης αὐτῆς, ὥσπερ εἴπομεν, καὶ τῆς μὲν καπηλικῆς τῆς δ' οἰκονομικῆς, καὶ ταύτης μὲν ἀναγκαίας καὶ ἐπαινουμένης, τῆς δὲ μεταβλητικῆς ψεγομένης δικαίως (οὐ γὰρ κατὰ φύσιν 1258 B ἀλλ' ἀπ' ἀλλήλων ἐστίν), εὐλογώτατα μισεῖται ἡ ὀβολοστατικὴ διὰ τὸ ἀπ' αὐτοῦ τοῦ νομίσματος εἶναι τὴν κτῆσιν καὶ οὐκ ἐφ' ὅπερ ἐπορίσθη. μεταβολῆς γὰρ ἐγένετο χάριν, 5 ὁ δὲ τόκος αὐτὸ ποιεῖ πλέον. ὅθεν καὶ τοὔνομα τοῦτ' εἴληφεν· ὅμοια γὰρ τὰ τικτόμενα τοῖς γεννῶσιν αὐτά ἐστιν, ὁ δὲ τόκος γίνεται νόμισμα νομίσματος· ὥστε καὶ μάλιστα παρὰ φύσιν οὗτος τῶν χρηματισμῶν ἐστίν.

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4 καπηλικῆς] = τῆς μὴ ἀναγκαίας of 9, 18, and μεταβλητικῆς just below.

ψεγομένης δικαίως] For Aristotle's view of interest, compare Mr Grote III. 143, and foll.: "We hardly understand how it can ever have been pronounced unworthy of an honourable citizen to lend money on interest; yet such is the declared opinion of Aristotle and other superior men of antiquity."

οὐ γὰρ κατὰ φύσιν] "unnatural, as being made by one man at the expense of another," Grote, ibid. In this ἀπ' ἀλλήλων lies the fallacy. Between the parties trading there is no opposition of interests, but community. Compare M. Bastiat, *Harmonies Économiques*, p. 147: "Que l'on considère les relations d'homme à homme, de famille à famille, de province à province, de nation à nation, d'hémisphère à hémisphère, de capitaliste à ouvrier, de propriétaire à prolétaire, il est évident, ce me semble, qu'on ne peut ni résoudre, ni même aborder le problème social à aucun de ses points de vue avant d'avoir choisi entre ces deux maximes: Le profit de l'un est le dommage de l'autre. Le profit de l'un est le profit de l'autre." The problem so stated is discussed at great length in what follows, and solved, differently from Aristotle, in favour of the last of the two maxims.

ἡ ὀβολοστατική] 'The trade of a petty usurer;' its use here is quite general. L. and S. sub voc. On this subject compare Boeckh, *Publ. Econ. of Athens*, pp. 170, 171, 1st edit.

5 τοῦτο... ὁ τόκος... εἴληφεν τοὔνομα] 'has got its name.' Compare Grote, III. 143, n. 2, "the well-known dictum of Aristotle, that money being naturally *barren*, to extract *offspring* from it must necessarily be *contrary to nature*."

Bacon, (*Henry VII.* Edit. Montagu. Vol. III. p. 227,) calls usury the bastard use of money. Compare also Gibbon, v. 415, 416, and note. On the whole subject compare Paley, *Moral and Political Philosophy*, III. Ch. x. It has been much discussed of late, especially in France. There is a small tract containing a discussion of the whole subject between MM. Proudhon and Bastiat, *Gratuité du Crédit*, also another tract by the last-named author, *Capital et Rente*, both of which are admirably clear.

χρηματισμῶν] 'money-making, business, trade.'

Property.

Ἐπεὶ δὲ τὰ πρὸς τὴν γνῶσιν διωρίκαμεν ἱκανῶς, τα
11 πρὸς τὴν χρῆσιν δεῖ διελθεῖν. πάντα δὲ τὰ τοιαῦτα τὴν
μὲν θεωρίαν ἐλεύθερον ἔχει, τὴν δ' ἐμπειρίαν ἀναγκαίαν.
Ἔστι δὲ χρηματιστικῆς μέρη χρήσιμα τὸ περὶ τὰ κτήματα
ἔμπειρον εἶναι, ποῖα λυσιτελέστατα καὶ ποῦ καὶ πῶς, οἷον
ἵππων κτῆσις ποία τις ἢ βοῶν ἢ προβάτων, ὁμοίως δὲ καὶ
2 τῶν λοιπῶν ζῴων. δεῖ γὰρ ἔμπειρον εἶναι πρὸς ἄλληλά τε
τούτων τίνα λυσιτελέστατα, καὶ ποῖα ἐν ποίοις τόποις·
ἄλλα γὰρ ἐν ἄλλαις εὐθηνεῖ χώραις. εἶτα περὶ γεωργίας,
καὶ ταύτης ἤδη ψιλῆς τε καὶ πεφυτευμένης, καὶ μελιττουρ-
γίας, καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ζῴων τῶν πλωτῶν ἢ πτηνῶν, ἀφ' ὅσων
3 ἔστι τυγχάνειν βοηθείας. Τῆς μὲν οὖν οἰκειοτάτης χρηματι-
στικῆς ταῦτα μόρια καὶ πρῶτα, τῆς δὲ μεταβλητικῆς μέγι-
στον μὲν ἐμπορία (καὶ ταύτης μέρη τρία, ναυκληρία φορ-
τηγία παράστασις· διαφέρει δὲ τούτων ἕτερα ἑτέρων τῷ
τὰ μὲν ἀσφαλέστερα εἶναι, τὰ δὲ πλείω πορίζειν τὴν ἐπι-
καρπίαν), δεύτερον δὲ τοκισμός, τρίτον δὲ μισθαρνία.
4 ταύτης δ' ἡ μὲν τῶν βαναύσων τεχνῶν, ἡ δὲ τῶν ἀτέχνων
καὶ τῷ σώματι μόνῳ χρησίμων. Τρίτον δὲ εἶδος χρημα-
τιστικῆς μεταξὺ ταύτης καὶ τῆς πρώτης. ἔχει γὰρ καὶ τῆς

XI. 1 *τὴν μὲν θεωρίαν, κ.τ.λ.*] 'whilst in speculation they are free, in practice they are limited.'

μέρη χρήσιμα] The construction is loose. His object is to divide the science into its branches. The first concerns *κτήματα*, which word is here limited to animals, though it is of much larger application by Ch. IV. 4, where it is equivalent to *ὄργανον πρακτικόν*, 'one branch of the science concerns animals, and it is useful to have practical acquaintance with the subject.'

2 *ψιλῆς*] tillage; *πεφυτευμένης*, cultivation of trees. Compare Demosth. 491, for the same distinction. *μελιττουργίας*. This is of much less importance since the introduction of sugar. No writer on agriculture would now give it the prominence that Virgil does.

3 *οἰκειοτάτης*] sc. *τῇ οἰκονομικῇ*, that which is most strictly within the province of the *οἰκονόμος*: *τῆς ἀναγκαίας καὶ ἐπαινουμένης*.

τῆς μεταβλητικῆς = τῆς καπηλικῆς] This has three subdivisions. Its first, (*ἐμπορία*) is trade, again open to a threefold division, commerce by sea (*ναυκληρία*), by land (*φορτηγία*), and selling in shops (*παράστασις*). The first two are the divisions of that which has been called l'industrie voiturière.

ἐπικαρπίαν] 'return, profit.'

μισθαρνία] 'The wages of labour.'

4 *ταύτης*] The labour for which wages are paid is either skilled or unskilled.

Property.

κατὰ φύσιν τι μέρος καὶ τῆς μεταβλητικῆς, ὅσα ἀπὸ γῆς καὶ τῶν ἀπὸ γῆς γινομένων, ἀκάρπων μὲν χρησίμων δέ, οἷον ὑλοτομία τε καὶ πᾶσα μεταλλευτική. αὕτη δὲ πολλὰ ἤδη 5
περιείληφε γένη· πολλὰ γὰρ εἴδη τῶν ἐκ γῆς μεταλλευομένων ἐστίν. περὶ ἑκάστου δὲ τούτων καθόλου μὲν εἴρηται καὶ νῦν, τὸ δὲ κατὰ μέρος ἀκριβολογεῖσθαι χρήσιμον μὲν πρὸς τὰς ἐργασίας, φορτικὸν δὲ τὸ ἐνδιατρίβειν. [Εἰσὶ 6
δὲ τεχνικώταται μὲν τῶν ἐργασιῶν ὅπου ἐλάχιστον τῆς τύχης, βαναυσόταται δ' ἐν αἷς τὰ σώματα λωβῶνται μάλιστα, δουλικώταται δὲ ὅπου τοῦ σώματος πλεῖσται χρήσεις, ἀγεννέσταται δὲ ὅπου ἐλάχιστον προσδεῖ ἀρετῆς.]
ἐπεὶ δ' ἐστὶν ἐνίοις γεγραμμένα περὶ τούτων, οἷον Χάρητι 7
δὴ τῷ Παρίῳ καὶ Ἀπολλοδώρῳ τῷ Λημνίῳ περὶ γεωργίας 1259
καὶ ψιλῆς καὶ πεφυτευμένης, ὁμοίως δὲ καὶ ἄλλοις περὶ ἄλλων, ταῦτα μὲν ἐκ τούτων θεωρείτω ὅτῳ ἐπιμελές· ἔτι δὲ καὶ τὰ λεγόμενα σποράδην, δι' ὧν ἐπιτετυχήκασιν ἔνιοι χρηματιζόμενοι, δεῖ συλλέγειν. πάντα γὰρ ὠφέλιμα ταῦτ' 8
ἐστὶ τοῖς τιμῶσι τὴν χρηματιστικήν. Οἷον καὶ τὸ Θάλεω

ἀκάρπων] 'such as do not bear fruit and multiply.'

5 **ἀκριβολογεῖσθαι**] 'to go into minute detail, might be useful for business purposes, but it would be out of place to dwell on the subject here.

The simplest and truest division of the different branches of industry that I am acquainted with is that given by M. Dunoyer, *Liberté du Travail*, Vol. II. p. 114. It is fourfold, so far as man's industry deals with things: L'industrie extractive, voiturière, manufacturière, agricole. These last two are treated separately; as the first brings into play for the production of its results, powers without life, mechanical, physical, or chemical; the latter calls to its aid the vital powers. By the first of the four man appropriates whatever there is in nature which is useful to him, by the second he transports, by the third and fourth he transforms, only by a different agency in each case.

6 This section seems out of place. The remarks are true, but interrupt the connexion, and are in no way needed here.

ὅπου ἐλάχιστον τῆς τύχης] Compare *Eth.* VI. iv. 5. p. 1140, 18.

7 *περὶ τούτων*] This refers to the subject that precedes § 6, and not to that section itself.

Of Chares and Apollodorus nothing seems known.

τὰ λεγόμενα σποράδην] 'scattered notices and observations.'

δι' ὧν, κ.τ.λ.] 'as to the means by which some have succeeded.'

8. **Θάλεω**] This is mentioned by Grote, II. 155, "the first commencement of scientific prediction amongst the Greeks."

Property.

τοῦ Μιλησίου· τοῦτο γάρ ἐστι κατανόημά τι χρηματιστικόν, ἀλλ' ἐκείνῳ μὲν διὰ τὴν σοφίαν προσάπτουσι, τυγχάνει
9 δὲ καθόλου τι ὄν. ὀνειδιζόντων γὰρ αὐτῷ διὰ τὴν πενίαν ὡς ἀνωφελοῦς τῆς φιλοσοφίας οὔσης, κατανοήσαντά φασιν αὐτὸν ἐλαιῶν φορὰν ἐσομένην ἐκ τῆς ἀστρολογίας, ἔτι χειμῶνος ὄντος, εὐπορήσαντα χρημάτων ὀλίγων ἀρραβῶνας διαδοῦναι τῶν ἐλαιουργίων τῶν τ' ἐν Μιλήτῳ καὶ Χίῳ πάντων, ὀλίγου μισθωσάμενον ἅτ' οὐθενὸς ἐπιβάλλοντος· ἐπειδὴ δ' ὁ καιρὸς ἧκε, πολλῶν ζητουμένων ἅμα καὶ ἐξαίφνης, ἐκμισθοῦντα ὃν τρόπον ἠβούλετο, πολλὰ χρήματα συλλέξαντα ἐπιδεῖξαι ὅτι ῥᾴδιόν ἐστι πλουτεῖν τοῖς φιλοσόφοις, ἂν
10 βούλωνται, ἀλλ' οὐ τοῦτ' ἐστὶ περὶ ὃ σπουδάζουσιν. Θαλῆς μὲν οὖν λέγεται τοῦτον τὸν τρόπον ἐπίδειξιν ποιήσασθαι τῆς σοφίας· ἔστι δ', ὥσπερ εἴπομεν, καθόλου τὸ τοιοῦτον χρηματιστικόν, ἐάν τις δύνηται μονοπωλίαν αὑτῷ κατασκευάζειν. διὸ καὶ τῶν πόλεων ἔνιαι τοῦτον ποιοῦνται τὸν πόρον, ὅταν ἀπορῶσι χρημάτων· μονοπωλίαν γὰρ τῶν ὠνίων ποι-
11 οῦσιν. Ἐν Σικελίᾳ δέ τις τεθέντος παρ' αὐτῷ νομίσματος συνεπρίατο πάντα τὸν σίδηρον ἐκ τῶν σιδηρείων, μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα ὡς ἀφίκοντο ἐκ τῶν ἐμπορίων οἱ ἔμποροι, ἐπώλει μόνος, οὐ πολλὴν ποιήσας ὑπερβολὴν τῆς τιμῆς· ἀλλ' ὅμως
12 ἐπὶ τοῖς πεντήκοντα ταλάντοις ἐπέλαβεν ἑκατόν. τοῦτο μὲν οὖν ὁ Διονύσιος αἰσθόμενος τὰ μὲν χρήματα ἐκέλευσεν ἐκκομίσασθαι, μὴ μέντοι γ' ἔτι μένειν ἐν Συρακούσαις, ὡς πόρους εὑρίσκοντα τοῖς αὑτοῦ πράγμασιν ἀσυμφόρους. τὸ

κατανόημά τι χρηματιστικόν] "une spéculation lucrative," St Hil.; rather, 'a money-making device.'

ἀλλ' ἐκείνῳ μὲν, κ.τ.λ.] 'but though it is attributed to him on account of his philosophical knowledge, yet &c.'

9 ἀνωφελοῦς] Compare *Eth.* VI. vii. 5. p. 1141, b. 5: Θαλῆν καὶ τοὺς τοιούτους σόφους μέν, φρονίμους δ' οὔ φασιν εἶναι, ὅταν ἴδωσιν ἀγνοοῦντας τὰ συμφέρονθ' ἑαυτοῖς, κ.τ.λ.

κατανοήσαντα ἐκ τῆς ἀστρολογίας.

ἀρραβῶνας] 'deposit of money,' 'arrhes.'

ἐλαιουργίων] = ἐλαιουργείων, Liddell and Scott, 'oil-presses.'

ἐπιβάλλοντος] 'raising the price.'

10 On the subject of monopolies compare Boeckh, Vol. I. p. 73, 1st Ed.

11 οὐ πολλὴν ποιήσας, κ.τ.λ.] 'without raising the price much.'

ἐπὶ τοῖς πεντήκοντα] For his 50 talents he got 150: 200 per cent. profit.

μέντοι ὅραμα Θάλεω καὶ τοῦτο ταὐτόν ἐστιν· ἀμφότεροι Property.
γὰρ ἑαυτοῖς ἐτέχνασαν γενέσθαι μονοπωλίαν. Χρήσιμον 13
δὲ γνωρίζειν ταῦτα καὶ τοῖς πολιτικοῖς· πολλαῖς γὰρ πόλεσι δεῖ χρηματισμοῦ καὶ τοιούτων πόρων, ὥσπερ οἰκίᾳ, μᾶλλον δέ. διόπερ τινὲς καὶ πολιτεύονται τῶν πολιτευομένων ταῦτα μόνον.

Ἐπεὶ δὲ τρία μέρη τῆς οἰκονομικῆς ἦν, ἓν μὲν δεσπο- 12
τική, περὶ ἧς εἴρηται πρότερον, ἓν δὲ πατρική, τρίτον δὲ The Family Relations.
γαμική· καὶ γὰρ γυναικὸς ἄρχειν καὶ τέκνων, ὡς ἐλευθέρων
μὲν ἀμφοῖν, οὐ τὸν αὐτὸν δὲ τρόπον τῆς ἀρχῆς, ἀλλὰ γυ- 1259 B
ναικὸς μὲν πολιτικῶς, τέκνων δὲ βασιλικῶς· τό τε γὰρ ἄρρεν φύσει τοῦ θήλεος ἡγεμονικώτερον, εἰ μή που συνέστηκε παρὰ φύσιν, καὶ τὸ πρεσβύτερον καὶ τέλειον τοῦ
νεωτέρου καὶ ἀτελοῦς. Ἐν μὲν οὖν ταῖς πολιτικαῖς ἀρχαῖς 2
ταῖς πλείσταις μεταβάλλει τὸ ἄρχον καὶ τὸ ἀρχόμενον· ἐξ ἴσου γὰρ εἶναι βούλεται τὴν φύσιν καὶ διαφέρειν μηθέν. ὅμως δέ, ὅταν τὸ μὲν ἄρχῃ τὸ δ' ἄρχηται, ζητεῖ διαφορὰν εἶναι καὶ σχήμασι καὶ λόγοις καὶ τιμαῖς, ὥσπερ καὶ Ἄμασις
εἶπε τὸν περὶ τοῦ ποδανιπτῆρος λόγον. τὸ δ' ἄρρεν ἀεὶ 3

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13 'Some statesmen even limit their notion of statesmanship to this point.' The importance of correct financial arrangements made itself felt even in the ancient world. It has come with us to be so prominent that financial ability is almost the only one popularly recognised, and has a very undue share of honour paid to it.

XII. 1 *ἐπεὶ δέ*] The apodosis to this Schneider finds at the beginning of the next chapter, *φανερὸν τοίνυν*, and rightly.

τρία μέρη ἦν] Ch. III. § 1.

ἄρχειν] supply *ἦν μέρος*, as Klotz suggests.

πολιτικῶς] *ὡς ἐλευθέρας καὶ ἴσης*.

τό τε γάρ] 'There must be some rule in both cases, for, &c.'

εἰ μή που συνέστηκεν, κ.τ.λ.] 'putting aside exceptional cases which exist.'

2 *ἐν μὲν οὖν, κ.τ.λ.*] This is introduced to qualify the *πολιτικῶς*. The strict idea of such rule would involve an interchange of the relation, the ruled would in turn take the place of ruler. For the citizens of a state are on a level, free and equal, and equally qualified therefore to exercise power. Still during the given period of his power the ruler is marked off from the ruled. But as between husband and wife, the distinction is not temporary but perpetual: it is not attained by artificial methods, but marked by nature.

ζητεῖ] Impersonal—on cherche. 'It is an object that there should be a difference.'

σχήμασι] 'the insignia of office.'

Ἄμασις] Herod. II. 172.

3 *ἀεί*] *καὶ οὐκ ἐκ μεταβολῆς*.

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πρὸς τὸ θῆλυ τοῦτον ἔχει τὸν τρόπον. ἡ δὲ τῶν τέκνων ἀρχὴ βασιλική· τὸ γὰρ γεννῆσαν καὶ κατὰ φιλίαν ἄρχον καὶ κατὰ πρεσβείαν ἐστίν, ὅπερ ἐστὶ βασιλικῆς εἶδος ἀρχῆς. διὸ καλῶς Ὅμηρος τὸν Δία προσηγόρευσεν εἰπὼν

πατὴρ ἀνδρῶν τε θεῶν τε,

τὸν βασιλέα τούτων ἁπάντων. φύσει γὰρ τὸν βασιλέα διαφέρειν μὲν δεῖ, τῷ γένει δ' εἶναι τὸν αὐτόν· ὅπερ πέπονθε τὸ πρεσβύτερον πρὸς τὸ νεώτερον καὶ ὁ γεννήσας πρὸς τὸ τέκνον.

13 Φανερὸν τοίνυν ὅτι πλείων ἡ σπουδὴ τῆς οἰκονομίας περὶ τοὺς ἀνθρώπους ἢ περὶ τὴν τῶν ἀψύχων κτῆσιν, καὶ περὶ τὴν ἀρετὴν τούτων ἢ περὶ τὴν τῆς κτήσεως, ὃν καλοῦ-
2 μεν πλοῦτον, καὶ τῶν ἐλευθέρων μᾶλλον ἢ δούλων. Πρῶτον μὲν οὖν περὶ δούλων ἀπορήσειεν ἄν τις, πότερόν ἐστιν ἀρετή τις δούλου παρὰ τὰς ὀργανικὰς καὶ διακονικὰς ἄλλη τιμιωτέρα τούτων, οἷον σωφροσύνη καὶ ἀνδρία καὶ δικαιοσύνη καὶ τῶν ἄλλων τῶν τοιούτων ἕξεων, ἢ οὐκ ἔστιν οὐδεμία παρὰ τὰς σωματικὰς ὑπηρεσίας. ἔχει γὰρ ἀπορίαν
3 ἀμφοτέρως. εἴτε γὰρ ἔστι, τί διοίσουσι τῶν ἐλευθέρων; εἴτε μή ἐστιν ὄντων ἀνθρώπων καὶ λόγου κοινωνούντων, ἄτοπον. σχεδὸν δὲ ταὐτόν ἐστι τὸ ζητούμενον καὶ περὶ γυναικὸς καὶ παιδός, πότερα καὶ τούτων εἰσὶν ἀρεταί, καὶ δεῖ τὴν γυναῖκα εἶναι σώφρονα καὶ ἀνδρείαν καὶ δικαίαν, καὶ
4 παῖς ἐστὶ καὶ ἀκόλαστος καὶ σώφρων, ἢ οὔ; καὶ καθόλου

βασιλική] *Eth.* VIII. xii. 4. p. 1160. B. 24.

πατήρ, κ.τ.λ.] *Il.* I. 544. 'After calling him πατήρ, κ.τ.λ., he added the term τὸν βασιλέα.' προσηγόρευσεν, laying stress on the preposition.

φύσει γάρ] 'For though there must be a natural distinction between the king and his subjects, he must still in kind be the same.' This holds good between the elder and the younger, the father and child; they are of the same kind, they differ in age.

XIII. 1 τὴν ἀρετὴν τούτων] sc. τῶν ἀνθρώπων.

2 The statement that *more* attention is to be paid to the excellence of the free man than to that of the slave suggests the question: what is this excellence of the slave?

παρὰ τὰς ὀργανικὰς καὶ διακονικάς] 'Beside his excellence as an instrument and a servant.'

τῶν ἄλλων τῶν τοιούτων ἕξεων] supply τις, from οὐδεμία. Göttling.

3 λόγου] 'reason.' τὸ ζητούμενον, 'the question.'

καὶ ἀκόλαστος] It must be allowed that the child is ἀκόλαστος in one

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δὴ τοῦτ' ἐστὶν ἐπισκεπτέον περὶ ἀρχομένου φύσει καὶ ἄρχοντος, πότερον ἡ αὐτὴ ἀρετὴ ἢ ἑτέρα. εἰ μὲν γὰρ δεῖ ἀμφοτέρους μετέχειν καλοκἀγαθίας, διὰ τί τὸν μὲν ἄρχειν δέοι ἂν τὸν δὲ ἄρχεσθαι καθάπαξ; οὐδὲ γὰρ τῷ μᾶλλον καὶ ἧττον οἷόν τε διαφέρειν· τὸ μὲν γὰρ ἄρχεσθαι καὶ ἄρχειν εἴδει διαφέρει, τὸ δὲ μᾶλλον καὶ ἧττον οὐδέν. εἰ δὲ τὸν 5
μὲν δεῖ τὸν δὲ μή, θαυμαστόν. εἴτε γὰρ ὁ ἄρχων μὴ ἔσται σώφρων καὶ δίκαιος, πῶς ἄρξει καλῶς; εἴθ' ὁ ἀρχόμενος, 1260
πῶς ἀρχθήσεται καλῶς; ἀκόλαστος γὰρ ὢν καὶ δειλὸς οὐθὲν ποιήσει τῶν προσηκόντων. φανερὸν τοίνυν ὅτι ἀνάγκη μὲν μετέχειν ἀμφοτέρους ἀρετῆς, ταύτης δ' εἶναι διαφοράς, ὥσπερ καὶ τῶν φύσει ἀρχομένων. καὶ τοῦτο 6
εὐθὺς ὑφήγηται περὶ τὴν ψυχήν· ἐν ταύτῃ γάρ ἐστι φύσει τὸ μὲν ἄρχον τὸ δὲ ἀρχόμενον, ὧν ἑτέραν φαμὲν εἶναι ἀρετήν, οἷον τοῦ λόγον ἔχοντος καὶ τοῦ ἀλόγου. δῆλον τοί-

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sense. *Eth.* III. xv. 5. p. 1119. B. 5. Is he not only ἀκόλαστος, but also σώφρων? Are we, that is, to determine the sense which we attach to the former epithet by that which we generally attach to the latter, and say that he is capable of reaching the lowest and highest moral condition?

4 δή] This reading is quite right. As we have had mentioned the three who are naturally under rule, the slave, the wife, and the child, it follows that the enquiry extends to the whole class which they form. The question is a parallel one to that discussed in III. 4: Have the citizen and the ruler the same excellence? Here it is not the πολίτης but the ἀρχόμενος φύσει.

καθάπαξ] perpetuo, Victorius, 'once for all;' "à jamais," St Hil.

οὐδὲ γάρ, κ.τ.λ.] The difference in degree implies sameness in kind. But here, as so often in the work, it must be remembered that the statement is aporematic, that is, forms part of a discussion, so that it will not warrant a direct inference as to Aristotle's view on the subject.

5 τὸν μὲν δεῖ] sc. μετέχειν καλοκἀγαθίας. τῶν φύσει ἀρχομένων, sc. εἰσὶ διαφοραί.

6 ὑφήγηται] "C'est ce que nous avons déjà dit," is St. Hilaire's translation. Schneider supplies φύσις. Heinsius, as quoted by Schneider, agrees with St Hilaire. "Und darauf wird man gleich von vorn herein bei der Seele hingeführt." Stahr. No one of these is satisfactory. 'And this at once suggests to us to look at the soul and its constitution, and see whether we cannot get some light there: Are there not in the soul parts with a relation to one another? and what is the excellence of these parts?—is it the same or different? why there we allow it to be different.' So I interpret the passage. Compare *Œc.* I. iv. 1. p. 1344, 10: τοῦθ' ὑφηγεῖται δὲ καὶ ὁ κοινὸς νόμος.

οἷον] used here as Ch. VII. 5, οἷον ἡ δικαία, simply as explaining τὸ ἄρχον καὶ τὸ ἀρχόμενον; and the genitive is explained by the ὧν.

δῆλον τοίνυν, κ.τ.λ.] guided by this

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νυν ὅτι τὸν αὐτὸν τρόπον ἔχει καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν ἄλλων, ὥστε
φύσει τὰ πλείω ἄρχοντα καὶ ἀρχόμενα. ἄλλον γὰρ τρό-
7 πον τὸ ἐλεύθερον τοῦ δούλου ἄρχει καὶ τὸ ἄρρεν τοῦ θήλεος
καὶ ἀνὴρ παιδός· καὶ πᾶσιν ἐνυπάρχει μὲν τὰ μόρια τῆς
ψυχῆς, ἀλλ' ἐνυπάρχει διαφερόντως. ὁ μὲν γὰρ δοῦλος
ὅλως οὐκ ἔχει τὸ βουλευτικόν, τὸ δὲ θῆλυ ἔχει μέν, ἀλλ'
8 ἄκυρον· ὁ δὲ παῖς ἔχει μέν, ἀλλ' ἀτελές. ὁμοίως τοίνυν
ἀναγκαῖον ἔχειν καὶ περὶ τὰς ἠθικὰς ἀρετάς· ὑποληπτέον δεῖν
μὲν μετέχειν πάντας, ἀλλ' οὐ τὸν αὐτὸν τρόπον, ἀλλ' ὅσον
ἑκάστῳ πρὸς τὸ αὑτοῦ ἔργον. διὸ τὸν μὲν ἄρχοντα τελέαν
ἔχειν δεῖ τὴν ἠθικὴν ἀρετήν (τὸ γὰρ ἔργον ἐστὶν ἁπλῶς
τοῦ ἀρχιτέκτονος, ὁ δὲ λόγος ἀρχιτέκτων), τῶν δ' ἄλλων
9 ἕκαστον, ὅσον ἐπιβάλλει αὐτοῖς. ὥστε φανερὸν ὅτι ἐστὶν
ἠθικὴ ἀρετὴ τῶν εἰρημένων πάντων, καὶ οὐχ ἡ αὐτὴ σωφρο-
σύνη γυναικὸς καὶ ἀνδρός, οὐδ' ἀνδρία καὶ δικαιοσύνη, καθά-
περ ᾤετο Σωκράτης, ἀλλ' ἡ μὲν ἀρχικὴ ἀνδρία, ἡ δ' ὑπη-
10 ρετική. ὁμοίως δ' ἔχει καὶ περὶ τὰς ἄλλας. Δῆλον δὲ
τοῦτο καὶ κατὰ μέρος μᾶλλον ἐπισκοποῦσιν· καθόλου γὰρ
οἱ λέγοντες ἐξαπατῶσιν ἑαυτούς, ὅτι τὸ εὖ ἔχειν τὴν
ψυχὴν ἀρετή, ἢ τὸ ὀρθοπραγεῖν, ἤ τι τῶν τοιούτων· πολὺ
γὰρ ἄμεινον λέγουσιν οἱ ἐξαριθμοῦντες τὰς ἀρετάς, ὥσπερ

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parallel we may consider clear the other case which we were discussing, and all similar cases.

ὥστε φύσει τὰ πλείω] So that we may consider nature to sanction, for the majority of instances, the distinction between ruler and ruled. The particular forms that distinction will assume are a further question. They differ in each case, ἄλλον γὰρ τρόπον, κ.τ.λ.

7 ὁ μὲν γὰρ δοῦλος, κ.τ.λ.] The slave can have no will, as he is in no sense his own, so he needs no deliberative faculty to guide him. The woman has will and the faculty of deliberation, but its decisions wait for sanction, they are *per se* of no force. The child is, in this respect as in others, incomplete.

8 ἑκάστῳ] supply ἐπιβάλλει, or some such word, 'as much as each needs or has allotted to him for the discharge of his own proper work.'

The ruler must have φρόνησις. Compare below, III. 4. This is ἠθικὴ ἀρετὴ τελέα, the perfect combination of the moral and the intellectual elements of virtue. *Eth.* VI. xiii.

ἁπλῶς] 'strictly.'

9 Σωκράτης] In the 5th book of Plato's *Republic*.

10 κατὰ μέρος] 'in detail.'

καθόλου γάρ, κ.τ.λ.] Compare *Eth.* II. vii. I. p. 1107, 29: ἐν τοῖς περὶ τὰς πράξεις λόγοις οἱ μὲν καθόλου κενώτεροί εἰσιν, οἱ δ' ἐπὶ μέρους ἀληθινώτεροι.

Γοργίας, τῶν οὕτως ὁριζομένων. διὸ δεῖ, ὥσπερ ὁ ποιητὴς The Family Relations.
εἴρηκε περὶ γυναικός, οὕτω νομίζειν ἔχειν περὶ πάντων· 11

γυναικὶ κόσμον ἡ σιγὴ φέρει,

ἀλλ' ἀνδρὶ οὐκέτι τοῦτο. ἐπεὶ δ' ὁ παῖς ἀτελής, δῆλον ὅτι τούτου μὲν καὶ ἡ ἀρετὴ οὐκ αὐτοῦ πρὸς αὐτόν ἐστιν, ἀλλὰ πρὸς τὸν τέλειον καὶ τὸν ἡγούμενον. ὁμοίως δὲ καὶ 12
δούλου πρὸς δεσπότην. ἔθεμεν δὲ πρὸς τἀναγκαῖα χρήσιμον εἶναι τὸν δοῦλον, ὥστε δῆλον ὅτι καὶ ἀρετῆς δεῖται μικρᾶς, καὶ τοσαύτης ὅπως μήτε δι' ἀκολασίαν μήτε διὰ δειλίαν ἐλλείψῃ τῶν ἔργων. Ἀπορήσειε δ' ἄν τις, τὸ νῦν εἰρημένον εἰ ἀληθές, ἆρα καὶ τοὺς τεχνίτας δεήσει ἔχειν ἀρετήν· πολλάκις γὰρ δι' ἀκολασίαν ἐλλείπουσι τῶν ἔργων. ἢ διαφέρει τοῦτο πλεῖστον. ὁ μὲν γὰρ δοῦλος κοινωνὸς 13
ζωῆς, ὁ δὲ πορρώτερον, καὶ τοσοῦτον ἐπιβάλλει ἀρετῆς ὅσον περ καὶ δουλείας· ὁ γὰρ βάναυσος τεχνίτης ἀφωρισ- 1260 B
μένην τινὰ ἔχει δουλείαν· καὶ ὁ μὲν δοῦλος τῶν φύσει, σκυτοτόμος δ' οὐθείς, οὐδὲ τῶν ἄλλων τεχνιτῶν. φανερὸν 14
τοίνυν ὅτι τῆς τοιαύτης ἀρετῆς αἴτιον εἶναι δεῖ τῷ δούλῳ τὸν δεσπότην, ἀλλ' οὐ τὴν διδασκαλικὴν ἔχοντα τῶν ἔργων

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11 πάντων] sc. τῶν ἄλλων.

γυναικὶ κόσμον] Soph. *Aj.* 293.

ἐπεὶ δ', κ.τ.λ.] Since the child is incomplete, his excellence as well as himself will be incomplete (καὶ ἡ ἀρετή); both will have reference to the perfect, full-grown man, under whose guidance he is.

12 τοσαύτης] 'only so much.'

ἆρα καί, κ.τ.λ.] 'will it not be necessary for the artisans to have virtue?'

13 ἢ διαφέρει τοῦτο πλεῖστον] "Ist hier nicht etwa ein sehr bedeutender Unterschied?" Stahr. "Is not this a case which differs most widely from the others?" The slave stands nearer to the family than the artisan does, and is therefore better off. The other has a share of virtue proportionate only to his participation in the slave's condition. He is a slave, but a slave without the advantage of slavery, he is unattached; he is ἄνευ οἰκονομίας, ἄνευ πολιτείας, and as being so cannot secure his own real good. Compare *Eth.* VI. ix. p. 1142, 9. No passage marks more distinctly the low estimation in which Aristotle held the free artisan, the prolétaire of his days. No passage can give a livelier idea of the wide interval between his political ideas and our own—the political ideas of a society based on war and slavery, and those of one based on free industry.

13 τοιαύτης] Such as it was stated in § 12 before the question occurred as to the artisan.

ἀλλ' οὐ τήν, κ.τ.λ.] More fully this would stand τὴν δεσποτικὴν τὴν διδασκαλικὴν τῶν ἔργων.

The Family Relations.

δεσποτικήν. διὸ λέγουσιν οὐ καλῶς οἱ λόγου τοὺς δούλους ἀποστεροῦντες καὶ φάσκοντες ἐπιτάξει χρῆσθαι μόνον· νουθετητέον γὰρ μᾶλλον τοὺς δούλους ἢ τοὺς παῖδας.

15 Ἀλλὰ περὶ μὲν τούτων διωρίσθω τὸν τρόπον τοῦτον· περὶ δὲ ἀνδρὸς καὶ γυναικὸς καὶ τέκνων καὶ πατρός, τῆς τε περὶ ἕκαστον αὐτῶν ἀρετῆς, καὶ τῆς πρὸς σφᾶς αὐτοὺς ὁμιλίας, τί τὸ καλῶς καὶ μὴ καλῶς ἐστί, καὶ πῶς δεῖ τὸ μὲν εὖ διώκειν τὸ δὲ κακῶς φεύγειν, ἐν τοῖς περὶ* πολιτείας ἀναγκαῖον ἐπελθεῖν· ἐπεὶ γὰρ οἰκία μὲν πᾶσα μέρος πόλεως, ταῦτα δ' οἰκίας, τὴν δὲ τοῦ μέρους πρὸς τὴν τοῦ ὅλου δεῖ βλέπειν ἀρετήν, ἀναγκαῖον πρὸς τὴν πολιτείαν βλέποντας παιδεύειν καὶ τοὺς παῖδας καὶ τὰς γυναῖκας, εἴπερ τι διαφέρει πρὸς τὸ τὴν πόλιν εἶναι σπουδαίαν καὶ τοὺς παῖδας

16 εἶναι σπουδαίους καὶ τὰς γυναῖκας σπουδαίας. ἀναγκαῖον δὲ διαφέρειν· αἱ μὲν γὰρ γυναῖκες ἥμισυ μέρος τῶν ἐλευθέρων, ἐκ δὲ τῶν παίδων οἱ κοινωνοὶ γίνονται τῆς πολιτείας. Ὥστ' ἐπεὶ περὶ μὲν τούτων διώρισται, περὶ δὲ τῶν λοιπῶν ἐν ἄλλοις λεκτέον, ἀφέντες ὡς τέλος ἔχοντας τοὺς νῦν λόγους, ἄλλην ἀρχὴν ποιησάμενοι λέγωμεν, καὶ πρῶτον ἐπισκεψώμεθα περὶ τῶν ἀποφηναμένων περὶ τῆς πολιτείας τῆς ἀρίστης.

* Bekker τάς.

διό] And if they need so much virtue they will need the right reason of their master to guide them to it, and in the application of it. The mere ordering will not suffice, there must be some reasoning with slaves, nay, more even than with children. His language here as elsewhere is very conciliatory in regard to slaves, and throws considerable light on the very great difference that exists between the slavery of the ancient world and that of the modern.

15 So far then for these points. The further treatment of them must be postponed. For beyond the point at which we have now arrived the members of the family assume a political character, and must be viewed no longer simply with reference to the family, but to the state.

τί τὸ καλῶς] sc. *ὁμιλεῖν*.

περὶ τὰς πολιτείας] Bekker retains the article. Nickes rejects it, and with good ground. Compare III. 1. *περὶ οἰκονομίας*, and III. i. 1. *τῷ περὶ πολιτείας ἐπισκοποῦντι*.

πρὸς τὴν πολιτείαν] If so you must first decide on this constitution.

16 *ἀφέντες, κ.τ.λ.*] 'we turn from this present book (the Economics), as complete.'

BOOK II. SUMMARY.

THE second book of the Politics requires but little introduction. It is a simple review of the experience of the past; a review, on the one hand, of the various theories broached by political writers; on the other, of such eminent states as had, by their singularity or success, attracted the attention of the political student. So that a simple enumeration of its contents seems sufficient; no analysis is required. Whatever difficulties it presents will find their more fitting treatment in the notes.

The largest portion and most detailed treatment is given to the theories of Plato, as set forth in, 1st, the Republic, which is examined in Ch. 1—5; 2ndly, the Laws in Ch. 6.

Ch. 7 The constitution of Phaleas of Chalcedon.
8 That of Hippodamus of Miletus.
9 The Spartan Constitution.
10 The Cretan.
11 The Carthaginian.
12 Miscellaneous notices of Athens, and of the various lawgivers of Greece, with their respective peculiarities.

The justification and ground of this elaborate review of the past, whether from the point of view of theory or experience, may be found in Aristotle's own words in c. 5, § 16: *Δεῖ δὲ μηδὲ τοῦτο αὐτὸ ἀγνοεῖν, ὅτι χρὴ προσέχειν τῷ πολλῷ χρόνῳ καὶ τοῖς πολλοῖς ἔτεσιν, ἐν οἷς οὐκ ἂν ἔλαθεν εἰ ταῦτα καλῶς εἶχεν· πάντα γὰρ σχεδὸν εὕρηται μὲν, ἀλλὰ τὰ μὲν οὐ συνῆκται, τοῖς δ' οὐ χρῶνται γιγνώσκοντες.*

And for the critical, negative tone in which he passes before him the various constitutions, whether theoretic or actual, the ground for that is given in Ch. I. § 1. Unless something more were shown to be wanting, Aristotle need not have entered on the present enquiry.

The insertion of so fragmentary a notice of the Athenian constitution is as curious as the omission of a more detailed one. For from the remains existing of his work on the Polities, we know he had studied it in the greatest detail. What is actually

given renders the chapter very suspicious. Had we that larger work, it is possible the question might have admitted of solution, why he has not criticised Athens, as he has Sparta, Crete, and Carthage? Is it that it was superfluous for him to do so, as his own ideal constitution, of which we have a large fragment in the 4th and 5th books (vii. viii. of the old arrangement), is in the main a modification of Athens? He was a true Athenian, says Niebuhr, "ein Athener von Herz, wenn auch nicht von Geburt" *über alte Geschichte*, iii. 54. He may have seen in Athens and its constitution great deficiencies, but he also may have seen in it the highest product of Greek political experience; and as such may have, in all his treatment of the subject, kept it in sight. If so, a detailed criticism would not be required. Adopting very largely its elaborate forms and minute details, his own positive creation would be to any Athenian a sufficient criticism of the institutions of his country. The comparison would be one he could hardly avoid. It would be also clearly undesirable for one in Aristotle's position, a foreigner at Athens, and in no sense mixing in the political affairs of his adopted country, to press on the notice of the Athenians any unfavourable criticisms. Abstinence from such criticism may fairly be required of strangers by the government of any country in which they are resident.

And it is clear, I think, from the whole of the book that Aristotle did not conceive himself under the necessity of handing down for future times and altered circumstances the political facts of his day. On the contrary, he looked on the Greek state, modifiable and modified in conformity with experience, as the ultimate form of human society. So that if he was exempt from the duty of criticising, he was under none of the obligations of the historian. It was not as an historian, but as a political philosopher, that he observed the Hellenic constitutions, and registered the results of his observations.

ΠΟΛΙΤΙΚΩΝ Β.

Plato's Republic.

ΕΠΕΙ δὲ προαιρούμεθα θεωρῆσαι περὶ τῆς κοινωνίας τῆς πολιτικῆς, ἢ κρατίστη πασῶν τοῖς δυναμένοις ζῆν ὅτι μάλιστα κατ' εὐχήν, δεῖ καὶ τὰς ἄλλας ἐπισκέψασθαι πολιτείας, αἷς τε χρῶνταί τινες τῶν πόλεων τῶν εὐνομεῖσθαι λεγομένων, κἂν εἴ τινες ἕτεραι τυγχάνωσιν ὑπό τινων εἰρημέναι καὶ δοκοῦσαι καλῶς ἔχειν, ἵνα τό τ' ὀρθῶς ἔχον ὀφθῇ καὶ τὸ χρήσιμον, ἔτι δὲ τὸ ζητεῖν τι παρ' αὐτὰς ἕτερον μὴ δοκῇ πάντως εἶναι σοφίζεσθαι βουλομένων, ἀλλὰ διὰ τὸ μὴ καλῶς ἔχειν ταύτας τὰς νῦν ὑπαρχούσας, διὰ τοῦτο ταύτην δοκῶμεν ἐπιβαλέσθαι τὴν μέθοδον. Ἀρχὴν δὲ πρῶτον 2
ποιητέον ἥπερ πέφυκεν ἀρχὴ ταύτης τῆς σκέψεως. ἀνάγκη γὰρ ἤτοι πάντας πάντων κοινωνεῖν τοὺς πολίτας, ἢ μηδενός, ἢ τινῶν μὲν τινῶν δὲ μή. τὸ μὲν οὖν μηδενὸς κοινωνεῖν φανερὸν ὡς ἀδύνατον· ἡ γὰρ πολιτεία κοινωνία τίς ἐστι, καὶ πρῶτον ἀνάγκη τοῦ τόπου κοινωνεῖν· ὁ μὲν γὰρ τόπος εἷς

I. 1 προαιρούμεθα θεωρῆσαι, κ.τ.λ.] This, as Spengel remarks, shows that Aristotle had the intention of himself constructing a constitution, as Plato and Phaleas had done. Spengel's remarks on the general object of the book are very good, and his short essay, *Ueber die Politik von Aristoteles*, published in the *Abhandlungen* of the Munich Academy of Sciences, is throughout very valuable.

σοφίζεσθαι] 'to refine.'

διὰ τὸ μὴ καλῶς ἔχειν, κ.τ.λ.] This, as Nickes rightly sees, justifies Aristotle in dwelling mainly on the points he objects to. And as the works criticised were then accessible, and the constitutions treated of actually in existence, there was no need to guard statements which may at times appear one-sided.

ταύτην τὴν μέθοδον ἐπιβαλέσθαι] 'to have taken upon us this branch of our enquiry.'

2 ἀνάγκη γάρ] By I. 1, &c. the city was a κοινωνία. It must be a κοινωνία of something. What shall be the limit? What shall its members have in common?

ὁ μὲν γὰρ τόπος εἷς ὁ τῆς μιᾶς πόλεως] There can be no reasonable doubt, I should think, that Bekker is right in adopting this reading against the MSS. This unity of place is in

Property. ρωσιν γὰρ τ
7 ταύτης ἐγένετ
μένης τῆς βοη
ὧν ἐπλεόναζο
8 χρῆσις. οὐ
ἀναγκαίων·
πρὸς σφᾶς αὐτ
αὐτὸ ὃν εἶχε τ
σίδηρος καὶ ἄ
πρῶτον ἁπλῶς
ταῖον καὶ χα

and as equivalent to
X. 4, and to the με
same section.

εἰς ἀναπλήρωσιν]
previous want felt;
Eth. x. iii. 6. p. 1173

τῆς κατὰ φύσιν α
needed to enable man
completeness, to grat
wants'—a state wh
φύσιν he is conceiv
tained. Compare th
κατὰ φύσιν ἕξεως, E
1153, 14.

7 ταύτης] is the
τική—ἐκείνη is the
κατὰ λόγον, by a natu
a logical consequenc
other kind.' Compa
1100, 23. τελευτήσαντ

ξενικωτέρας] 'more

ἐξ ἀνάγκης] Some
absolutely indispensa

8 οὐ γάρ, κ.τ.λ.]
portable was requir
commodities being v
this respect.'

ὃ τῶν χρησίμων,
self was something
purposes of life, and
manageable.'

μεγέθει καὶ σταθμ

μέντοι ὅραμα Θάλεω καὶ τοῦτο ταὐτόν ἐστιν· ἀμφότεροι Property.
γὰρ ἑαυτοῖς ἐτέχνασαν γενέσθαι μονοπωλίαν. Χρήσιμον 13
δὲ γνωρίζειν ταῦτα καὶ τοῖς πολιτικοῖς· πολλαῖς γὰρ
πόλεσι δεῖ χρηματισμοῦ καὶ τοιούτων πόρων, ὥσπερ οἰκίᾳ,
μᾶλλον δέ. διόπερ τινὲς καὶ πολιτεύονται τῶν πολιτευ-
μένων ταῦτα μόνον.

Ἐπεὶ δὲ τρία μέρη τῆς οἰκονομικῆς ἦν, ἓν μὲν δεσπο- 12
τική, περὶ ἧς εἴρηται πρότερον, ἓν δὲ πατρική, τρίτον δὲ The Family Relations.
γαμική· καὶ γὰρ γυναικὸς ἄρχειν καὶ τέκνων, ὡς ἐλευθέρων
μὲν ἀμφοῖν, οὐ τὸν αὐτὸν δὲ τρόπον τῆς ἀρχῆς, ἀλλὰ γυ- 1259 B
ναικὸς μὲν πολιτικῶς, τέκνων δὲ βασιλικῶς· τό τε γὰρ
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ζητεῖ] Impersonal—on cherche. 'It is an object that there should be a difference.'

σχήμασι] 'the insignia of office.'

Ἄμασις] Herod. II. 172.

3 ἀεί] καὶ οὐκ ἐκ μεταβολῆς.

Property. τοῦ Μιλησίου· τοῦτο γάρ ἐστι κατανόημά τι χρηματιστι-
κόν, ἀλλ' ἐκείνῳ μὲν διὰ τὴν σοφίαν προσάπτουσι, τυγχάνει
9 δὲ καθόλου τι ὄν. ὀνειδιζόντων γὰρ αὐτῷ διὰ τὴν πενίαν
ὡς ἀνωφελοῦς τῆς φιλοσοφίας οὔσης, κατανοήσαντά φασιν
αὐτὸν ἐλαιῶν φορὰν ἐσομένην ἐκ τῆς ἀστρολογίας, ἔτι χει-
μῶνος ὄντος, εὐπορήσαντα χρημάτων ὀλίγων ἀρραβῶνας
διαδοῦναι τῶν ἐλαιουργίων τῶν τ' ἐν Μιλήτῳ καὶ Χίῳ πάν-
των, ὀλίγου μισθωσάμενον ἅτ' οὐθενὸς ἐπιβάλλοντος· ἐπειδὴ
δ' ὁ καιρὸς ἧκε, πολλῶν ζητουμένων ἅμα καὶ ἐξαίφνης, ἐκμι-
σθοῦντα ὃν τρόπον ἠβούλετο, πολλὰ χρήματα συλλέξαντα
ἐπιδεῖξαι ὅτι ῥᾴδιόν ἐστι πλουτεῖν τοῖς φιλοσόφοις, ἂν
10 βούλωνται, ἀλλ' οὐ τοῦτ' ἐστὶ περὶ ὃ σπουδάζουσιν. Θαλῆς
μὲν οὖν λέγεται τοῦτον τὸν τρόπον ἐπίδειξιν ποιήσασθαι
τῆς σοφίας· ἔστι δ', ὥσπερ εἴπομεν, καθόλου τὸ τοιοῦτον
χρηματιστικόν, ἐάν τις δύνηται μονοπωλίαν αὑτῷ κατασκευ-
άζειν. διὸ καὶ τῶν πόλεων ἔνιαι τοῦτον ποιοῦνται τὸν πόρον,
ὅταν ἀπορῶσι χρημάτων· μονοπωλίαν γὰρ τῶν ὠνίων ποι-
11 οῦσιν. Ἐν Σικελίᾳ δέ τις τεθέντος παρ' αὐτῷ νομίσματος
συνεπρίατο πάντα τὸν σίδηρον ἐκ τῶν σιδηρείων, μετὰ δὲ
ταῦτα ὡς ἀφίκοντο ἐκ τῶν ἐμπορίων οἱ ἔμποροι, ἐπώλει
μόνος, οὐ πολλὴν ποιήσας ὑπερβολὴν τῆς τιμῆς· ἀλλ' ὅμως
12 ἐπὶ τοῖς πεντήκοντα ταλάντοις ἐπέλαβεν ἑκατόν. τοῦτο
μὲν οὖν ὁ Διονύσιος αἰσθόμενος τὰ μὲν χρήματα ἐκέλευσεν
ἐκκομίσασθαι, μὴ μέντοι γ' ἔτι μένειν ἐν Συρακούσαις, ὡς
πόρους εὑρίσκοντα τοῖς αὑτοῦ πράγμασιν ἀσυμφόρους. τὸ

κατανόημά τι χρηματιστικόν] "une speculation lucrative," St Hil.; rather, 'a money-making device.'

ἀλλ' ἐκείνῳ μέν, κ.τ.λ.] 'but though it is attributed to him on account of his philosophical knowledge, yet &c.'

9 ἀνωφελοῦς] Compare *Eth.* VI. vii. 5. p. 1141, b. 5: Θαλῆν καὶ τοὺς τοιούτους σόφους μέν, φρονίμους δ' οὔ φασιν εἶναι, ὅταν ἴδωσιν ἀγνοοῦντας τὰ συμφέρονθ' ἑαυτοῖς, κ.τ.λ.

κατανοήσαντα ἐκ τῆς ἀστρολογίας.

ἀρραβῶνας] 'deposit of money,' 'arrhes.'

ἐλαιουργίων] = ἐλαιουργείων, Liddell and Scott, 'oil-presses.'

ἐπιβάλλοντος] 'raising the price.'

10 On the subject of monopolies compare Boeckh, Vol. I. p. 73, 1st Ed.

11 οὐ πολλὴν ποιήσας, κ.τ.λ.] 'without raising the price much.'

ἐπὶ τοῖς πεντήκοντα] For his 50 talents he got 150: 200 per cent. profit.

Property.

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The Family Relations.

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The Family Relations.

πρὸς τὸ θῆλυ τοῦτον ἔχει τὸν τρόπον. ἡ δὲ τῶν τέκνων ἀρχὴ βασιλική· τὸ γὰρ γεννῆσαν καὶ κατὰ φιλίαν ἄρχον καὶ κατὰ πρεσβείαν ἐστίν, ὅπερ ἐστὶ βασιλικῆς εἶδος ἀρχῆς. διὸ καλῶς Ὅμηρος τὸν Δία προσηγόρευσεν εἰπὼν

πατὴρ ἀνδρῶν τε θεῶν τε,

τὸν βασιλέα τούτων ἁπάντων. φύσει γὰρ τὸν βασιλέα διαφέρειν μὲν δεῖ, τῷ γένει δ' εἶναι τὸν αὐτόν· ὅπερ πέπονθε τὸ πρεσβύτερον πρὸς τὸ νεώτερον καὶ ὁ γεννήσας πρὸς τὸ τέκνον.

13 Φανερὸν τοίνυν ὅτι πλείων ἡ σπουδὴ τῆς οἰκονομίας περὶ τοὺς ἀνθρώπους ἢ περὶ τὴν τῶν ἀψύχων κτῆσιν, καὶ περὶ τὴν ἀρετὴν τούτων ἢ περὶ τὴν τῆς κτήσεως, ὃν καλοῦ-
2 μεν πλοῦτον, καὶ τῶν ἐλευθέρων μᾶλλον ἢ δούλων. Πρῶτον μὲν οὖν περὶ δούλων ἀπορήσειεν ἄν τις, πότερόν ἐστιν ἀρετή τις δούλου παρὰ τὰς ὀργανικὰς καὶ διακονικὰς ἄλλη τιμιωτέρα τούτων, οἷον σωφροσύνη καὶ ἀνδρία καὶ δικαιοσύνη καὶ τῶν ἄλλων τῶν τοιούτων ἕξεων, ἢ οὐκ ἔστιν οὐδεμία παρὰ τὰς σωματικὰς ὑπηρεσίας. ἔχει γὰρ ἀπορίαν
3 ἀμφοτέρως. εἴτε γὰρ ἔστι, τί διοίσουσι τῶν ἐλευθέρων; εἴτε μή ἐστιν ὄντων ἀνθρώπων καὶ λόγου κοινωνούντων, ἄτοπον. σχεδὸν δὲ ταὐτόν ἐστι τὸ ζητούμενον καὶ περὶ γυναικὸς καὶ παιδός, πότερα καὶ τούτων εἰσὶν ἀρεταί, καὶ δεῖ τὴν γυναῖκα εἶναι σώφρονα καὶ ἀνδρείαν καὶ δικαίαν, καὶ
4 παῖς ἐστὶ καὶ ἀκόλαστος καὶ σώφρων, ἢ οὔ; καὶ καθόλου

βασιλική] *Eth.* VIII. xii. 4. p. 1160. B. 24.

πατήρ, κ.τ.λ.] *Il.* I. 544. 'After calling him πατήρ, κ.τ.λ., he added the term τὸν βασιλέα.' προσηγόρευσεν, laying stress on the preposition.

φύσει γάρ] 'For though there must be a natural distinction between the king and his subjects, he must still in kind be the same.' This holds good between the elder and the younger, the father and child; they are of the same kind, they differ in age.

XIII. 1 τὴν ἀρετὴν τούτων] sc. τῶν ἀνθρώπων.

2 The statement that *more* attention is to be paid to the excellence of the free man than to that of the slave suggests the question: what is this excellence of the slave?

παρὰ τὰς ὀργανικὰς καὶ διακονικάς] 'Beside his excellence as an instrument and a servant.'

τῶν ἄλλων τῶν τοιούτων ἕξεων] supply τις, from οὐδεμία. Göttling.

3 λόγου] 'reason.' τὸ ζητούμενον, 'the question.'

καὶ ἀκόλαστος] It must be allowed that the child is ἀκόλαστος in one

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δὴ τοῦτ' ἐστὶν ἐπισκεπτέον περὶ ἀρχομένου φύσει καὶ
ἄρχοντος, πότερον ἡ αὐτὴ ἀρετὴ ἢ ἑτέρα. εἰ μὲν γὰρ δεῖ
ἀμφοτέρους μετέχειν καλοκἀγαθίας, διὰ τί τὸν μὲν ἄρχειν
δέοι ἂν τὸν δὲ ἄρχεσθαι καθάπαξ; οὐδὲ γὰρ τῷ μᾶλλον καὶ
ἧττον οἷόν τε διαφέρειν· τὸ μὲν γὰρ ἄρχεσθαι καὶ ἄρχειν
εἴδει διαφέρει, τὸ δὲ μᾶλλον καὶ ἧττον οὐδέν. εἰ δὲ τὸν 5
μὲν δεῖ τὸν δὲ μή, θαυμαστόν. εἴτε γὰρ ὁ ἄρχων μὴ ἔσται
σώφρων καὶ δίκαιος, πῶς ἄρξει καλῶς; εἴθ' ὁ ἀρχόμενος, 1260
πῶς ἀρχθήσεται καλῶς; ἀκόλαστος γὰρ ὢν καὶ δειλὸς
οὐθὲν ποιήσει τῶν προσηκόντων. φανερὸν τοίνυν ὅτι
ἀνάγκη μὲν μετέχειν ἀμφοτέρους ἀρετῆς, ταύτης δ' εἶναι
διαφοράς, ὥσπερ καὶ τῶν φύσει ἀρχομένων. καὶ τοῦτο 6
εὐθὺς ὑφήγηται περὶ τὴν ψυχήν· ἐν ταύτῃ γάρ ἐστι φύσει
τὸ μὲν ἄρχον τὸ δὲ ἀρχόμενον, ὧν ἑτέραν φαμὲν εἶναι ἀρε-
τήν, οἷον τοῦ λόγον ἔχοντος καὶ τοῦ ἀλόγου. δῆλον τοί-

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sense. *Eth.* III. XV. 5. p. 1119. B. 5. Is he not only ἀκόλαστος, but also σώφρων? Are we, that is, to determine the sense which we attach to the former epithet by that which we generally attach to the latter, and say that he is capable of reaching the lowest and highest moral condition?

4 δή] This reading is quite right. As we have had mentioned the three who are naturally under rule, the slave, the wife, and the child, it follows that the enquiry extends to the whole class which they form. The question is a parallel one to that discussed in III. 4: Have the citizen and the ruler the same excellence? Here it is not the πολίτης but the ἀρχόμενος φύσει.

καθάπαξ] perpetuo, Victorius, 'once for all;' "à jamais," St Hil.

οὐδὲ γάρ, κ.τ.λ.] The difference in degree implies sameness in kind. But here, as so often in the work, it must be remembered that the statement is aporematic, that is, forms part of a discussion, so that it will not warrant a direct inference as to Aristotle's view on the subject.

5 τὸν μὲν δεῖ] sc. μετέχειν καλοκἀγαθίας. τῶν φύσει ἀρχομένων, sc. εἰσι διαφοραί.

6 ὑφήγηται] "C'est ce que nous avons déjà dit," is St. Hilaire's translation. Schneider supplies φύσις. Heinsius, as quoted by Schneider, agrees with St Hilaire. "Und darauf wird man gleich von vorn herein bei der Seele hingeführt." Stahr. No one of these is satisfactory. 'And this at once suggests to us to look at the soul and its constitution, and see whether we cannot get some light there: Are there not in the soul parts with a relation to one another? and what is the excellence of these parts?—is it the same or different? why there we allow it to be different.' So I interpret the passage. Compare *Œc.* I. iv. I. p. 1344, 10: τοῦθ' ὑφηγεῖται δὲ καὶ ὁ κοινὸς νόμος.

οἷον] used here as Ch. VII. 5, οἷον ἡ δικαία, simply as explaining τὸ ἄρχον καὶ τὸ ἀρχόμενον; and the genitive is explained by the ὧν.

δῆλον τοίνυν, κ.τ.λ.] guided by this

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νυν ὅτι τὸν αὐτὸν τρόπον ἔχει καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν ἄλλων, ὥστε
φύσει τὰ πλείω ἄρχοντα καὶ ἀρχόμενα. ἄλλον γὰρ τρό-
7 πον τὸ ἐλεύθερον τοῦ δούλου ἄρχει καὶ τὸ ἄρρεν τοῦ θήλεος
καὶ ἀνὴρ παιδός· καὶ πᾶσιν ἐνυπάρχει μὲν τὰ μόρια τῆς
ψυχῆς, ἀλλ' ἐνυπάρχει διαφερόντως. ὁ μὲν γὰρ δοῦλος
ὅλως οὐκ ἔχει τὸ βουλευτικόν, τὸ δὲ θῆλυ ἔχει μέν, ἀλλ'
8 ἄκυρον· ὁ δὲ παῖς ἔχει μέν, ἀλλ' ἀτελές. ὁμοίως τοίνυν
ἀναγκαῖον ἔχειν καὶ περὶ τὰς ἠθικὰς ἀρετάς· ὑποληπτέον δεῖν
μὲν μετέχειν πάντας, ἀλλ' οὐ τὸν αὐτὸν τρόπον, ἀλλ' ὅσον
ἑκάστῳ πρὸς τὸ αὑτοῦ ἔργον. διὸ τὸν μὲν ἄρχοντα τελέαν
ἔχειν δεῖ τὴν ἠθικὴν ἀρετήν (τὸ γὰρ ἔργον ἐστὶν ἁπλῶς
τοῦ ἀρχιτέκτονος, ὁ δὲ λόγος ἀρχιτέκτων), τῶν δ' ἄλλων
9 ἕκαστον, ὅσον ἐπιβάλλει αὐτοῖς. ὥστε φανερὸν ὅτι ἐστὶν
ἠθικὴ ἀρετὴ τῶν εἰρημένων πάντων, καὶ οὐχ ἡ αὐτὴ σωφρο-
σύνη γυναικὸς καὶ ἀνδρός, οὐδ' ἀνδρία καὶ δικαιοσύνη, καθά-
περ ᾤετο Σωκράτης, ἀλλ' ἡ μὲν ἀρχικὴ ἀνδρία, ἡ δ' ὑπη-
10 ρετική. ὁμοίως δ' ἔχει καὶ περὶ τὰς ἄλλας. Δῆλον δὲ
τοῦτο καὶ κατὰ μέρος μᾶλλον ἐπισκοποῦσιν· καθόλου γὰρ
οἱ λέγοντες ἐξαπατῶσιν ἑαυτούς, ὅτι τὸ εὖ ἔχειν τὴν
ψυχὴν ἀρετή, ἢ τὸ ὀρθοπραγεῖν, ἤ τι τῶν τοιούτων· πολὺ
γὰρ ἄμεινον λέγουσιν οἱ ἐξαριθμοῦντες τὰς ἀρετάς, ὥσπερ

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parallel we may consider clear the other case which we were discussing, and all similar cases.

ὥστε φύσει τὰ πλείω] So that we may consider nature to sanction, for the majority of instances, the distinction between ruler and ruled. The particular forms that distinction will assume are a further question. They differ in each case, ἄλλον γὰρ τρόπον, κ.τ.λ.

7 ὁ μὲν γὰρ δοῦλος, κ.τ.λ.] The slave can have no will, as he is in no sense his own, so he needs no deliberative faculty to guide him. The woman has will and the faculty of deliberation, but its decisions wait for sanction, they are *per se* of no force. The child is, in this respect as in others, incomplete.

8 ἑκάστῳ] supply ἐπιβάλλει, or some such word, 'as much as each needs or has allotted to him for the discharge of his own proper work.'

The ruler must have φρόνησις. Compare below, III. 4. This is ἠθικὴ ἀρετὴ τελέα, the perfect combination of the moral and the intellectual elements of virtue. *Eth.* VI. xiii.

ἁπλῶς] 'strictly.'

9 Σωκράτης] In the 5th book of Plato's *Republic*.

10 κατὰ μέρος] 'in detail.'

καθόλου γάρ, κ.τ.λ.] Compare *Eth.* II. vii. 1. p. 1107, 29: ἐν τοῖς περὶ τὰς πράξεις λόγοις οἱ μὲν καθόλου κενώτεροί εἰσιν, οἱ δ' ἐπὶ μέρους ἀληθινώτεροι.

Γοργίας, τῶν οὕτως ὁριζομένων. διὸ δεῖ, ὥσπερ ὁ ποιητὴς εἴρηκε περὶ γυναικός, οὕτω νομίζειν ἔχειν περὶ πάντων· The Family Relations. 11

γυναικὶ κόσμον ἡ σιγὴ φέρει,

ἀλλ' ἀνδρὶ οὐκέτι τοῦτο. ἐπεὶ δ' ὁ παῖς ἀτελής, δῆλον ὅτι τούτου μὲν καὶ ἡ ἀρετὴ οὐκ αὐτοῦ πρὸς αὐτόν ἐστιν, ἀλλὰ πρὸς τὸν τέλειον καὶ τὸν ἡγούμενον. ὁμοίως δὲ καὶ 12 δούλου πρὸς δεσπότην. ἔθεμεν δὲ πρὸς τἀναγκαῖα χρήσιμον εἶναι τὸν δοῦλον, ὥστε δῆλον ὅτι καὶ ἀρετῆς δεῖται μικρᾶς, καὶ τοσαύτης ὅπως μήτε δι' ἀκολασίαν μήτε διὰ δειλίαν ἐλλείψῃ τῶν ἔργων. Ἀπορήσειε δ' ἄν τις, τὸ νῦν εἰρημένον εἰ ἀληθές, ἆρα καὶ τοὺς τεχνίτας δεήσει ἔχειν ἀρετήν· πολλάκις γὰρ δι' ἀκολασίαν ἐλλείπουσι τῶν ἔργων. ἢ διαφέρει τοῦτο πλεῖστον. ὁ μὲν γὰρ δοῦλος κοινωνὸς 13 ζωῆς, ὁ δὲ πορρώτερον, καὶ τοσοῦτον ἐπιβάλλει ἀρετῆς ὅσον περ καὶ δουλείας· ὁ γὰρ βάναυσος τεχνίτης ἀφωρισ- 1260 B μένην τινὰ ἔχει δουλείαν· καὶ ὁ μὲν δοῦλος τῶν φύσει, σκυτοτόμος δ' οὐθείς, οὐδὲ τῶν ἄλλων τεχνιτῶν. φανερὸν 14 τοίνυν ὅτι τῆς τοιαύτης ἀρετῆς αἴτιον εἶναι δεῖ τῷ δούλῳ τὸν δεσπότην, ἀλλ' οὐ τὴν διδασκαλικὴν ἔχοντα τῶν ἔργων

11 πάντων] sc. τῶν ἄλλων.

γυναικὶ κόσμον] Soph. *Aj.* 293.

ἐπεὶ δ', κ.τ.λ.] Since the child is incomplete, his excellence as well as himself will be incomplete (καὶ ἡ ἀρετή); both will have reference to the perfect, full-grown man, under whose guidance he is.

12 τοσαύτης] 'only so much.'

ἆρα καί, κ.τ.λ.] 'will it not be necessary for the artisans to have virtue?'

13 ἢ διαφέρει τοῦτο πλεῖστον] "Ist hier nicht etwa ein sehr bedeutender Unterschied?" Stahr. "Is not this a case which differs most widely from the others?" The slave stands nearer to the family than the artisan does, and is therefore better off. The other has a share of virtue proportionate only to his participation in the slave's condition. He is a slave, but a slave without the advantage of slavery, he is unattached; he is ἄνευ οἰκονομίας, ἄνευ πολιτείας, and as being so cannot secure his own real good. Compare *Eth.* VI. ix. p. 1142, 9. No passage marks more distinctly the low estimation in which Aristotle held the free artisan, the prolétaire of his days. No passage can give a livelier idea of the wide interval between his political ideas and our own—the political ideas of a society based on war and slavery, and those of one based on free industry.

13 τοιαύτης] Such as it was stated in § 12 before the question occurred as to the artisan.

ἀλλ' οὐ τήν, κ.τ.λ.] More fully this would stand τὴν δεσποτικὴν τὴν διδασκαλικὴν τῶν ἔργων.

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δεσποτικήν. διὸ λέγουσιν οὐ καλῶς οἱ λόγου τοὺς δούλους ἀποστεροῦντες καὶ φάσκοντες ἐπιτάξει χρῆσθαι μόνον· νουθετητέον γὰρ μᾶλλον τοὺς δούλους ἢ τοὺς παῖδας.

15 Ἀλλὰ περὶ μὲν τούτων διωρίσθω τὸν τρόπον τοῦτον· περὶ δὲ ἀνδρὸς καὶ γυναικὸς καὶ τέκνων καὶ πατρός, τῆς τε περὶ ἕκαστον αὐτῶν ἀρετῆς, καὶ τῆς πρὸς σφᾶς αὐτοὺς ὁμιλίας, τί τὸ καλῶς καὶ μὴ καλῶς ἐστί, καὶ πῶς δεῖ τὸ μὲν εὖ διώκειν τὸ δὲ κακῶς φεύγειν, ἐν τοῖς περὶ[a] πολιτείας ἀναγκαῖον ἐπελθεῖν· ἐπεὶ γὰρ οἰκία μὲν πᾶσα μέρος πόλεως, ταῦτα δ' οἰκίας, τὴν δὲ τοῦ μέρους πρὸς τὴν τοῦ ὅλου δεῖ βλέπειν ἀρετήν, ἀναγκαῖον πρὸς τὴν πολιτείαν βλέποντας παιδεύειν καὶ τοὺς παῖδας καὶ τὰς γυναῖκας, εἴπερ τι διαφέρει πρὸς τὸ τὴν πόλιν εἶναι σπουδαίαν καὶ τοὺς παῖδας
16 εἶναι σπουδαίους καὶ τὰς γυναῖκας σπουδαίας. ἀναγκαῖον δὲ διαφέρειν· αἱ μὲν γὰρ γυναῖκες ἥμισυ μέρος τῶν ἐλευθέρων, ἐκ δὲ τῶν παίδων οἱ κοινωνοὶ γίνονται τῆς πολιτείας. Ὥστ' ἐπεὶ περὶ μὲν τούτων διώρισται, περὶ δὲ τῶν λοιπῶν ἐν ἄλλοις λεκτέον, ἀφέντες ὡς τέλος ἔχοντας τοὺς νῦν λόγους, ἄλλην ἀρχὴν ποιησάμενοι λέγωμεν, καὶ πρῶτον ἐπισκεψώμεθα περὶ τῶν ἀποφηναμένων περὶ τῆς πολιτείας τῆς ἀρίστης.

[a] Bekker τάς.

διό] And if they need so much virtue they will need the right reason of their master to guide them to it, and in the application of it. The mere ordering will not suffice, there must be some reasoning with slaves, nay, more even than with children. His language here as elsewhere is very conciliatory in regard to slaves, and throws considerable light on the very great difference that exists between the slavery of the ancient world and that of the modern.

15 So far then for these points. The further treatment of them must be postponed. For beyond the point at which we have now arrived the members of the family assume a political character, and must be viewed no longer simply with reference to the family, but to the state.

τί τὸ καλῶς] sc. ὁμιλεῖν.

περὶ τὰς πολιτείας] Bekker retains the article. Nickes rejects it, and with good ground. Compare III. 1. περὶ οἰκονομίας, and III. i. 1. τῷ περὶ πολιτείας ἐπισκοποῦντι.

πρὸς τὴν πολιτείαν] If so you must first decide on this constitution.

16 ἀφέντες, κ.τ.λ.] 'we turn from this present book (the Economics), as complete.'

BOOK II. SUMMARY.

THE second book of the Politics requires but little introduction. It is a simple review of the experience of the past; a review, on the one hand, of the various theories broached by political writers; on the other, of such eminent states as had, by their singularity or success, attracted the attention of the political student. So that a simple enumeration of its contents seems sufficient; no analysis is required. Whatever difficulties it presents will find their more fitting treatment in the notes.

The largest portion and most detailed treatment is given to the theories of Plato, as set forth in, 1st, the Republic, which is examined in Ch. 1—5; 2ndly, the Laws in Ch. 6.

Ch. 7 The constitution of Phaleas of Chalcedon.
8 That of Hippodamus of Miletus.
9 The Spartan Constitution.
10 The Cretan.
11 The Carthaginian.
12 Miscellaneous notices of Athens, and of the various lawgivers of Greece, with their respective peculiarities.

The justification and ground of this elaborate review of the past, whether from the point of view of theory or experience, may be found in Aristotle's own words in c. 5, § 16: Δεῖ δὲ μηδὲ τοῦτο αὐτὸ ἀγνοεῖν, ὅτι χρὴ προσέχειν τῷ πολλῷ χρόνῳ καὶ τοῖς πολλοῖς ἔτεσιν, ἐν οἷς οὐκ ἂν ἔλαθεν εἰ ταῦτα καλῶς εἶχεν· πάντα γὰρ σχεδὸν εὕρηται μέν, ἀλλὰ τὰ μὲν οὐ συνῆκται, τοῖς δ' οὐ χρῶνται γιγνώσκοντες.

And for the critical, negative tone in which he passes before him the various constitutions, whether theoretic or actual, the ground for that is given in Ch. I. § 1. Unless something more were shown to be wanting, Aristotle need not have entered on the present enquiry.

The insertion of so fragmentary a notice of the Athenian constitution is as curious as the omission of a more detailed one. For from the remains existing of his work on the Polities, we know he had studied it in the greatest detail. What is actually

given renders the chapter very suspicious. Had we that larger work, it is possible the question might have admitted of solution, why he has not criticised Athens, as he has Sparta, Crete, and Carthage? Is it that it was superfluous for him to do so, as his own ideal constitution, of which we have a large fragment in the 4th and 5th books (vii. viii. of the old arrangement), is in the main a modification of Athens? He was a true Athenian, says Niebuhr, "ein Athener von Herz, wenn auch nicht von Geburt" *über alte Geschichte*, iii. 54. He may have seen in Athens and its constitution great deficiencies, but he also may have seen in it the highest product of Greek political experience; and as such may have, in all his treatment of the subject, kept it in sight. If so, a detailed criticism would not be required. Adopting very largely its elaborate forms and minute details, his own positive creation would be to any Athenian a sufficient criticism of the institutions of his country. The comparison would be one he could hardly avoid. It would be also clearly undesirable for one in Aristotle's position, a foreigner at Athens, and in no sense mixing in the political affairs of his adopted country, to press on the notice of the Athenians any unfavourable criticisms. Abstinence from such criticism may fairly be required of strangers by the government of any country in which they are resident.

And it is clear, I think, from the whole of the book that Aristotle did not conceive himself under the necessity of handing down for future times and altered circumstances the political facts of his day. On the contrary, he looked on the Greek state, modifiable and modified in conformity with experience, as the ultimate form of human society. So that if he was exempt from the duty of criticising, he was under none of the obligations of the historian. It was not as an historian, but as a political philosopher, that he observed the Hellenic constitutions, and registered the results of his observations.

ΠΟΛΙΤΙΚΩΝ Β.

ΕΠΕΙ δὲ προαιρούμεθα θεωρῆσαι περὶ τῆς κοινωνίας τῆς πολιτικῆς, ἡ κρατίστη πασῶν τοῖς δυναμένοις ζῆν ὅτι μάλιστα κατ' εὐχήν, δεῖ καὶ τὰς ἄλλας ἐπισκέψασθαι πολιτείας, αἷς τε χρῶνταί τινες τῶν πόλεων τῶν εὐνομεῖσθαι λεγομένων, κἂν εἴ τινες ἕτεραι τυγχάνωσιν ὑπό τινων εἰρημέναι καὶ δοκοῦσαι καλῶς ἔχειν, ἵνα τό τ' ὀρθῶς ἔχον ὀφθῇ καὶ τὸ χρήσιμον, ἔτι δὲ τὸ ζητεῖν τι παρ' αὐτὰς ἕτερον μὴ δοκῇ πάντως εἶναι σοφίζεσθαι βουλομένων, ἀλλὰ διὰ τὸ μὴ καλῶς ἔχειν ταύτας τὰς νῦν ὑπαρχούσας, διὰ τοῦτο ταύτην δοκῶμεν ἐπιβαλέσθαι τὴν μέθοδον. Ἀρχὴν δὲ πρῶτον 2 ποιητέον ἥπερ πέφυκεν ἀρχὴ ταύτης τῆς σκέψεως. ἀνάγκη γὰρ ἤτοι πάντας πάντων κοινωνεῖν τοὺς πολίτας, ἢ μηδενός, ἢ τινῶν μὲν τινῶν δὲ μή. τὸ μὲν οὖν μηδενὸς κοινωνεῖν φανερὸν ὡς ἀδύνατον· ἡ γὰρ πολιτεία κοινωνία τίς ἐστι, καὶ πρῶτον ἀνάγκη τοῦ τόπου κοινωνεῖν· ὁ μὲν γὰρ τόπος εἷς

Plato's Republic.

I. 1 προαιρούμεθα θεωρῆσαι, κ.τ.λ.] This, as Spengel remarks, shows that Aristotle had the intention of himself constructing a constitution, as Plato and Phaleas had done. Spengel's remarks on the general object of the book are very good, and his short essay, *Ueber die Politik von Aristoteles*, published in the *Abhandlungen* of the Munich Academy of Sciences, is throughout very valuable.

σοφίζεσθαι] 'to refine.'

διὰ τὸ μὴ καλῶς ἔχειν, κ.τ.λ.] This, as Nickes rightly sees, justifies Aristotle in dwelling mainly on the points he objects to. And as the works criticised were then accessible, and the constitutions treated of actually in existence, there was no need to guard statements which may at times appear one-sided.

ταύτην τὴν μέθοδον ἐπιβαλέσθαι] 'to have taken upon us this branch of our enquiry.'

2 ἀνάγκη γάρ] By I. 1, &c. the city was a κοινωνία. It must be a κοινωνία of something. What shall be the limit? What shall its members have in common?

ὁ μὲν γὰρ τόπος εἷς ὁ τῆς μιᾶς πόλεως] There can be no reasonable doubt, I should think, that Bekker is right in adopting this reading against the MSS. This unity of place is in

Plato's Republic.

ὁ τῆς μιᾶς πόλεως, οἱ δὲ πολῖται κοινωνοὶ τῆς μιᾶς πό-
λεως. ἀλλὰ πότερον ὅσων ἐνδέχεται κοινωνῆσαι, πάντων
1261 3 βέλτιον κοινωνεῖν τὴν μέλλουσαν οἰκήσεσθαι πόλιν καλῶς,
ἢ τινῶν μὲν τινῶν δ' οὒ βέλτιον; ἐνδέχεται γὰρ καὶ τέκνων
καὶ γυναικῶν καὶ κτημάτων κοινωνεῖν τοὺς πολίτας ἀλλή-
λαις, ὥσπερ ἐν τῇ πολιτείᾳ τῇ Πλάτωνος· ἐκεῖ γὰρ ὁ
Σωκράτης φησὶ δεῖν κοινὰ τὰ τέκνα καὶ τὰς γυναῖκας εἶναι
καὶ τὰς κτήσεις. τοῦτο δὴ πότερον ὡς νῦν οὕτω βέλτιον
ἔχειν, ἢ κατὰ τὸν ἐν τῇ πολιτείᾳ γεγραμμένον νόμον;
2 Ἔχει δὲ δυσχερείας ἄλλας τε πολλὰς τὸ πάντων εἶναι τὰς
γυναῖκας κοινάς, καὶ δι' ἣν αἰτίαν φησὶ δεῖν νενομοθετῆσθαι
τὸν τρόπον τοῦτον ὁ Σωκράτης, οὐ φαίνεται συμβαῖνον ἐκ
τῶν λόγων. ἔτι δὲ πρὸς τὸ τέλος ὅ φησι τῇ πόλει δεῖν
ὑπάρχειν, ὡς μὲν εἴρηται νῦν, ἀδύνατον, πῶς δὲ δεῖ διελεῖν,
2 οὐδὲν διώρισται. λέγω δὲ τὸ μίαν εἶναι τὴν πόλιν πᾶσαν
ὡς ἄριστον ὅτι μάλιστα· λαμβάνει γὰρ ταύτην ὑπόθεσιν ὁ
Σωκράτης. καίτοι φανερόν ἐστιν ὡς προϊοῦσα καὶ γινο-
μένη μία μᾶλλον οὐδὲ πόλις ἔσται· πλῆθος γάρ τι τὴν

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keeping with the whole Greek view of a city as given in I. ii. 8 and foll.; and see the notes there.

3 ἀλλὰ πότερον] Granting then that there must be something in common, is it better that all things should be in common or not?

ἐνδέχεται γάρ] 'For it is at any rate possible.'

ὡς νῦν οὕτω βέλτιον] Is the actual practice really better for men, or shall we adopt Plato's view? This is the point.

II. 1 δι' ἣν αἰτίαν] 'The ground on which Socrates rests the necessity for adopting this legislation does not seem to be a legitimate consequence from his arguments.' He does not seem to attain the result which he aims at. This clause has reference to the means by which Socrates tries to attain his end; the next to the end itself, the unity of the state.

2 λέγω δέ, κ.τ.λ.] 'I mean the statement that it is best that the city should in all cases attain unity in the highest degree possible. For this is the fundamental position taken by Socrates.' It is too broad a statement in Aristotle's view, and must be limited. Mere unity is not the object.

πλῆθος γάρ τι, κ.τ.λ.] 'For by its nature the state involves a certain number.' If you try to get rid of this condition, you by so doing destroy the state. It is from the individual you get the clearest notion of unity; as you leave the individual you recede from unity, and *vice versa*, as you redescend in the scale, and reapproach the individual, you get more unity.

Plato's Republic.

φύσιν ἐστὶν ἡ πόλις, γινομένη τε μία μᾶλλον οἰκία μὲν ἐκ πόλεως, ἄνθρωπος δ' ἐξ οἰκίας ἔσται· μᾶλλον γὰρ μίαν τὴν οἰκίαν τῆς πόλεως φαίημεν ἄν, καὶ τὸν ἕνα τῆς οἰκίας· ὥστ' εἰ καὶ δυνατός τις εἴη τοῦτο δρᾶν, οὐ ποιητέον· ἀναιρήσει γὰρ τὴν πόλιν. οὐ μόνον δ' ἐκ πλειόνων ἀνθρώπων 3 ἐστὶν ἡ πόλις, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐξ εἴδει διαφερόντων· οὐ γὰρ γίνεται πόλις ἐξ ὁμοίων. ἕτερον γὰρ συμμαχία καὶ πόλις· τὸ μὲν γὰρ τῷ ποσῷ χρήσιμον, κἂν ᾖ τὸ αὐτὸ τῷ εἴδει· βοηθείας γὰρ χάριν ἡ συμμαχία πέφυκεν· ὥσπερ ἂν εἰ σταθμὸς πλεῖον ἑλκύσῃ. διοίσει δὲ τῷ τοιούτῳ καὶ πόλις ἔθνους, ὅταν μὴ κατὰ κώμας ὦσι κεχωρισμένοι τὸ πλῆθος ἀλλ' οἷον Ἀρκάδες. ἐξ ὧν δὲ δεῖ ἓν γενέσθαι, εἴδει διαφέρει. Διόπερ 4 τὸ ἴσον τὸ ἀντιπεπονθὸς σῴζει τὰς πόλεις, ὥσπερ ἐν

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3 But it is not merely number that is implied in the idea of a state (πλῆθός τι, ἐκ πλειόνων), but a number formed of dissimilar units. An alliance — a tribe—both these may be formed of similar parts; they are but aggregates. A state is a whole.

οὐ γὰρ γίνεται πόλις ἐξ ὁμοίων] Compare *Eth.* v. viii. 8–9. p. 1133, 16, *οὐ γὰρ ἐκ δύο ἰατρῶν γίνεται κοινωνία... ἀλλ' ὅλως ἑτέρων καὶ οὐκ ἴσων.*

τῷ ποσῷ χρήσιμον] mere number, for the strength which number gives, is the object of an alliance, although the elements that compose it are the same in kind.

βοηθείας] 'support.' This remark is parenthetical, and should be marked as such by the stopping.

ὥσπερ ἂν εἰ] The question with regard to an alliance is the same as that with regard to a weight. 'Une alliance est comme une balance où l'emporte toujours le plateau le plus chargé.' St Hil.

τῷ τοιούτῳ] sc. *τῷ εἶναι ἐξ εἴδει διαφερόντων καὶ μὴ ἐξ ὁμοίων.*

ὅταν μή, κ.τ.λ.] The change which took place in Arcadia by the foundation of Megalopolis, and the consequent centralisation of the Arcadians, was in effect the change from a tribe into a state, an ἔθνος into a πόλις. It was the latest instance of such an event, of a *συνοίκισις*.

ἐξ ὧν δέ] This *δέ* answers to the *μέν* in *τὸ μὲν γὰρ τῷ ποσῷ*. The states of an alliance are not formed or blended into one, the members of a tribe or race are under no limitation. Both, as aggregates, may be indefinitely extended by the addition of any number of similar parts. This is not the case with a whole, which is not susceptible of indefinite extension, and must be composed of dissimilar parts all tending to one common end.

4 *διόπερ, κ.τ.λ.*] And it is because the parts of a state are dissimilar, and act and react on one another in their common relations to the whole and their varied relations one to the other, that for the preservation of the social system you require reciprocity which shall keep them in harmonious action. *Eth.* v. viii. 6. p. 1132, B. 33, *τῷ ἀντιποιεῖν γὰρ ἀνάλογον συμμένει ἡ πόλις, κ.τ.λ.*

Plato's Republic.

τοῖς ἠθικοῖς εἴρηται πρότερον· ἐπεὶ καὶ ἐν τοῖς ἐλευθέροις
καὶ ἴσοις ἀνάγκη τοῦτ' εἶναι· ἅμα γὰρ οὐχ οἷόν τε πάντας
ἄρχειν, ἀλλ' ἢ κατ' ἐνιαυτὸν ἢ κατά τινα ἄλλην τάξιν ἢ
5 χρόνον. καὶ συμβαίνει δὴ τὸν τρόπον τοῦτον ὥστε πάντας
ἄρχειν, ὥσπερ ἂν εἰ μετέβαλλον οἱ σκυτεῖς καὶ οἱ τέκτονες
6 καὶ μὴ οἱ αὐτοὶ ἀεὶ σκυτοτόμοι καὶ τέκτονες ἦσαν. ἐπεὶ
δὲ βέλτιον οὕτως ἔχειν, καὶ τὰ περὶ τὴν κοινωνίαν τὴν πολι-
1261 B τικὴν δῆλον ὡς τοὺς αὐτοὺς ἀεὶ βέλτιον ἄρχειν, εἰ δυνατόν·
ἐν οἷς δὲ μὴ δυνατὸν διὰ τὸ τὴν φύσιν ἴσους εἶναι πάντας,
ἅμα δὲ καὶ δίκαιον, εἴτ' ἀγαθὸν εἴτε φαῦλον τὸ ἄρχειν,
πάντας αὐτοῦ μετέχειν, ἐν τούτοις δὲ μιμεῖσθαι τὸ ἐν μέρει
7 τοὺς ἴσους εἴκειν ὁμοίως τοῖς ἐξ ἀρχῆς. οἱ μὲν γὰρ ἄρχου-
σιν οἱ δ' ἄρχονται παρὰ μέρος, ὥσπερ ἂν ἄλλοι γενόμενοι.
τὸν αὐτὸν δὴ τρόπον ἀρχόντων ἕτεροι ἑτέρας ἄρχουσιν

ἐν τοῖς ἠθικοῖς] Is not this reference doubtful? Is not the **πρότερον** sufficient exactness for Aristotle?

καὶ ἐν τοῖς, κ.τ.λ.] 'Since even in the free and equal,' who are as much alike as possible, 'there must necessarily be this,' sc. **τὸ ἀντιπεπονθός**. With such there must be an interchange, and power must be held by them in turns on some definite principle.

5 **καὶ συμβαίνει δή**] This is abrupt. The meaning seems to be: 'True, the result is then that:' It must be allowed that. It meets an objection, and meets it by accepting it. It is desirable that the same people should continue shoemakers, and not be at one time shoemakers, at another carpenters. So it is desirable, if attainable, that the holders of power should be unchanged. But it is not always attainable. When all are in nature equal it would not be possible; besides, it is but fair that power, whether it be a good or an evil, as it is in Plato's view, should be shared equally, &c.

6 **οὕτως**] sc. **ἀεὶ τοὺς αὐτούς**.

ἔχειν] I put a comma after this, and make the apodosis begin with 'so too in regard to political society, it is clear that it is better, &c.

ἐν τούτοις δέ, κ.τ.λ.] This passage seems to me hopeless as it stands. The best sense I can make of it is as follows; '**ἐν τούτοις δέ**, in these cases then (the **δέ** marking the apodosis) it is better (supplying **βέλτιον**) to imitate, or come as near as possible to, the all holding power by those who are equal yielding in their turn fairly to those who originally yielded to them.' This rendering reads **τῷ** for **τό**, but the same sense may be extracted from the **τό** by making the whole clause the subject of **μιμεῖσθαι**.

7 **οἱ μὲν γάρ, κ.τ.λ.**] 'For so the one rule, and the others are ruled in turn, and for the time they are considered to be different.'

ἄλλοι γενόμενοι] For the expression compare *Eth.* IX. iv. 4. p. 1166, 20.

τὸν αὐτὸν δὴ τρόπον, κ.τ.λ.] 'Whilst then they exercise their power on the same principles, the particular offices they hold will be different in each

ἀρχάς. Φανερὸν τοίνυν ἐκ τούτων ὡς οὔτε πέφυκε μίαν οὕτως εἶναι τὴν πόλιν ὥσπερ λέγουσί τινες, καὶ τὸ λεχθὲν ὡς μέγιστον ἀγαθὸν ἐν ταῖς πόλεσιν ὅτι τὰς πόλεις ἀναιρεῖ· καίτοι τό γε ἑκάστου ἀγαθὸν σώζει ἕκαστον. Ἔστι δὲ καὶ 8
κατ' ἄλλον τρόπον φανερὸν ὅτι τὸ λίαν ἑνοῦν ζητεῖν τὴν πόλιν οὐκ ἔστιν ἄμεινον. οἰκία μὲν γὰρ αὐταρκέστερον ἑνός, πόλις δ' οἰκίας· καὶ βούλεταί γ' ἤδη τότε εἶναι πόλις, ὅταν αὐτάρκη συμβαίνῃ τὴν κοινωνίαν εἶναι τοῦ πλήθους. εἴπερ οὖν αἱρετώτερον τὸ αὐταρκέστερον, καὶ τὸ ἧττον ἓν τοῦ μᾶλλον αἱρετώτερον.

Plato's Republic.

Ἀλλὰ μὴν οὐδ' εἰ τοῦτο ἄριστόν ἐστι, τὸ μίαν ὅτι μά- 3
λιστ' εἶναι τὴν κοινωνίαν, οὐδὲ τοῦτ' ἀποδείκνυσθαι φαίνεται κατὰ τὸν λόγον, ἐὰν πάντες ἅμα λέγωσι τὸ ἐμὸν καὶ τὸ μὴ ἐμόν· τοῦτο γὰρ οἴεται ὁ Σωκράτης σημεῖον εἶναι τοῦ τὴν πόλιν τελέως εἶναι μίαν. τὸ γὰρ πάντες διττόν. εἰ μὲν 2
οὖν ὡς ἕκαστος, τάχ' ἂν εἴη μᾶλλον ὃ βούλεται ποιεῖν ὁ Σωκράτης· ἕκαστος γὰρ υἱὸν ἑαυτοῦ φήσει τὸν αὐτὸν καὶ γυναῖκα δὴ τὴν αὐτήν, καὶ περὶ τῆς οὐσίας καὶ περὶ ἑκάστου δὴ τῶν συμβαινόντων ὡσαύτως. νῦν δ' οὐχ οὕτω φήσουσιν οἱ κοιναῖς χρώμενοι ταῖς γυναιξὶ καὶ τοῖς τέκνοις, ἀλλὰ πάντες μέν, οὐχ ὡς ἕκαστος δ' αὐτῶν. ὁμοίως δὲ καὶ τὴν 3

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case.' But here again I do not feel that I understand the bearing of the remark, nor its connexion.

φανερὸν τοίνυν] This resumes the main thread of the discussion, which has been interrupted by the passage from *διόπερ τὸ ἴσον* to *ἄρχουσιν ἀρχάς*. Extreme unity is not to be aimed at: a state implies a limit to unity and diversity in its members, however near equality they may approach. So that if attained, unity would destroy the state, and cannot therefore be its excellence.

8 For this comp. I. II. 5, and foll.

καὶ βούλεταί γ' ἤδη τότε] 'And then only in fact does a community claim to be a state, when it can be shown by the result that the association of the given number is complete in itself.'

III. 1. So far for the end aimed at. Unity, without due qualifications of the term, is not that end. But granting that it were, are the means adopted right?

οὐδὲ τοῦτ' ἀποδείκνυσθαι] or as in II. 1. **οὐ φαίνεται συμβαῖνον**] 'It is evident that not even this is proved to be the result in theory of all saying, &c.'

2 **ὡς ἕκαστος**] distributively, 'all and each.'

νῦν δέ] 'But in the case before us.'

πάντες μέν, οὐχ ὡς ἕκαστος δέ] collectively, 'all but not each.' The body of the elder will stand in a given relation to the body of the younger,

Plato's Republic.

οὐσίαν πάντες μέν, οὐχ ὡς ἕκαστος δ' αὐτῶν. ὅτι μὲν τοίνυν παραλογισμός τίς ἐστι τὸ λέγειν πάντας, φανερόν· τὸ γὰρ πάντες καὶ ἀμφότερα καὶ περιττὰ καὶ ἄρτια διὰ τὸ διττὸν καὶ ἐν τοῖς λόγοις ἐριστικοὺς ποιεῖ συλλογισμούς· διὸ ἐστὶ τὸ πάντας τὸ αὐτὸ λέγειν ὡδὶ μὲν καλόν, ἀλλ' οὐ
4 δυνατόν, ὡδὶ δ' οὐθὲν ὁμονοητικόν. Πρὸς δὲ τούτοις ἑτέραν ἔχει βλάβην τὸ λεγόμενον. ἥκιστα γὰρ ἐπιμελείας τυγχάνει τὸ πλείστων κοινόν· τῶν γὰρ ἰδίων μάλιστα φροντίζουσιν, τῶν δὲ κοινῶν ἧττον, ἢ ὅσον ἑκάστῳ ἐπιβάλλει. πρὸς γὰρ τοῖς ἄλλοις ὡς ἑτέρου φροντίζοντος ὀλιγωροῦσι μᾶλλον, ὥσπερ ἐν ταῖς οἰκετικαῖς διακονίαις οἱ πολλοὶ θερά-
5 ποντες ἐνίοτε χεῖρον ὑπηρετοῦσι τῶν ἐλαττόνων. γίνονται δ' ἑκάστῳ χίλιοι τῶν πολιτῶν υἱοί, καὶ οὗτοι οὐχ ὡς ἑκά-
1262a στου, ἀλλὰ τοῦ τυχόντος ὁ τυχὼν ὁμοίως ἐστὶν υἱός· ὥστε πάντες ὁμοίως ὀλιγωρήσουσιν. ἔτι οὕτως ἕκαστος ἐμὸς

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but there will be no connexion between the individual members of the two.

3 *τὸ γὰρ πάντες καὶ ἀμφότερα, κ.τ.λ.*] The simplest way of taking this seems to be: 'For words like "all," "both," "odd," "even," from their ambiguity even in formal treatises give rise to fallacious reasoning.'

ἐριστικοὺς συλλογισμούς] properly reasonings, where the object is not to establish truth but to gain a victory over your opponent, where the soundness or unsoundness of the reasoning is not the main point, but its immediate effect in silencing the opposite party.

διό] I do not refer this to what immediately precedes, but rather to the whole subject. The result of this ambiguity of the word is, that you have carefully to distinguish the one sense from the other; and if you do so clear up the matter it will be found that whilst in the first sense the language, if used, would imply a noble state of things, but one not attainable, in the second sense it does not bear a meaning which would have any tendency to produce harmony.

4 From this criticism of the language used we pass to real difficulties. There will be an absence of the sense of property, and a consequent absence of interest. Nor merely so, but a positive neglect, on the ground that others are looking after the matter. This is verified by every-day experience in the case of servants.

5 *ἑκάστῳ τῶν πολιτῶν*] 'Each citizen has a thousand children, and no individual connexion to bind him to any one of the thousand. They are all equally the children of all, and all will be equally indifferent to them.'

ἔτι οὕτως, κ.τ.λ.] This is very hard. Is the *οὕτως* to be taken as referring to Plato's system, is it retrospective?—or is it prospective, an anticipation in fact of the *τοῦτον τὸν τρόπον*? Perhaps this last way is the true one. Not only will they all equally neglect the children, but there will be this further evil. The connexion, such as it is, will sit very lightly upon them.

Plato's Republic.

λέγει τὸν εὖ πράττοντα τῶν πολιτῶν ἢ κακῶς, ὁπόστος τυγχάνει τὸν ἀριθμὸν ὤν, οἷον ἐμὸς ἢ τοῦ δεῖνος, τοῦτον τὸν τρόπον λέγων καθ' ἕκαστον τῶν χιλίων, ἢ ὅσων ἡ πόλις ἐστί, καὶ τοῦτο διστάζων· ἄδηλον γὰρ ᾧ συνέβη γενέσθαι τέκνον καὶ σωθῆναι γενόμενον. καίτοι πότερον οὕτω κρεῖτ- 6
τον τὸ ἐμὸν λέγειν ἕκαστον, τὸ αὐτὸ μὲν προσαγορεύοντας δισχιλίων καὶ μυρίων, ἢ μᾶλλον ὡς νῦν ἐν ταῖς πόλεσι τὸ ἐμὸν λέγουσιν; ὁ μὲν γὰρ υἱὸν αὐτοῦ ὁ δ' ἀδελφὸν αὐτοῦ 7
προσαγορεύει τὸν αὐτόν, ὁ δ' ἀνεψιόν, ἢ κατ' ἄλλην τινὰ συγγένειαν, ἢ πρὸς αἵματος, ἢ κατ' οἰκειότητα καὶ κηδείαν αὐτοῦ πρῶτον ἢ τῶν αὐτοῦ, πρὸς δὲ τούτοις ἕτερον φράτορα ἢ φυλέτην· κρεῖττον γὰρ ἴδιον ἀνεψιὸν εἶναι ἢ τὸν τρόπον τοῦτον υἱόν. Οὐ μὴν ἀλλ' οὐδὲ διαφυγεῖν δυνατὸν τὸ μή 8
τινας ὑπολαμβάνειν ἑαυτῶν ἀδελφούς τε καὶ παῖδας καὶ πατέρας καὶ μητέρας· κατὰ γὰρ τὰς ὁμοιότητας αἳ γίνονται τοῖς τέκνοις πρὸς τοὺς γεννήσαντας, ἀναγκαῖον λαμβάνειν περὶ ἀλλήλων τὰς πίστεις. ὅπερ φασὶ καὶ συμβαίνειν 9
τινὲς τῶν τὰς τῆς γῆς περιόδους πραγματευομένων· εἶναι γάρ τισι τῶν ἄνω Λιβύων κοινὰς τὰς γυναῖκας, τὰ μέντοι γενόμενα τέκνα διαιρεῖσθαι κατὰ τὰς ὁμοιότητας. εἰσὶ δέ τινες καὶ γυναῖκες καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ζῴων, οἷον ἵπποι καὶ

'According as one is prosperous or the contrary, each of the citizens will accept him as his son or reject him, whatever may be the number of which he forms one. In the one case he will say he is mine, in the other he is so and so's (ἐμὸς ἢ τοῦ δεῖνος); and this will be his mode of speaking of each of the thousand, and yet his language will rest on no footing of certainty, for no one knows who has had a son, or whose son if born has lived.'

6 καίτοι, κ.τ.λ.] 'And yet, allowing the practicability of the scheme, is it better for each one in this sense to use the term mine, applying it equally to,' &c.?

7 ὁ μὲν γὰρ . . . φυλέτην] is simply explanatory of the ὡς νῦν ἐν ταῖς πόλεσιν. The κρεῖττον γάρ carries on the reasoning.

πρὸς αἵματος] 'by blood.'

πρῶτον] 'in the first place αὐτοῦ ἢ τῶν αὐτοῦ, of oneself, or those intimately connected with oneself.'

τὸν τρόπον τοῦτον] 'The way Plato would have it.'

8 οὐ μὴν ἀλλ' οὐδέ, κ.τ.λ.] 'Not however but that, do what you will, it is impossible to escape this difficulty,' &c.

τὰς πίστεις] 'convictions.'

9 τῶν ἄνω Λιβύων] Herod. IV. 180, τῷ ἂν οἴκῃ τῶν ἀνδρῶν τὸ παιδίον, τούτου παῖς νομίζεται. Comp. for the general subject, IV. 104, the case of the Agathyrsi, and I. 216 of the Massagetæ.

Plato's Republic.

βόες, αἳ σφόδρα πεφύκασιν ὅμοια ἀποδιδόναι τὰ τέκνα τοῖς γονεῦσιν, ὥσπερ ἡ ἐν Φαρσάλῳ κληθεῖσα Δικαία
4 ἵππος. Ἔτι δὲ καὶ τὰς τοιαύτας δυσχερείας οὐ ῥᾴδιον εὐλαβηθῆναι τοῖς ταύτην κατασκευάζουσι τὴν κοινωνίαν, οἷον αἰκίας καὶ φόνους ἀκουσίους[a] καὶ μάχας καὶ λοιδορίας· ὧν οὐδὲν ὅσιόν ἐστι γίνεσθαι πρὸς πατέρας καὶ μητέρας καὶ τοὺς μὴ πόρρω τῆς συγγενείας ὄντας, ὥσπερ πρὸς τοὺς ἄπωθεν· ἀλλὰ καὶ πλεῖον συμβαίνειν ἀναγκαῖον ἀγνοούντων ἢ γνωριζόντων, καὶ γενομένων τῶν μὲν γνωριζόντων ἐνδέχεται τὰς νομιζομένας γίνεσθαι λύσεις, τῶν δὲ μηδεμίαν.
2 Ἄτοπον δὲ καὶ τὸ κοινοὺς ποιήσαντα τοὺς υἱοὺς τὸ συνεῖναι μόνον ἀφελεῖν τῶν ἐρώντων, τὸ δ' ἐρᾶν μὴ κωλῦσαι, μηδὲ τὰς χρήσεις τὰς ἄλλας, ἃς πατρὶ πρὸς υἱὸν εἶναι πάντων ἐστὶν ἀπρεπέστατον καὶ ἀδελφῷ πρὸς ἀδελφόν· ἐπεὶ καὶ
3 τὸ ἐρᾶν μόνον. ἄτοπον δὲ καὶ τὸ τὴν συνουσίαν ἀφελεῖν δι' ἄλλην μὲν αἰτίαν μηδεμίαν, ὡς λίαν δ' ἰσχυρᾶς τῆς ἡδονῆς γινομένης· ὅτι δ' ὁ μὲν πατὴρ ἢ υἱός, οἱ δ' ἀδελφοὶ
4 ἀλλήλοιν, μηθὲν οἴεσθαι διαφέρειν. Ἔοικε δὲ μᾶλλον τοῖς
1262 b γεωργοῖς εἶναι χρήσιμον τὸ κοινὰς εἶναι τὰς γυναῖκας καὶ τοὺς παῖδας ἢ τοῖς φύλαξιν· ἧττον γὰρ ἔσται φιλία κοινῶν ὄντων τῶν τέκνων καὶ τῶν γυναικῶν, δεῖ δὲ τοιούτους εἶναι τοὺς ἀρχομένους πρὸς τὸ πειθαρχεῖν καὶ μὴ νεωτερίζειν.
5 Ὅλως δὲ συμβαίνειν ἀνάγκη τοὐναντίον διὰ τὸν τοιοῦτον νόμον ὧν προσήκει τοὺς ὀρθῶς κειμένους νόμους αἰτίους γίνεσθαι, καὶ δι' ἣν αἰτίαν ὁ Σωκράτης οὕτως οἴεται δεῖν

[a] τοὺς δὲ ἑκουσίους Bekker.

Δικαία ἵππος] Mentioned again in *Hist. Anim.* VII. vi. p. 586. 13.

§ 4 τοὺς δὲ ἑκουσίους] This seems to me superfluous, a later addition. With one MS. I should omit it.

τοὺς μὴ πόρρω τῆς συγγενείας] 'not distant in relationship.'

ὥσπερ πρὸς τοὺς ἄπωθεν] sc. ἂν εἴη ὅσιον.

ἀλλὰ καὶ πλεῖον] 'But they must both happen more frequently.' Compare on this subject Grote, I. 34. not.

In the text pp. 33, 34. He considers these λύσεις post-Homeric, and in their origin probably Lydian.

2 and 3 The reference is to Plato, *Rep.* III. 403.

4 τοῖς γεωργοῖς] This depends on κοινάς, not on χρήσιμον, as it would seem to do at first sight.

τοιούτους] sc. ἧττον φίλους.

5 δι' ἣν αἰτίαν] 'and the contrary of the ground alleged by Socrates for his regulation.'

Plato's Republic.

τάττειν τὰ περὶ τὰ τέκνα καὶ τὰς γυναῖκας. φιλίαν τε γὰρ οἰόμεθα μέγιστον εἶναι τῶν ἀγαθῶν ταῖς πόλεσιν 6
(οὕτω γὰρ ἂν ἥκιστα στασιάζοιεν), καὶ τὸ μίαν εἶναι τὴν πόλιν ἐπαινεῖ μάλισθ' ὁ Σωκράτης· ὃ καὶ δοκεῖ κἀκεῖνος εἶναί φησι τῆς φιλίας ἔργον, καθάπερ ἐν τοῖς ἐρωτικοῖς λόγοις ἴσμεν λέγοντα τὸν Ἀριστοφάνην ὡς τῶν ἐρώντων διὰ τὸ σφόδρα φιλεῖν ἐπιθυμούντων συμφῦναι καὶ γενέσθαι ἐκ δύο ὄντων[a] ἕνα· ἐνταῦθα μὲν οὖν ἀνάγκη ἀμφοτέρους 7
ἐφθάρθαι ἢ τὸν ἕνα· ἐν δὲ τῇ πόλει τὴν φιλίαν ἀναγκαῖον ὑδαρῆ γίνεσθαι διὰ τὴν κοινωνίαν τὴν τοιαύτην, καὶ ἥκιστα λέγειν τὸν ἐμὸν ἢ υἱὸν πατέρα ἢ πατέρα υἱόν. ὥσπερ γὰρ 8
μικρὸν γλυκὺ εἰς πολὺ ὕδωρ μιχθὲν ἀναίσθητον ποιεῖ τὴν κρᾶσιν, οὕτω συμβαίνει καὶ τὴν οἰκειότητα τὴν πρὸς ἀλλήλους τὴν ἀπὸ τῶν ὀνομάτων τούτων διαφροντίζειν ἥκιστα ἀναγκαῖον ὂν ἐν τῇ πολιτείᾳ τῇ τοιαύτῃ, ἢ πατέρα ὡς υἱῶν ἢ υἱὸν ὡς πατρός, ἢ ὡς ἀδελφοὺς ἀλλήλων. δύο γάρ 9
ἐστιν ἃ μάλιστα ποιεῖ κήδεσθαι τοὺς ἀνθρώπους καὶ φιλεῖν, τό τε ἴδιον καὶ τὸ ἀγαπητόν· ὧν οὐδέτερον οἷόν τε ὑπάρχειν τοῖς οὕτω πολιτευομένοις. Ἀλλὰ μὴν καὶ περὶ τοῦ μεταφέρειν τὰ γινόμενα τέκνα, τὰ μὲν ἐκ τῶν γεωργῶν καὶ

[a] ἀμφοτέρους Bekker.

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6 φιλίαν] 'affection,' not 'friendship,' 'caritas,' not 'amicitia.'

ὃ καὶ δοκεῖ] 'which is both generally thought to be.'

ἐρωτικοῖς λόγοις] The *Symposium* of Plato, 191, 2, and foll.

ἀμφοτέρους] I prefer leaving this out, and reading ἐκ δύο ὄντων ἕνα. The ἀμφοτέρους seems to have crept in from the next line. ὥστε δύ' ὄντας ἕνα γεγονέναι is the language of Plato, *Symp.* 192. D. The attempt at excessive friendship is destructive.

8 οὕτω συμβαίνει ἥκιστα ἀναγκαῖον ὂν διαφροντίζειν τὴν οἰκειότητα τὴν πρὸς ἀλλήλους τὴν ἀπὸ τῶν ὀνομάτων τούτων] 'So the result is, that less than in any case need we take into account in a constitution construсted on these principles the intimacy or kindness which these names imply.' By this rendering οἰκειότητα is made the direct object of διαφροντίζειν, in the sense of 'attending to.'

ἢ πατέρα ὡς υἱῶν ἢ υἱὸν ὡς πατρός, ἢ ὡς ἀδελφοὺς ἀλλήλων] The construction is hard. The simplest way is to repeat διαφροντίζειν, and construe it, 'either that a father should care for any as his sons, or a son care for any one as his father, or brothers care for each other as brothers.'

9 τὸ ἀγαπητόν] 'natural affection.' Stahr translates it, "das mit Mühe erworbene, that which we have acquired with effort, and which we value accordingly;" but this does not seem required by the passage.

Plato's Republic.

τεχνιτῶν εἰς τοὺς φύλακας, τὰ δ' ἐκ τούτων εἰς ἐκείνους, πολλὴν ἔχει ταραχήν, τίνα ἔσται τρόπον· καὶ γινώσκειν ἀναγκαῖον τοὺς διδόντας καὶ μεταφέροντας τίσι τίνας
10 διδόασιν. ἔτι δὲ καὶ τὰ πάλαι λεχθέντα μᾶλλον ἐπὶ τούτων ἀναγκαῖον συμβαίνειν, οἷον αἰκίας ἔρωτας φόνους· οὐ γὰρ ἔτι προσαγορεύουσιν ἀδελφοὺς καὶ τέκνα καὶ πατέρας καὶ μητέρας τοὺς φύλακας οἵ τε εἰς τοὺς ἄλλους πολίτας δοθέντες καὶ πάλιν οἱ παρὰ τοῖς φύλαξιν[a] τοὺς ἄλλους πολίτας, ὥστ' εὐλαβεῖσθαι τῶν τοιούτων τι πράττειν διὰ τὴν συγγένειαν. Περὶ μὲν οὖν τῆς περὶ τὰ τέκνα καὶ τὰς γυναῖκας κοινωνίας διωρίσθω τὸν τρόπον τοῦτον.

5 Ἐχόμενον δὲ τούτων ἐστὶν ἐπισκέψασθαι περὶ τῆς κτήσεως, τίνα τρόπον δεῖ κατασκευάζεσθαι τοῖς μέλλουσι πολιτεύεσθαι τὴν ἀρίστην πολιτείαν, πότερον κοινὴν ἢ μὴ
2 κοινὴν εἶναι τὴν κτῆσιν. τοῦτο δ' ἄν τις καὶ χωρὶς σκέψαιτο ἀπὸ τῶν περὶ τὰ τέκνα καὶ τὰς γυναῖκας νενομοθε-
1263 τημένων, λέγω δὲ τὰ περὶ τὴν κτῆσιν, πότερον, κἂν ᾖ ἐκεῖνα χωρὶς καθ' ὃν νῦν τρόπον ἔχει πᾶσι, τάς τε κτήσεις κοινὰς εἶναι βέλτιον καὶ τὰς χρήσεις, οἷον τὰ μὲν γήπεδα χωρίς, τοὺς δὲ καρποὺς εἰς τὸ κοινὸν φέροντας, ἀναλίσκειν (ὅπερ ἔνια ποιεῖ τῶν ἐθνῶν), ἢ τοὐναντίον τὴν μὲν γῆν κοινὴν εἶναι καὶ γεωργεῖν κοινῇ, τοὺς δὲ καρποὺς διαιρεῖσθαι πρὸς τὰς

[a] εἰς Bekker.

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10 *οἱ παρὰ τοῖς φύλαξιν τοὺς ἄλλους πολίτας*] So I read it, leaving out the preposition *εἰς*. *οἱ παρὰ τοῖς φύλαξιν* is equivalent to *οἱ εἰς τοὺς φύλακας δοθέντες*, and the construction then is *οὐ προσαγορεύουσιν τοὺς ἄλλους πολίτας ἀδελφοὺς καὶ τέκνα, κ.τ.λ.*

ὥστ' εὐλαβεῖσθαι] 'So as to be on their guard on account of their relationship against doing anything of the kind.' Did they so address them it would lead to caution.

V. 1 So far for the community of wives and children. The next point for consideration in Plato's system is his view of property, and the question is: ought there to be private property or not?

2 *καὶ χωρὶς σκέψαιτο ἀπό, κ.τ.λ.*] 'This might be treated of quite separate and apart from the regulations,' &c.

ἐκεῖνα] sc. *τὰ περὶ τὰ τέκνα.*

γήπεδα] The actual plots of ground, the land. Three forms of community of property given. 1 The land separate, the produce thrown into a common stock. 2 The land common and worked in common, the produce divided to meet the wants of the citizens. 3 Both land and produce in common.

ἰδίας χρήσεις (λέγονται δέ τινες καὶ τοῦτον τὸν τρόπον Plato's Republic.
κοινωνεῖν τῶν βαρβάρων), ἢ καὶ τὰ γήπεδα καὶ τοὺς καρποὺς
κοινούς. ἑτέρων μὲν οὖν ὄντων τῶν γεωργούντων ἄλλος ἂν 3
εἴη τρόπος καὶ ῥᾴων, αὐτῶν δ' αὐτοῖς διαπονούντων τὰ περὶ
τὰς κτήσεις πλείους ἂν παρέχοι δυσκολίας· καὶ γὰρ ἐν ταῖς
ἀπολαύσεσι καὶ ἐν τοῖς ἔργοις μὴ γινομένων ἴσων ἀναγκαῖον
ἐγκλήματα γίνεσθαι πρὸς τοὺς ἀπολαύοντας μὲν[a] ὀλίγα δὲ
πονοῦντας, τοῖς ἐλάττω μὲν λαμβάνουσι πλείω δὲ πονοῦσιν.
ὅλως δὲ τὸ συζῆν καὶ κοινωνεῖν τῶν ἀνθρωπικῶν πάντων 4
χαλεπόν, καὶ μάλιστα τῶν τοιούτων. δηλοῦσι δ' αἱ τῶν
συναποδήμων κοινωνίαι· σχεδὸν γὰρ οἱ πλεῖστοι διαφερό-
μενοι ἐκ τῶν ἐν ποσὶ καὶ ἐκ μικρῶν προσκρούοντες ἀλλήλοις.
ἔτι δὲ τῶν θεραπόντων τούτοις μάλιστα προσκρούομεν, οἷς
πλεῖστα προσχρώμεθα πρὸς τὰς διακονίας τὰς ἐγκυκλίους.—
Τὸ μὲν οὖν κοινὰς εἶναι τὰς κτήσεις ταύτας τε καὶ ἄλλας 5
τοιαύτας ἔχει δυσχερείας, ὃν δὲ νῦν τρόπον ἔχει καὶ ἐπικοσ-
μηθὲν ἤθεσι καὶ τάξει νόμων ὀρθῶν, οὐ μικρὸν ἂν διενέγκαι·
ἕξει γὰρ τὸ ἐξ ἀμφοτέρων ἀγαθόν. λέγω δὲ τὸ ἐξ ἀμφο-
τέρων τὸ ἐκ τοῦ κοινὰς εἶναι τὰς κτήσεις καὶ τὸ ἐκ τοῦ ἰδίας.
δεῖ γάρ πως[b] μὲν εἶναι κοινάς, ὅλως δ' ἰδίας. αἱ μὲν γὰρ 6
ἐπιμέλειαι διῃρημέναι τὰ ἐγκλήματα πρὸς ἀλλήλους οὐ
ποιήσουσιν, μᾶλλον δ' ἐπιδώσουσιν ὡς πρὸς ἴδιον ἑκάστου
προσεδρεύοντος· δι' ἀρετὴν δ' ἔσται πρὸς τὸ χρῆσθαι κατὰ

[a] ἢ λαμβάνοντας πολλά Bekker. [b] πῶς Bekker.

3 ἑτέρων] not πολιτῶν, a distinct body of cultivators.

ἄλλος ἄν, κ.τ.λ.] 'It would be a different case and easier to deal with.'

ἢ λαμβάνοντας] I omit this as an unnecessary addition suggested by the ἐλάττω λαμβάνουσι immediately following.

4 σχεδὸν γάρ, κ.τ.λ.] The sentence is not complete. In the place of the participle προσκρούοντες should stand the verb προσκρούουσιν. 'They clash.'

5 ἤθεσι] "les mœurs." We have in English no one word sufficiently comprehensive—'opinion and the habits of the people.'

οὐ μικρὸν ἂν διενέγκαι] 'would in no slight degree be superior.'

5 πως] The indefinite form is the one here required by the sense.

6 διῃρημέναι, κ.τ.λ.] 'By being kept distinct will not give rise to complaints, and they will be pursued with larger results as each man concentrates his attention on what is his own,' and so feels the stimulus of property.

Plato's Republic. ὁ τῆς μιᾶς πόλεως, οἱ δὲ πολῖται κοινωνοὶ τῆς μιᾶς πό-
λεως. ἀλλὰ πότερον ὅσων ἐνδέχεται κοινωνῆσαι, πάντων
1261 3 βέλτιον κοινωνεῖν τὴν μέλλουσαν οἰκήσεσθαι πόλιν καλῶς,
ἢ τινῶν μὲν τινῶν δ' οὐ βέλτιον; ἐνδέχεται γὰρ καὶ τεκνῶν
καὶ γυναικῶν καὶ κτημάτων κοινωνεῖν τοὺς πολίτας ἀλλή-
λαις, ὥσπερ ἐν τῇ πολιτείᾳ τῇ Πλάτωνος· ἐκεῖ γὰρ ὁ
Σωκράτης φησὶ δεῖν κοινὰ τὰ τέκνα καὶ τὰς γυναῖκας εἶναι
καὶ τὰς κτήσεις. τοῦτο δὴ πότερον ὡς νῦν οὕτω βέλτιον
ἔχειν, ἢ κατὰ τὸν ἐν τῇ πολιτείᾳ γεγραμμένον νόμον;
2 Ἔχει δὲ δυσχερείας ἄλλας τε πολλὰς τὸ πάντων εἶναι τὰς
γυναῖκας κοινάς, καὶ δι' ἣν αἰτίαν φησὶ δεῖν νενομοθετῆσθαι
τὸν τρόπον τοῦτον ὁ Σωκράτης, οὐ φαίνεται συμβαῖνον ἐκ
τῶν λόγων. ἔτι δὲ πρὸς τὸ τέλος ὅ φησι τῇ πόλει δεῖν
ὑπάρχειν, ὡς μὲν εἴρηται νῦν, ἀδύνατον, πῶς δὲ δεῖ διελεῖν,
2 οὐδὲν διώρισται. λέγω δὲ τὸ μίαν εἶναι τὴν πόλιν πᾶσαν
ὡς ἄριστον ὅτι μάλιστα· λαμβάνει γὰρ ταύτην ὑπόθεσιν ὁ
Σωκράτης. καίτοι φανερόν ἐστιν ὡς προϊοῦσα καὶ γινο-
μένη μία μᾶλλον οὐδὲ πόλις ἔσται· πλῆθος γάρ τι τὴν

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keeping with the whole Greek view of a city as given in I. ii. 8 and foll.; and see the notes there.

3 ἀλλὰ πότερον] Granting then that there must be something in common, is it better that all things should be in common or not?

ἐνδέχεται γάρ] 'For it is at any rate possible.'

ὡς νῦν οὕτω βέλτιον] Is the actual practice really better for men, or shall we adopt Plato's view? This is the point.

II. 1 δι' ἣν αἰτίαν] 'The ground on which Socrates rests the necessity for adopting this legislation does not seem to be a legitimate consequence from his arguments.' He does not seem to attain the result which he aims at. This clause has reference to the means by which Socrates tries to attain his end; the next to the end itself, the unity of the state.

2 λέγω δέ, κ.τ.λ.] 'I mean the statement that it is best that the city should in all cases attain unity in the highest degree possible. For this is the fundamental position taken by Socrates.' It is too broad a statement in Aristotle's view, and must be limited. Mere unity is not the object.

πλῆθος γάρ τι, κ.τ.λ.] 'For by its nature the state involves a certain number.' If you try to get rid of this condition, you by so doing destroy the state. It is from the individual you get the clearest notion of unity; as you leave the individual you recede from unity, and *vice versa*, as you redescend in the scale, and reapproach the individual, you get more unity.

Plato's Republic.

φύσιν ἐστὶν ἡ πόλις, γινομένη τε μία μᾶλλον οἰκία μὲν ἐκ πόλεως, ἄνθρωπος δ' ἐξ οἰκίας ἔσται· μᾶλλον γὰρ μίαν τὴν οἰκίαν τῆς πόλεως φαίημεν ἄν, καὶ τὸν ἕνα τῆς οἰκίας· ὥστ' εἰ καὶ δυνατός τις εἴη τοῦτο δρᾶν, οὐ ποιητέον· ἀναιρήσει γὰρ τὴν πόλιν. οὐ μόνον δ' ἐκ πλειόνων ἀνθρώπων 3
ἐστὶν ἡ πόλις, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐξ εἴδει διαφερόντων· οὐ γὰρ γίνεται πόλις ἐξ ὁμοίων. ἕτερον γὰρ συμμαχία καὶ πόλις· τὸ μὲν γὰρ τῷ ποσῷ χρήσιμον, κἂν ᾖ τὸ αὐτὸ τῷ εἴδει· βοηθείας γὰρ χάριν ἡ συμμαχία πέφυκεν· ὥσπερ ἂν εἰ σταθμὸς πλεῖον ἑλκύσῃ. διοίσει δὲ τῷ τοιούτῳ καὶ πόλις ἔθνους, ὅταν μὴ κατὰ κώμας ὦσι κεχωρισμένοι τὸ πλῆθος ἀλλ' οἷον Ἀρκάδες. ἐξ ὧν δὲ δεῖ ἓν γενέσθαι, εἴδει διαφέρει. Διό- 4
περ τὸ ἴσον τὸ ἀντιπεπονθὸς σώζει τὰς πόλεις, ὥσπερ ἐν

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3 But it is not merely number that is implied in the idea of a state (*πλῆθος τι, ἐκ πλειόνων*), but a number formed of dissimilar units. An alliance — a tribe—both these may be formed of similar parts; they are but aggregates. A state is a whole.

οὐ γὰρ γίνεται πόλις ἐξ ὁμοίων] Compare *Eth.* v. viii. 8–9. p. 1133, 16, *οὐ γὰρ ἐκ δύο ἰατρῶν γίνεται κοινωνία... ἀλλ' ὅλως ἑτέρων καὶ οὐκ ἴσων.*

τῷ ποσῷ χρήσιμον] mere number, for the strength which number gives, is the object of an alliance, although the elements that compose it are the same in kind.

βοηθείας] 'support.' This remark is parenthetical, and should be marked as such by the stopping.

ὥσπερ ἂν εἰ] The question with regard to an alliance is the same as that with regard to a weight. 'Une alliance est comme une balance où l'emporte toujours le plateau le plus chargé.' St Hil.

τῷ τοιούτῳ] sc. *τῷ εἶναι ἐξ εἴδει διαφερόντων καὶ μὴ ἐξ ὁμοίων.*

ὅταν μή, κ.τ.λ.] The change which took place in Arcadia by the foundation of Megalopolis, and the consequent centralisation of the Arcadians, was in effect the change from a tribe into a state, an *ἔθνος* into a *πόλις*. It was the latest instance of such an event, of a *συνοίκισις*.

ἐξ ὧν δέ] This *δέ* answers to the *μέν* in *τὸ μὲν γὰρ τῷ ποσῷ*. The states of an alliance are not formed or blended into one, the members of a tribe or race are under no limitation. Both, as aggregates, may be indefinitely extended by the addition of any number of similar parts. This is not the case with a whole, which is not susceptible of indefinite extension, and must be composed of dissimilar parts all tending to one common end.

4 *διόπερ, κ.τ.λ.*] And it is because the parts of a state are dissimilar, and act and react on one another in their common relations to the whole and their varied relations one to the other, that for the preservation of the social system you require reciprocity which shall keep them in harmonious action. *Eth.* v. viii. 6. p. 1132, B. 33, *τῷ ἀντιποιεῖν γὰρ ἀνάλογον συμμένει ἡ πόλις, κ.τ.λ.*

Plato's Republic.

τοῖς ἠθικοῖς εἴρηται πρότερον· ἐπεὶ καὶ ἐν τοῖς ἐλευθέροις καὶ ἴσοις ἀνάγκη τοῦτ' εἶναι· ἅμα γὰρ οὐχ οἷόν τε πάντας ἄρχειν, ἀλλ' ἢ κατ' ἐνιαυτὸν ἢ κατά τινα ἄλλην τάξιν ἢ
5 χρόνον. καὶ συμβαίνει δὴ τὸν τρόπον τοῦτον ὥστε πάντας ἄρχειν, ὥσπερ ἂν εἰ μετέβαλλον οἱ σκυτεῖς καὶ οἱ τέκτονες
6 καὶ μὴ οἱ αὐτοὶ ἀεὶ σκυτοτόμοι καὶ τέκτονες ἦσαν. ἐπεὶ δὲ βέλτιον οὕτως ἔχειν, καὶ τὰ περὶ τὴν κοινωνίαν τὴν πολι-
1261 B τικὴν δῆλον ὡς τοὺς αὐτοὺς ἀεὶ βέλτιον ἄρχειν, εἰ δυνατόν· ἐν οἷς δὲ μὴ δυνατὸν διὰ τὸ τὴν φύσιν ἴσους εἶναι πάντας, ἅμα δὲ καὶ δίκαιον, εἴτ' ἀγαθὸν εἴτε φαῦλον τὸ ἄρχειν, πάντας αὐτοῦ μετέχειν, ἐν τούτοις δὲ μιμεῖσθαι τὸ ἐν μέρει
7 τοὺς ἴσους εἴκειν ὁμοίως τοῖς ἐξ ἀρχῆς. οἱ μὲν γὰρ ἄρχουσιν οἱ δ' ἄρχονται παρὰ μέρος, ὥσπερ ἂν ἄλλοι γενόμενοι. τὸν αὐτὸν δὴ τρόπον ἀρχόντων ἕτεροι ἑτέρας ἄρχουσιν

ἐν τοῖς ἠθικοῖς] Is not this reference doubtful? Is not the πρότερον sufficient exactness for Aristotle?

καὶ ἐν τοῖς, κ.τ.λ.] 'Since even in the free and equal,' who are as much alike as possible, 'there must necessarily be this,' sc. τὸ ἀντιπεπονθός. With such there must be an interchange, and power must be held by them in turns on some definite principle.

5 καὶ συμβαίνει δή] This is abrupt. The meaning seems to be: 'True, the result is then that:' It must be allowed that. It meets an objection, and meets it by accepting it. It is desirable that the same people should continue shoemakers, and not be at one time shoemakers, at another carpenters. So it is desirable, if attainable, that the holders of power should be unchanged. But it is not always attainable. When all are in nature equal it would not be possible; besides, it is but fair that power, whether it be a good or an evil, as it is in Plato's view, should be shared equally, &c.

6 οὕτως] sc. ἀεὶ τοὺς αὐτούς.

ἔχειν] I put a comma after this, and make the apodosis begin with 'so too in regard to political society, it is clear that it is better, &c.

ἐν τούτοις δέ, κ.τ.λ.] This passage seems to me hopeless as it stands. The best sense I can make of it is as follows; 'ἐν τούτοις δέ, in these cases then (the δέ marking the apodosis) it is better (supplying βέλτιον) to imitate, or come as near as possible to, the all holding power by those who are equal yielding in their turn fairly to those who originally yielded to them.' This rendering reads τῷ for τό, but the same sense may be extracted from the τό by making the whole clause the subject of μιμεῖσθαι.

7 οἱ μὲν γάρ, κ.τ.λ.] 'For so the one rule, and the others are ruled in turn, and for the time they are considered to be different.'

ἄλλοι γενόμενοι] For the expression compare *Eth.* IX. iv. 4. p. 1166, 20.

τὸν αὐτὸν δὴ τρόπον, κ.τ.λ.] 'Whilst then they exercise their power on the same principles, the particular offices they hold will be different in each

Plato's Republic.

ἀρχάς. Φανερὸν τοίνυν ἐκ τούτων ὡς οὔτε πέφυκε μίαν
οὕτως εἶναι τὴν πόλιν ὥσπερ λέγουσί τινες, καὶ τὸ λεχθὲν
ὡς μέγιστον ἀγαθὸν ἐν ταῖς πόλεσιν ὅτι τὰς πόλεις ἀναιρεῖ·
καίτοι τό γε ἑκάστου ἀγαθὸν σώζει ἕκαστον. Ἔστι δὲ καὶ 8
κατ' ἄλλον τρόπον φανερὸν ὅτι τὸ λίαν ἑνοῦν ζητεῖν τὴν
πόλιν οὐκ ἔστιν ἄμεινον. οἰκία μὲν γὰρ αὐταρκέστερον
ἑνός, πόλις δ' οἰκίας· καὶ βούλεταί γ' ἤδη τότε εἶναι πόλις,
ὅταν αὐτάρκη συμβαίνῃ τὴν κοινωνίαν εἶναι τοῦ πλήθους.
εἴπερ οὖν αἱρετώτερον τὸ αὐταρκέστερον, καὶ τὸ ἧττον ἓν
τοῦ μᾶλλον αἱρετώτερον.

Ἀλλὰ μὴν οὐδ' εἰ τοῦτο ἄριστόν ἐστι, τὸ μίαν ὅτι μά- 3
λιστ' εἶναι τὴν κοινωνίαν, οὐδὲ τοῦτ' ἀποδείκνυσθαι φαίνεται
κατὰ τὸν λόγον, ἐὰν πάντες ἅμα λέγωσι τὸ ἐμὸν καὶ τὸ μὴ
ἐμόν· τοῦτο γὰρ οἴεται ὁ Σωκράτης σημεῖον εἶναι τοῦ τὴν
πόλιν τελέως εἶναι μίαν. τὸ γὰρ πάντες διττόν. εἰ μὲν 2
οὖν ὡς ἕκαστος, τάχ' ἂν εἴη μᾶλλον ὃ βούλεται ποιεῖν ὁ
Σωκράτης· ἕκαστος γὰρ υἱὸν ἑαυτοῦ φήσει τὸν αὐτὸν καὶ
γυναῖκα δὴ τὴν αὐτήν, καὶ περὶ τῆς οὐσίας καὶ περὶ ἑκάστου
δὴ τῶν συμβαινόντων ὡσαύτως. νῦν δ' οὐχ οὕτω φήσουσιν
οἱ κοιναῖς χρώμενοι ταῖς γυναιξὶ καὶ τοῖς τέκνοις, ἀλλὰ
πάντες μέν, οὐχ ὡς ἕκαστος δ' αὐτῶν. ὁμοίως δὲ καὶ τὴν 3

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case.' But here again I do not feel that I understand the bearing of the remark, nor its connexion.

φανερὸν τοίνυν] This resumes the main thread of the discussion, which has been interrupted by the passage from διόπερ τὸ ἴσον to ἄρχουσιν ἀρχάς. Extreme unity is not to be aimed at: a state implies a limit to unity and diversity in its members, however near equality they may approach. So that if attained, unity would destroy the state, and cannot therefore be its excellence.

8 For this comp. I. II. 5, and foll.

καὶ βούλεταί γ' ἤδη τότε] 'And then only in fact does a community claim to be a state, when it can be shown by the result that the association of the given number is complete in itself.'

III. 1. So far for the end aimed at. Unity, without due qualifications of the term, is not that end. But granting that it were, are the means adopted right?

οὐδὲ τοῦτ' ἀποδείκνυσθαι] or as in II. 1. οὐ φαίνεται συμβαῖνον] 'It is evident that not even this is proved to be the result in theory of all saying, &c.'

2 ὡς ἕκαστος] distributively, 'all and each.'

νῦν δέ] 'But in the case before us.'

πάντες μέν, οὐχ ὡς ἕκαστος δέ] collectively, 'all but not each.' The body of the elder will stand in a given relation to the body of the younger,

Plato's Republic.

οὐσίαν πάντες μέν, οὐχ ὡς ἕκαστος δ' αὐτῶν. ὅτι μὲν τοίνυν παραλογισμός τίς ἐστι τὸ λέγειν πάντας, φανερόν· τὸ γὰρ πάντες καὶ ἀμφότερα καὶ περιττὰ καὶ ἄρτια διὰ τὸ διττὸν καὶ ἐν τοῖς λόγοις ἐριστικοὺς ποιεῖ συλλογισμούς· διὸ ἐστὶ τὸ πάντας τὸ αὐτὸ λέγειν ὡδὶ μὲν καλόν, ἀλλ' οὐ
4 δυνατόν, ὡδὶ δ' οὐθὲν ὁμονοητικόν. Πρὸς δὲ τούτοις ἑτέραν ἔχει βλάβην τὸ λεγόμενον. ἥκιστα γὰρ ἐπιμελείας τυγχάνει τὸ πλείστων κοινόν· τῶν γὰρ ἰδίων μάλιστα φροντίζουσιν, τῶν δὲ κοινῶν ἧττον, ἢ ὅσον ἑκάστῳ ἐπιβάλλει. πρὸς γὰρ τοῖς ἄλλοις ὡς ἑτέρου φροντίζοντος ὀλιγωροῦσι μᾶλλον, ὥσπερ ἐν ταῖς οἰκετικαῖς διακονίαις οἱ πολλοὶ θερά-
5 ποντες ἐνίοτε χεῖρον ὑπηρετοῦσι τῶν ἐλαττόνων. γίνονται δ' ἑκάστῳ χίλιοι τῶν πολιτῶν υἱοί, καὶ οὗτοι οὐχ ὡς ἑκά-
1262a στου, ἀλλὰ τοῦ τυχόντος ὁ τυχὼν ὁμοίως ἐστὶν υἱός· ὥστε πάντες ὁμοίως ὀλιγωρήσουσιν. ἔτι οὕτως ἕκαστος ἐμὸς

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but there will be no connexion between the individual members of the two.

3 *τὸ γὰρ πάντες καὶ ἀμφότερα, κ.τ.λ.*] The simplest way of taking this seems to be: 'For words like "all," "both," "odd," "even," from their ambiguity even in formal treatises give rise to fallacious reasoning.'

ἐριστικοὺς συλλογισμούς] properly reasonings, where the object is not to establish truth but to gain a victory over your opponent, where the soundness or unsoundness of the reasoning is not the main point, but its immediate effect in silencing the opposite party.

διό] I do not refer this to what immediately precedes, but rather to the whole subject. The result of this ambiguity of the word is, that you have carefully to distinguish the one sense from the other; and if you do so clear up the matter it will be found that whilst in the first sense the language, if used, would imply a noble state of things, but one not attainable, in the second sense it does not bear a meaning which would have any tendency to produce harmony.

4 From this criticism of the language used we pass to real difficulties. There will be an absence of the sense of property, and a consequent absence of interest. Nor merely so, but a positive neglect, on the ground that others are looking after the matter. This is verified by every-day experience in the case of servants.

5 *ἑκάστῳ τῶν πολιτῶν*] 'Each citizen has a thousand children, and no individual connexion to bind him to any one of the thousand. They are all equally the children of all, and all will be equally indifferent to them.'

ἔτι οὕτως, κ.τ.λ.] This is very hard. Is the *οὕτως* to be taken as referring to Plato's system, is it retrospective?—or is it prospective, an anticipation in fact of the *τοῦτον τὸν τρόπον*? Perhaps this last way is the true one. Not only will they all equally neglect the children, but there will be this further evil. The connexion, such as it is, will sit very lightly upon them.

Plato's Republic.

λέγει τὸν εὖ πράττοντα τῶν πολιτῶν ἢ κακῶς, ὁπόστος τυγχάνει τὸν ἀριθμὸν ὤν, οἷον ἐμὸς ἢ τοῦ δεῖνος, τοῦτον τὸν τρόπον λέγων καθ' ἕκαστον τῶν χιλίων, ἢ ὅσων ἡ πόλις ἐστί, καὶ τοῦτο διστάζων· ἄδηλον γὰρ ᾧ συνέβη γενέσθαι τέκνον καὶ σωθῆναι γενόμενον. καίτοι πότερον οὕτω κρεῖτ- 6
τον τὸ ἐμὸν λέγειν ἕκαστον, τὸ αὐτὸ μὲν προσαγορεύοντας δισχιλίων καὶ μυρίων, ἢ μᾶλλον ὡς νῦν ἐν ταῖς πόλεσι τὸ ἐμὸν λέγουσιν; ὁ μὲν γὰρ υἱὸν αὑτοῦ ὁ δ' ἀδελφὸν αὑτοῦ 7
προσαγορεύει τὸν αὐτόν, ὁ δ' ἀνεψιόν, ἢ κατ' ἄλλην τινὰ συγγένειαν, ἢ πρὸς αἵματος, ἢ κατ' οἰκειότητα καὶ κηδείαν αὑτοῦ πρῶτον ἢ τῶν αὑτοῦ, πρὸς δὲ τούτοις ἕτερον φράτορα ἢ φυλέτην· κρεῖττον γὰρ ἴδιον ἀνεψιὸν εἶναι ἢ τὸν τρόπον τοῦτον υἱόν. Οὐ μὴν ἀλλ' οὐδὲ διαφυγεῖν δυνατὸν τὸ μή 8
τινας ὑπολαμβάνειν ἑαυτῶν ἀδελφούς τε καὶ παῖδας καὶ πατέρας καὶ μητέρας· κατὰ γὰρ τὰς ὁμοιότητας αἳ γίνονται τοῖς τέκνοις πρὸς τοὺς γεννήσαντας, ἀναγκαῖον λαμβάνειν περὶ ἀλλήλων τὰς πίστεις. ὅπερ φασὶ καὶ συμβαίνειν 9
τινὲς τῶν τὰς τῆς γῆς περιόδους πραγματευομένων· εἶναι γάρ τισι τῶν ἄνω Λιβύων κοινὰς τὰς γυναῖκας, τὰ μέντοι γενόμενα τέκνα διαιρεῖσθαι κατὰ τὰς ὁμοιότητας. εἰσὶ δέ τινες καὶ γυναῖκες καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ζῴων, οἷον ἵπποι καὶ

'According as one is prosperous or the contrary, each of the citizens will accept him as his son or reject him, whatever may be the number of which he forms one. In the one case he will say he is mine, in the other he is so and so's (ἐμὸς ἢ τοῦ δεῖνος); and this will be his mode of speaking of each of the thousand, and yet his language will rest on no footing of certainty, for no one knows who has had a son, or whose son if born has lived.'

6 καίτοι, κ.τ.λ.] 'And yet, allowing the practicability of the scheme, is it better for each one in this sense to use the term mine, applying it equally to,' &c.?

7 ὁ μὲν γὰρ . . . φυλέτην] is simply explanatory of the ὡς νῦν ἐν ταῖς πόλεσιν. The κρεῖττον γάρ carries on the reasoning.

πρὸς αἵματος] 'by blood.'

πρῶτον] 'in the first place αὑτοῦ ἢ τῶν αὑτοῦ, of oneself, or those intimately connected with oneself.'

τὸν τρόπον τοῦτον] 'The way Plato would have it.'

8 οὐ μὴν ἀλλ' οὐδέ, κ.τ.λ.] 'Not however but that, do what you will, it is impossible to escape this difficulty,' &c.

τὰς πίστεις] 'convictions.'

9 τῶν ἄνω Λιβύων] Herod. IV. 180, τῷ ἂν οἴκῃ τῶν ἀνδρῶν τὸ παιδίον, τούτου παῖς νομίζεται. Comp. for the general subject, IV. 104, the case of the Agathyrsi, and I. 216 of the Massagetæ.

Plato's Republic.

βόες, αἳ σφόδρα πεφύκασιν ὅμοια ἀποδιδόναι τὰ τέκνα
τοῖς γονεῦσιν, ὥσπερ ἡ ἐν Φαρσάλῳ κληθεῖσα Δικαία
4 ἵππος. Ἔτι δὲ καὶ τὰς τοιαύτας δυσχερείας οὐ ῥᾴδιον
εὐλαβηθῆναι τοῖς ταύτην κατασκευάζουσι τὴν κοινωνίαν,
οἷον αἰκίας καὶ φόνους ἀκουσίους[a] καὶ μάχας καὶ λοιδορίας·
ὧν οὐδὲν ὅσιόν ἐστι γίνεσθαι πρὸς πατέρας καὶ μητέρας καὶ
τοὺς μὴ πόρρω τῆς συγγενείας ὄντας, ὥσπερ πρὸς τοὺς
ἄπωθεν· ἀλλὰ καὶ πλεῖον συμβαίνειν ἀναγκαῖον ἀγνοούντων
ἢ γνωριζόντων, καὶ γενομένων τῶν μὲν γνωριζόντων ἐνδέ-
χεται τὰς νομιζομένας γίνεσθαι λύσεις, τῶν δὲ μηδεμίαν.
2 Ἄτοπον δὲ καὶ τὸ κοινοὺς ποιήσαντα τοὺς υἱοὺς τὸ συνεῖναι
μόνον ἀφελεῖν τῶν ἐρώντων, τὸ δ' ἐρᾶν μὴ κωλῦσαι, μηδὲ
τὰς χρήσεις τὰς ἄλλας, ἃς πατρὶ πρὸς υἱὸν εἶναι πάντων
ἐστὶν ἀπρεπέστατον καὶ ἀδελφῷ πρὸς ἀδελφόν· ἐπεὶ καὶ
3 τὸ ἐρᾶν μόνον. ἄτοπον δὲ καὶ τὸ τὴν συνουσίαν ἀφελεῖν
δι' ἄλλην μὲν αἰτίαν μηδεμίαν, ὡς λίαν δ' ἰσχυρᾶς τῆς
ἡδονῆς γινομένης· ὅτι δ' ὁ μὲν πατὴρ ἢ υἱός, οἱ δ' ἀδελφοὶ
4 ἀλλήλων, μηθὲν οἴεσθαι διαφέρειν. Ἔοικε δὲ μᾶλλον τοῖς
1262 B γεωργοῖς εἶναι χρήσιμον τὸ κοινὰς εἶναι τὰς γυναῖκας καὶ
τοὺς παῖδας ἢ τοῖς φύλαξιν· ἧττον γὰρ ἔσται φιλία κοινῶν
ὄντων τῶν τέκνων καὶ τῶν γυναικῶν, δεῖ δὲ τοιούτους εἶναι
τοὺς ἀρχομένους πρὸς τὸ πειθαρχεῖν καὶ μὴ νεωτερίζειν.
5 Ὅλως δὲ συμβαίνειν ἀνάγκη τοὐναντίον διὰ τὸν τοιοῦτον
νόμον ὧν προσήκει τοὺς ὀρθῶς κειμένους νόμους αἰτίους
γίνεσθαι, καὶ δι' ἣν αἰτίαν ὁ Σωκράτης οὕτως οἴεται δεῖν

[a] τοὺς δὲ ἑκουσίους Bekker.

Δικαία ἵππος] Mentioned again in *Hist. Anim.* VII. vi. p. 586, 13.

IV. 1 **τοὺς δὲ ἑκουσίους**] This seems to me superfluous, a later addition. With one MS. I should omit it.

τοὺς μὴ πόρρω τῆς συγγενείας] 'not distant in relationship.'

ὥσπερ πρὸς τοὺς ἄπωθεν] sc. ἂν εἴη ὅσιον.

ἀλλὰ καὶ πλεῖον] 'But they must both happen more frequently.' Compare on this subject Grote, I. 34, not. In the text pp. 33, 34. He considers these λύσεις post-Homeric, and in their origin probably Lydian.

2 and 3 The reference is to Plato, *Rep.* III. 403.

4 **τοῖς γεωργοῖς**] This depends on κοινάς, not on χρήσιμον, as it would seem to do at first sight.

τοιούτους] sc. ἧττον φίλους.

5 **δι' ἣν αἰτίαν**] 'and the contrary of the ground alleged by Socrates for his regulation.'

τάττειν τὰ περὶ τὰ τέκνα καὶ τὰς γυναῖκας. φιλίαν τε γὰρ οἰόμεθα μέγιστον εἶναι τῶν ἀγαθῶν ταῖς πόλεσιν 6
(οὕτω γὰρ ἂν ἥκιστα στασιάζοιεν), καὶ τὸ μίαν εἶναι τὴν πόλιν ἐπαινεῖ μάλισθ' ὁ Σωκράτης· ὃ καὶ δοκεῖ κἀκεῖνος εἶναί φησι τῆς φιλίας ἔργον, καθάπερ ἐν τοῖς ἐρωτικοῖς λόγοις ἴσμεν λέγοντα τὸν Ἀριστοφάνην ὡς τῶν ἐρώντων διὰ τὸ σφόδρα φιλεῖν ἐπιθυμούντων συμφῦναι καὶ γενέσθαι ἐκ δύο ὄντων[a] ἕνα· ἐνταῦθα μὲν οὖν ἀνάγκη ἀμφοτέρους 7
ἐφθάρθαι ἢ τὸν ἕνα· ἐν δὲ τῇ πόλει τὴν φιλίαν ἀναγκαῖον ὑδαρῆ γίνεσθαι διὰ τὴν κοινωνίαν τὴν τοιαύτην, καὶ ἥκιστα λέγειν τὸν ἐμὸν ἢ υἱὸν πατέρα ἢ πατέρα υἱόν. ὥσπερ γὰρ 8
μικρὸν γλυκὺ εἰς πολὺ ὕδωρ μιχθὲν ἀναίσθητον ποιεῖ τὴν κρᾶσιν, οὕτω συμβαίνει καὶ τὴν οἰκειότητα τὴν πρὸς ἀλλήλους τὴν ἀπὸ τῶν ὀνομάτων τούτων διαφροντίζειν ἥκιστα ἀναγκαῖον ὂν ἐν τῇ πολιτείᾳ τῇ τοιαύτῃ, ἢ πατέρα ὡς υἱῶν ἢ υἱὸν ὡς πατρός, ἢ ὡς ἀδελφοὺς ἀλλήλων. δύο γάρ 9
ἐστιν ἃ μάλιστα ποιεῖ κήδεσθαι τοὺς ἀνθρώπους καὶ φιλεῖν, τό τε ἴδιον καὶ τὸ ἀγαπητόν· ὧν οὐδέτερον οἷόν τε ὑπάρχειν τοῖς οὕτω πολιτευομένοις. Ἀλλὰ μὴν καὶ περὶ τοῦ μεταφέρειν τὰ γινόμενα τέκνα, τὰ μὲν ἐκ τῶν γεωργῶν καὶ

[a] ἀμφοτέρους Bekker.

6 φιλίαν] 'affection,' not 'friendship,' 'caritas,' not 'amicitia.'

ὃ καὶ δοκεῖ] 'which is both generally thought to be.'

ἐρωτικοῖς λόγοις] The *Symposium* of Plato, 191, 2, and foll.

ἀμφοτέρους] I prefer leaving this out, and reading ἐκ δύο ὄντων ἕνα. The ἀμφοτέρους seems to have crept in from the next line. ὥστε δύ' ὄντας ἕνα γεγονέναι is the language of Plato, *Symp.* 192. D. The attempt at excessive friendship is destructive.

8 οὕτω συμβαίνει ἥκιστα ἀναγκαῖον ὂν διαφροντίζειν τὴν οἰκειότητα τὴν πρὸς ἀλλήλους τὴν ἀπὸ τῶν ὀνομάτων τούτων] 'So the result is, that less than in any case need we take into account in a constitution constructed on these principles the intimacy or kindness which these names imply.' By this rendering οἰκειότητα is made the direct object of διαφροντίζειν, in the sense of 'attending to.'

ἢ πατέρα ὡς υἱῶν ἢ υἱὸν ὡς πατρός, ἢ ὡς ἀδελφοὺς ἀλλήλων] The construction is hard. The simplest way is to repeat διαφροντίζειν, and construe it, 'either that a father should care for any as his sons, or a son care for any one as his father, or brothers care for each other as brothers.'

9 τὸ ἀγαπητόν] 'natural affection.' Stahr translates it, "das mit Mühe erworbene, that which we have acquired with effort, and which we value accordingly;" but this does not seem required by the passage.

Plato's Republic.

τεχνιτῶν εἰς τοὺς φύλακας, τὰ δ' ἐκ τούτων εἰς ἐκείνους, πολλὴν ἔχει ταραχήν, τίνα ἔσται τρόπον· καὶ γινώσκειν ἀναγκαῖον τοὺς διδόντας καὶ μεταφέροντας τίσι τίνας
10 διδόασιν. ἔτι δὲ καὶ τὰ πάλαι λεχθέντα μᾶλλον ἐπὶ τούτων ἀναγκαῖον συμβαίνειν, οἷον αἰκίας ἔρωτας φόνους· οὐ γὰρ ἔτι προσαγορεύουσιν ἀδελφοὺς καὶ τέκνα καὶ πατέρας καὶ μητέρας τοὺς φύλακας οἵ τε εἰς τοὺς ἄλλους πολίτας δοθέντες καὶ πάλιν οἱ παρὰ τοῖς φύλαξιν[a] τοὺς ἄλλους πολίτας, ὥστ' εὐλαβεῖσθαι τῶν τοιούτων τι πράττειν διὰ τὴν συγγένειαν. Περὶ μὲν οὖν τῆς περὶ τὰ τέκνα καὶ τὰς γυναῖκας κοινωνίας διωρίσθω τὸν τρόπον τοῦτον.

5 Ἐχόμενον δὲ τούτων ἐστὶν ἐπισκέψασθαι περὶ τῆς κτήσεως, τίνα τρόπον δεῖ κατασκευάζεσθαι τοῖς μέλλουσι πολιτεύεσθαι τὴν ἀρίστην πολιτείαν, πότερον κοινὴν ἢ μὴ
2 κοινὴν εἶναι τὴν κτῆσιν. τοῦτο δ' ἄν τις καὶ χωρὶς σκέψαιτο ἀπὸ τῶν περὶ τὰ τέκνα καὶ τὰς γυναῖκας νενομοθε-
1263 τημένων, λέγω δὲ τὰ περὶ τὴν κτῆσιν, πότερον, κἂν ᾖ ἐκεῖνα χωρὶς καθ' ὃν νῦν τρόπον ἔχει πᾶσι, τάς τε κτήσεις κοινὰς εἶναι βέλτιον καὶ τὰς χρήσεις, οἷον τὰ μὲν γήπεδα χωρίς, τοὺς δὲ καρποὺς εἰς τὸ κοινὸν φέροντας, ἀναλίσκειν (ὅπερ ἔνια ποιεῖ τῶν ἐθνῶν), ἢ τοὐναντίον τὴν μὲν γῆν κοινὴν εἶναι καὶ γεωργεῖν κοινῇ, τοὺς δὲ καρποὺς διαιρεῖσθαι πρὸς τὰς

[a] εἰς Bekker.

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10 *οἱ παρὰ τοῖς φύλαξιν τοὺς ἄλλους πολίτας*] So I read it, leaving out the preposition *εἰς*. *οἱ παρὰ τοῖς φύλαξιν* is equivalent to *οἱ εἰς τοὺς φύλακας δοθέντες*, and the construction then is *οὐ προσαγορεύουσιν τοὺς ἄλλους πολίτας ἀδελφοὺς καὶ τέκνα, κ.τ.λ.*

ὥστ' εὐλαβεῖσθαι] 'So as to be on their guard on account of their relationship against doing anything of the kind.' Did they so address them it would lead to caution.

V. 1 So far for the community of wives and children. The next point for consideration in Plato's system is his view of property, and the question is: ought there to be private property or not?

2 *καὶ χωρὶς σκέψαιτο ἀπό, κ.τ.λ.*] 'This might be treated of quite separate and apart from the regulations,' &c.

ἐκεῖνα] sc. *τὰ περὶ τὰ τέκνα.*

γήπεδα] The actual plots of ground, the land. Three forms of community of property given. 1 The land separate, the produce thrown into a common stock. 2 The land common and worked in common, the produce divided to meet the wants of the citizens. 3 Both land and produce in common.

Plato's Republic.

ἰδίας χρήσεις (λέγονται δέ τινες καὶ τοῦτον τὸν τρόπον κοινωνεῖν τῶν βαρβάρων), ἢ καὶ τὰ γήπεδα καὶ τοὺς καρποὺς κοινούς. ἑτέρων μὲν οὖν ὄντων τῶν γεωργούντων ἄλλος ἂν 3
εἴη τρόπος καὶ ῥᾴων, αὐτῶν δ' αὐτοῖς διαπονούντων τὰ περὶ τὰς κτήσεις πλείους ἂν παρέχοι δυσκολίας· καὶ γὰρ ἐν ταῖς ἀπολαύσεσι καὶ ἐν τοῖς ἔργοις μὴ γινομένων ἴσων ἀναγκαῖον ἐγκλήματα γίνεσθαι πρὸς τοὺς ἀπολαύοντας μὲν[a] ὀλίγα δὲ πονοῦντας, τοῖς ἐλάττω μὲν λαμβάνουσι πλείω δὲ πονοῦσιν. ὅλως δὲ τὸ συζῆν καὶ κοινωνεῖν τῶν ἀνθρωπικῶν πάντων 4
χαλεπόν, καὶ μάλιστα τῶν τοιούτων. δηλοῦσι δ' αἱ τῶν συναποδήμων κοινωνίαι· σχεδὸν γὰρ οἱ πλεῖστοι διαφερόμενοι ἐκ τῶν ἐν ποσὶ καὶ ἐκ μικρῶν προσκρούοντες ἀλλήλοις. ἔτι δὲ τῶν θεραπόντων τούτοις μάλιστα προσκρούομεν, οἷς πλεῖστα προσχρώμεθα πρὸς τὰς διακονίας τὰς ἐγκυκλίους.—
Τὸ μὲν οὖν κοινὰς εἶναι τὰς κτήσεις ταύτας τε καὶ ἄλλας 5
τοιαύτας ἔχει δυσχερείας, ὃν δὲ νῦν τρόπον ἔχει καὶ ἐπικοσμηθὲν ἤθεσι καὶ τάξει νόμων ὀρθῶν, οὐ μικρὸν ἂν διενέγκαι· ἕξει γὰρ τὸ ἐξ ἀμφοτέρων ἀγαθόν. λέγω δὲ τὸ ἐξ ἀμφοτέρων τὸ ἐκ τοῦ κοινὰς εἶναι τὰς κτήσεις καὶ τὸ ἐκ τοῦ ἰδίας. δεῖ γάρ πως[b] μὲν εἶναι κοινάς, ὅλως δ' ἰδίας. αἱ μὲν γὰρ 6
ἐπιμέλειαι διῃρημέναι τὰ ἐγκλήματα πρὸς ἀλλήλους οὐ ποιήσουσιν, μᾶλλον δ' ἐπιδώσουσιν ὡς πρὸς ἴδιον ἑκάστου προσεδρεύοντος· δι' ἀρετὴν δ' ἔσται πρὸς τὸ χρῆσθαι κατὰ

[a] ἢ λαμβάνοντας πολλά Bekker. [b] πῶς Bekker.

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3 ἑτέρων] not πολιτῶν, a distinct body of cultivators.

ἄλλος ἄν, κ.τ.λ.] 'It would be a different case and easier to deal with.'

ἢ λαμβάνοντας] I omit this as an unnecessary addition suggested by the ἐλάττω λαμβάνουσι immediately following.

4 σχεδὸν γάρ, κ.τ.λ.] The sentence is not complete. In the place of the participle προσκρούοντες should stand the verb προσκρούουσιν. 'They clash.'

5 ἤθεσι] "les mœurs." We have in English no one word sufficiently comprehensive—'opinion and the habits of the people.'

οὐ μικρὸν ἂν διενέγκαι] 'would in no slight degree be superior.'

5 πως] The indefinite form is the one here required by the sense.

6 διῃρημέναι, κ.τ.λ.] 'By being kept distinct will not give rise to complaints, and they will be pursued with larger results as each man concentrates his attention on what is his own,' and so feels the stimulus of property.

Plato's Republic.

τὴν παροιμίαν κοινὰ τὰ φίλων. ἔστι δὲ καὶ νῦν τὸν τρόπον
τοῦτον ἐν ἐνίαις πόλεσιν οὕτως ὑπογεγραμμένον ὡς οὐκ ὂν
ἀδύνατον, καὶ μάλιστα ἐν ταῖς καλῶς οἰκουμέναις τὰ μὲν
7 ἔστι τὰ δὲ γένοιτ' ἄν. ἰδίαν γὰρ ἕκαστος τὴν κτῆσιν ἔχων
τὰ μὲν χρήσιμα ποιεῖ τοῖς φίλοις, τοῖς δὲ χρῆται κοινοῖς,
οἷον καὶ ἐν Λακεδαίμονι τοῖς τε δούλοις χρῶνται τοῖς ἀλλή-
λων ὡς εἰπεῖν ἰδίοις, ἔτι δ' ἵπποις καὶ κυσίν, κἂν δεηθῶσιν
8 ἐφοδίων ἐν τοῖς ἀγροῖς κατὰ τὴν χώραν. φανερὸν τοίνυν
ὅτι βέλτιον εἶναι μὲν ἰδίας τὰς κτήσεις, τῇ δὲ χρήσει ποιεῖν
κοινάς. ὅπως δὲ γίνωνται τοιοῦτοι, τοῦ νομοθέτου τοῦτ'
ἔργον ἴδιόν ἐστιν. ἔτι δὲ καὶ πρὸς ἡδονὴν ἀμύθητον ὅσον
διαφέρει τὸ νομίζειν ἴδιόν τι· μὴ γὰρ οὐ μάτην τὴν πρὸς
1263 B αὑτὸν αὐτὸς ἔχει φιλίαν ἕκαστος, ἀλλ' ἔστι τοῦτο φυσικόν.
9 τὸ δὲ φίλαυτον εἶναι ψέγεται δικαίως· οὐκ ἔστι δὲ τοῦτο τὸ
φιλεῖν ἑαυτόν, ἀλλὰ τὸ μᾶλλον ἢ δεῖ φιλεῖν, καθάπερ καὶ
τὸν φιλοχρήματον, ἐπεὶ φιλοῦσί γε πάντες ὡς εἰπεῖν ἕκα-
στον τῶν τοιούτων. ἀλλὰ μὴν καὶ τὸ χαρίσασθαι καὶ βοη-
θῆσαι φίλοις ἢ ξένοις ἢ ἑταίροις ἥδιστον· ὃ γίνεται τῆς
10 κτήσεως ἰδίας οὔσης. ταῦτά τε δὴ οὐ συμβαίνει τοῖς λίαν
ἓν ποιοῦσι τὴν πόλιν, καὶ πρὸς τούτοις ἀναιροῦσιν ἔργα
δυοῖν ἀρεταῖν φανερῶς, σωφροσύνης μὲν τὸ περὶ τὰς γυναῖ-
κας (ἔργον γὰρ καλὸν ἀλλοτρίας οὔσης ἀπέχεσθαι διὰ σω-
φροσύνην), ἐλευθεριότητος δὲ τὸ περὶ τὰς κτήσεις· οὔτε

κοινὰ τὰ φίλων] Compare the quotation of the same proverb in the *Republic*, v. 449. c.

ὑπογεγραμμένον] 'sketched out;' ὑπογραφή, an outline, a first sketch.

χρήσιμα ποιεῖ] 'places at the service of his friends.'

8 This is the exact conclusion of Art. XXXVIII. Compare Wilson, *Bampton Lect.* 1851, Lect. VII. p. 231.

τοιοῦτοι] 'men capable of this state, competent so to deal with their property.'

καὶ πρὸς ἡδονήν] 'even for the pleasure of the thing.'

μὴ γὰρ οὐ μάτην, κ.τ.λ.] For the form of the expression compare *Eth.* x. i. 3. p. 1172, 33, μή ποτε δὲ οὐ καλῶς. And so again, *Eth.* x. ii. 4. p. 1173, 22. For the substance, comp. *Eth.* IX. iv. 1. p. 1166, 1, τὰ φιλικὰ τὰ πρὸς τοὺς φίλους... ἔοικεν ἐκ τῶν πρὸς ἑαυτὸν ἐληλυθέναι. The element of self, of the personal, it is impossible to eradicate. It is a vain endeavour to seek to do so. To control and guide and subordinate self-love to benevolence, the personal to the relative, the individual to the society—this is the true object.

φίλαυτον] This subject is treated *Eth.* IX. viii. Butler's *Sermons*, XII.

γὰρ ἔσται φανερὸς ἐλευθέριος ὤν, οὔτε πράξει πρᾶξιν ἐλευθέριον οὐδεμίαν· ἐν γὰρ τῇ χρήσει τῶν κτημάτων τὸ τῆς ἐλευθεριότητος ἔργον ἐστίν.

Plato's Republic.

Εὐπρόσωπος μὲν οὖν ἡ τοιαύτη νομοθεσία καὶ φιλάν- 11
θρωπος ἂν εἶναι δόξειεν· ὁ γὰρ ἀκροώμενος ἄσμενος ἀποδέ-
χεται, νομίζων ἔσεσθαι φιλίαν τινὰ θαυμαστὴν πᾶσι πρὸς
ἅπαντας, ἄλλως τε καὶ ὅταν κατηγορῇ τις τῶν νῦν ὑπαρχ-
όντων ἐν ταῖς πολιτείαις κακῶν ὡς γινομένων διὰ τὸ μὴ κοι-
νὴν εἶναι τὴν οὐσίαν, λέγω δὲ δίκας τε πρὸς ἀλλήλους περὶ
συμβολαίων καὶ ψευδομαρτυριῶν κρίσεις καὶ πλουσίων κολα-
κείας. ὧν οὐδὲν γίνεται διὰ τὴν ἀκοινωνησίαν ἀλλὰ διὰ τὴν 12
μοχθηρίαν, ἐπεὶ καὶ τοὺς κοινὰ κεκτημένους καὶ κοινωνοῦντας
πολλῷ διαφερομένους μᾶλλον ὁρῶμεν ἢ τοὺς χωρὶς τὰς οὐ-
σίας ἔχοντας· ἀλλὰ θεωροῦμεν ὀλίγους τοὺς ἐκ τῶν κοινωνιῶν
διαφερομένους πρὸς πολλοὺς συμβάλλοντες τοὺς κεκτημένους
ἰδίᾳ τὰς κτήσεις. ἔτι δὲ δίκαιον μὴ μόνον λέγειν ὅσων στε- 13
ρήσονται κακῶν κοινωνήσαντες, ἀλλὰ καὶ ὅσων ἀγαθῶν.
Φαίνεται δ' εἶναι πάμπαν ἀδύνατος ὁ βίος. αἴτιον δὲ τῷ
Σωκράτει τῆς παρακρούσεως χρὴ νομίζειν τὴν ὑπόθεσιν οὐκ
οὖσαν ὀρθήν. δεῖ μὲν γὰρ εἶναί πως μίαν καὶ τὴν οἰκίαν καὶ 14
τὴν πόλιν, ἀλλ' οὐ πάντως. ἔστι μὲν γὰρ ὡς οὐκ ἔσται
προϊοῦσα πόλις, ἔστι δ' ὡς ἔσται μέν, ἐγγὺς δ' οὖσα τοῦ μὴ
πόλις εἶναι ἔσται χείρων πόλις, ὥσπερ κἂν εἴ τις τὴν συμ-
φωνίαν ποιήσειεν ὁμοφωνίαν ἢ τὸν ῥυθμὸν βάσιν μίαν.
ἀλλὰ δεῖ πλῆθος ὄν, ὥσπερ εἴρηται πρότερον, διὰ τὴν παι- 15
δείαν κοινὴν καὶ μίαν ποιεῖν· καὶ τόν γε μέλλοντα παιδείαν
εἰσάγειν, καὶ νομίζοντα διὰ ταύτης ἔσεσθαι τὴν πόλιν
σπουδαίαν, ἄτοπον τοῖς τοιούτοις οἴεσθαι διορθοῦν, ἀλλὰ

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12 ὧν] 'And yet of these.'

ἀκοινωνησίαν] simply negative, 'on account of there being no such community whether of wives or property.'

ἀλλὰ θεωροῦμεν, κ.τ.λ.] 'But we have but few instances of men who have this community to compare with many who hold their goods as private property.'

τοὺς ἐκ τῶν κοινωνιῶν] 'Those under the conditions of such community.'

13 αἴτιον δέ, κ.τ.λ.] 'The cause of Socrates' failure must be considered to lie in the idea which was his groundwork not being right.'

15 πλῆθος ὄν] 'under the condition of number.' Ch. II. 2.

Plato's Republic.

μὴ τοῖς ἔθεσι καὶ τῇ φιλοσοφίᾳ καὶ τοῖς νόμοις, ὥσπερ τὰ περὶ τὰς κτήσεις ἐν Λακεδαίμονι καὶ Κρήτῃ τοῖς συσσιτίοις
1264 16 ὁ νομοθέτης ἐκοίνωσεν. δεῖ δὲ μηδὲ τοῦτο αὐτὸ ἀγνοεῖν, ὅτι χρὴ προσέχειν τῷ πολλῷ χρόνῳ καὶ τοῖς πολλοῖς ἔτεσιν, ἐν οἷς οὐκ ἂν ἔλαθεν εἰ ταῦτα καλῶς εἶχεν· πάντα γὰρ σχεδὸν εὕρηται μέν, ἀλλὰ τὰ μὲν οὐ συνῆκται, τοῖς δ' οὐ χρῶνται
17 γινώσκοντες. μάλιστα δ' ἂν γένοιτο φανερόν, εἴ τις τοῖς ἔργοις ἴδοι τὴν τοιαύτην πολιτείαν κατασκευαζομένην· οὐ γὰρ δυνήσεται μὴ μερίζων αὐτὰ καὶ χωρίζων ποιῆσαι τὴν πόλιν, τὰ μὲν εἰς συσσίτια, τὰ δὲ εἰς φρατρίας καὶ φυλάς. ὥστε οὐδὲν ἄλλο συμβήσεται νενομοθετημένον πλὴν μὴ γεωργεῖν τοὺς φύλακας· ὅπερ καὶ νῦν Λακεδαιμόνιοι ποιεῖν
18 ἐπιχειροῦσιν. Οὐ μὴν ἀλλ' οὐδὲ ὁ τρόπος τῆς ὅλης πολιτείας τις ἔσται τοῖς κοινωνοῦσιν, οὔτ' εἴρηκεν ὁ Σωκράτης οὔτε ῥᾴδιον εἰπεῖν. καίτοι σχεδὸν τό γε πλῆθος τῆς πόλεως τὸ τῶν ἄλλων πολιτῶν γίνεται πλῆθος, περὶ ὧν οὐδὲν διώρισται, πότερον καὶ τοῖς γεωργοῖς κοινὰς εἶναι δεῖ τὰς κτήσεις ἢ καὶ καθ' ἕκαστον ἰδίας, ἔτι δὲ καὶ γυναῖκας καὶ παῖδας

τῇ φιλοσοφίᾳ] used in a very general sense, 'intellectual cultivation.' φιλοσοφοῦμεν ἄνευ μαλακίας. Thuc. II. 40.

16 πάντα γὰρ σχεδὸν εὕρηται μέν, κ.τ.λ.] For we may say generally that all the requisites for true political conclusions have been discovered by this time, but in some cases they have not been brought together, and so the fair inferences have not been drawn from them. In these cases there is a want of knowledge on the subject, in other cases the knowledge is not wanting, but its application. The world's experience was in his view sufficient; in political science a synthesis was the thing needed. It was early to arrive at this conviction.

17 μάλιστα δ', κ.τ.λ.] This carries us back to the πάμπαν ἀδύνατος ὁ βίος, § 13. Practically (τοῖς ἔργοις) it would be found so. Form a state, and divisions and separations will be found absolutely indispensable; so that the unity you aim at will disappear in the process.

18 Hitherto the whole of his remarks have been concerned with the governing body; but they by the very term are but a part of a whole. What is to be the system of that whole—what the relations of its parts? On this Socrates is silent. Yet it is a question which concerns the mass, the majority of the population, and cannot well be set aside. There should be a definite answer given to two questions: In what relation is this mass of the governed to stand to its governors? and, 2ndly, within itself on what principles is it to act and be regulated?

τῆς ὅλης πολιτείας] of the whole formed by the φύλακες and the governed.

Plato's Republic.

ἰδίους ἢ κοινούς. εἰ μὲν γὰρ τὸν αὐτὸν τρόπον κοινὰ πάντα
πάντων, τί διοίσουσιν οὗτοι ἐκείνων τῶν φυλάκων; ἢ τί
πλεῖον τοῖς ὑπομένουσι τὴν ἀρχὴν αὐτῶν; ἢ τί μαθόντες 19
ὑπομενοῦσι τὴν ἀρχήν, ἐὰν μή τι σοφίζωνται τοιοῦτον οἷον
Κρῆτες; ἐκεῖνοι γὰρ τἆλλα ταὐτὰ τοῖς δούλοις ἐφέντες μό-
νον ἀπειρήκασι τὰ γυμνάσια καὶ τὴν τῶν ὅπλων κτῆσιν. εἰ 20
δέ, καθάπερ ἐν ταῖς ἄλλαις πόλεσι, καὶ παρ' ἐκείνοις ἔσται
τὰ τοιαῦτα, τίς ὁ τρόπος ἔσται τῆς κοινωνίας; ἐν (μιᾷ) γὰρ
πόλει δύο πόλεις ἀναγκαῖον εἶναι, καὶ ταύτας ὑπεναντίας
ἀλλήλαις. ποιεῖ γὰρ τοὺς μὲν φύλακας οἷον φρουρούς, τοὺς
δὲ γεωργούς, καὶ τοὺς τεχνίτας καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους πολίτας.
ἐγκλήματα δὲ καὶ δίκαι, καὶ ὅσα ἄλλα ταῖς πόλεσιν ὑπάρ- 21
χειν φησὶ κακά, πάνθ' ὑπάρξει καὶ τούτοις. καίτοι λέγει ὁ
Σωκράτης ὡς οὐ πολλῶν δεήσονται νομίμων διὰ τὴν παι-
δείαν, οἷον ἀστυνομικῶν καὶ ἀγορανομικῶν καὶ τῶν ἄλλων
τῶν τοιούτων, ἀποδιδοὺς μόνον τὴν παιδείαν τοῖς φύλαξιν.
ἔτι δὲ κυρίους ποιεῖ τῶν κτημάτων τοὺς γεωργοὺς ἀποφορὰν 22
φέροντας· ἀλλὰ πολὺ μᾶλλον εἰκὸς εἶναι χαλεποὺς καὶ φρο-
νημάτων πλήρεις ἢ τὰς παρ' ἐνίοις εἱλωτείας τε καὶ πενε-
στείας καὶ δουλείας. ἀλλὰ γὰρ εἴτ' ἀναγκαῖα ταῦθ' ὁμοίως 23
εἴτε μή, νῦν γ' οὐδὲν διώρισται. Καὶ περὶ τῶν ἀρχομένων[a],
τίς ἡ τούτων τε πολιτεία καὶ παιδεία καὶ νόμοι τίνες. ἔστι
δ' οὔθ' εὑρεῖν ῥᾴδιον, οὔτε τὸ διαφέρον μικρόν, τὸ ποιούς
τινας εἶναι τούτους πρὸς τὸ σώζεσθαι τὴν τῶν φυλάκων κοι-
νωνίαν. ἀλλὰ μὴν εἴ γε τὰς μὲν γυναῖκας ποιήσει κοινὰς 24 1264 B

[a] ἐχομένων Bekker.

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19 *τί μαθόντες, κ.τ.λ.*] 'what inducements could they have to submit to the rule?'

τι σοφίζωνται] 'invent some device.'

20 *παρ' ἐκείνοις*] with the mass of the citizens in the Platonic state, the *τῶν ἄλλων πολιτῶν πλῆθος* of § 18.

21 *καὶ τούτοις*] 'To these as well as to actually existing states.'

ἀποδιδοὺς μόνον] 'and yet his education is only meant for his rulers.'

22 *ἀποφοράν*] 'a rent.'

23 However, be these results necessary, and all equally necessary or not, one thing is clear, no statement is made on the subject.

Looking at the whole context I have but little doubt that instead of *ἐχομένων* we should read *ἀρχομένων*, which lies hidden under the various reading *ἐχομένων*. In § 18 we had *τῆς ὅλης πολιτείας*, as previously we have had the *φύλακας*; he comes now to the other distinct member of that whole,

Plato's Republic.

τὰς δὲ κτήσεις ἰδίας, τίς οἰκονομήσει ὥσπερ τὰ ἐπὶ τῶν ἀγρῶν οἱ ἄνδρες αὐτῶν;[a] ἄτοπον δὲ καὶ τὸ ἐκ τῶν θηρίων ποιεῖσθαι τὴν παραβολήν, ὅτι δεῖ τὰ αὐτὰ ἐπιτηδεύειν τὰς
25 γυναῖκας τοῖς ἀνδράσιν, οἷς οἰκονομίας οὐδὲν μέτεστιν. ἐπισφαλὲς δὲ καὶ τοὺς ἄρχοντας ὡς καθίστησιν ὁ Σωκράτης· ἀεὶ γὰρ ποιεῖ τοὺς αὐτοὺς ἄρχοντας. τοῦτο δὲ στάσεως αἴτιον γίνεται καὶ παρὰ τοῖς μηδὲν ἀξίωμα κεκτημένοις, ἦ
26 πού γε δὴ παρά γε θυμοειδέσι καὶ πολεμικοῖς ἀνδράσιν. ὅτι δ' ἀναγκαῖον αὐτῷ ποιεῖν τοὺς αὐτοὺς ἄρχοντας, φανερόν· οὐ γὰρ ὁτὲ μὲν ἄλλοις ὁτὲ δὲ ἄλλοις μέμικται ταῖς ψυχαῖς ὁ παρὰ τοῦ θεοῦ χρυσός, ἀλλ' ἀεὶ τοῖς αὐτοῖς. φησὶ δὲ τοῖς μὲν εὐθὺ γινομένοις μῖξαι χρυσόν, τοῖς δ' ἄργυρον, χαλκὸν δὲ καὶ σίδηρον τοῖς τεχνίταις μέλλουσιν ἔσεσθαι καὶ γεωρ-
27 γοῖς. Ἔτι δὲ καὶ τὴν εὐδαιμονίαν ἀφαιρούμενος τῶν φυλάκων, ὅλην φησὶ δεῖν εὐδαίμονα ποιεῖν τὴν πόλιν τὸν νομοθέτην. ἀδύνατον δὲ εὐδαιμονεῖν ὅλην, μὴ τῶν πλείστων ἢ μὴ πάντων μερῶν ἢ τινῶν ἐχόντων τὴν εὐδαιμονίαν. οὐ γὰρ τῶν αὐτῶν τὸ εὐδαιμονεῖν ὧνπερ τὸ ἄρτιον· τοῦτο μὲν γὰρ ἐνδέχεται τῷ ὅλῳ ὑπάρχειν, τῶν δὲ μερῶν μηδετέρῳ, τὸ δὲ
28 εὐδαιμονεῖν ἀδύνατον. ἀλλὰ μὴν εἰ οἱ φύλακες μὴ εὐδαίμονες, τίνες ἕτεροι; οὐ γὰρ δὴ οἵ γε τεχνῖται καὶ τὸ πλῆθος τὸ τῶν βαναύσων. Ἡ μὲν οὖν πολιτεία περὶ ἧς ὁ Σωκράτης εἴρηκεν, ταύτας τε τὰς ἀπορίας ἔχει καὶ τούτων οὐκ ἐλάττους ἑτέρας.

Plato's Laws.

Σχεδὸν δὲ παραπλησίως καὶ περὶ τοὺς νόμους ἔχει τοὺς
6 ὕστερον γραφέντας· διὸ καὶ περὶ τῆς ἐνταῦθα πολιτείας

[a] Bekker here reads [Κἂν εἰ κοιναὶ αἱ κτήσεις καὶ αἱ τῶν γεωργῶν γυναῖκες.]

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the ἀρχόμενοι, and very briefly states the question about them.

24 This is a very fragmentary treatment of the subject. One of several possible forms is given, and the objection to which it is open stated. Were the others not given, or are they lost?

οἰκονομήσει] 'shall manage the household.'

κἂν εἰ, κ.τ.λ.] This may as well be left out.

τὴν παραβολήν] 'To go to the animals for your illustration, for they have no share of family life.'

27 οὐ γὰρ τῶν αὐτῶν, κ.λ.τ.] 'For happiness does not come under the same class,' &c.

VI. 1 παραπλησίως ἔχει] That is to say, it is open, as the republic is, to

Plato's Laws.

ἐπισκέψασθαι μικρὰ βέλτιον. καὶ γὰρ ἐν τῇ πολιτείᾳ
περὶ ὀλίγων πάμπαν διώρικεν ὁ Σωκράτης, περί τε γυναικῶν
καὶ τέκνων κοινωνίας, πῶς ἔχειν δεῖ, καὶ περὶ κτήσεως, καὶ
τῆς πολιτείας τὴν τάξιν. διαιρεῖται γὰρ εἰς δύο μέρη τὸ 2
πλῆθος τῶν οἰκούντων, τὸ μὲν εἰς τοὺς γεωργούς, τὸ δὲ εἰς
τὸ προπολεμοῦν μέρος· τρίτον δ' ἐκ τούτων τὸ βουλευόμενον καὶ κύριον τῆς πόλεως. περὶ δὲ τῶν γεωργῶν καὶ 3
τῶν τεχνιτῶν, πότερον οὐδεμιᾶς ἢ μετέχουσί τινος ἀρχῆς,
καὶ πότερον ὅπλα δεῖ κεκτῆσθαι καὶ τούτους καὶ συμπολεμεῖν ἢ μή, περὶ τούτων οὐδὲν διώρικεν ὁ Σωκράτης, ἀλλὰ
τὰς μὲν γυναῖκας οἴεται δεῖν συμπολεμεῖν καὶ παιδείας μετέχειν τῆς αὐτῆς τοῖς φύλαξιν, τὰ δ' ἄλλα τοῖς ἔξωθεν λόγοις
πεπλήρωκε τὸν λόγον καὶ περὶ τῆς παιδείας, ποίαν τινὰ δεῖ
γίνεσθαι τῶν φυλάκων. Τῶν δὲ νόμων τὸ μὲν πλεῖστον 4 1265
μέρος νόμοι τυγχάνουσιν ὄντες, ὀλίγα δὲ περὶ τῆς πολιτείας
εἴρηκεν. καὶ ταύτην βουλόμενος κοινοτέραν ποιεῖν ταῖς
πόλεσι, κατὰ μικρὸν περιάγει πάλιν πρὸς τὴν ἑτέραν πολιτείαν. ἔξω γὰρ τῆς τῶν γυναικῶν κοινωνίας καὶ τῆς κτή- 5
σεως, τὰ ἄλλα ταὐτὰ ἀποδίδωσιν ἀμφοτέραις ταῖς πολιτείαις· καὶ γὰρ παιδείαν τὴν αὐτήν, καὶ τὸ τῶν ἔργων τῶν ἀναγκαίων ἀπεχομένους ζῆν, καὶ περὶ συσσιτίων ὡσαύτως· πλὴν ἐν ταύτῃ φησὶ δεῖν εἶναι συσσίτια καὶ γυναικῶν, καὶ τὴν μὲν χιλίων τῶν ὅπλα κεκτημένων, ταύτην δὲ πεντακι-

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many grave objections, and those in many cases similar ones. For the two coincide in a great degree, with this difference, that 'the Laws' enter more into detail.

2 *εἰς τοὺς γεωργούς—εἰς τό, κ.τ.λ.*] These prepositions are superfluous, but the sense is clear, and no MS. omits them, it seems; otherwise I should be glad to get rid of them.

ἐκ τούτων] sc. *τὸ προπολεμοῦν μέρος.*

3 *τοῖς ἔξωθεν λόγοις*] 'by discussions foreign to the subject of the constitution.'

4 *κοινοτέραν*] 'more generally attainable.'

5 *τῶν ἔργων τῶν ἀναγκαίων*] So below, Ch. IX. 2, we have *τὴν τῶν ἀναγκαίων σχολήν.* In both cases the meaning is the same. The great object for the Greek freeman was to have leisure. He must therefore be free from all the drudgery of life, free from the necessity of daily labour for daily bread.

συσσίτια γυναικῶν] This institution seems but a fair and logical development of his general view as to the position of woman.

πεντακισχιλίων] *καὶ τετταράκοντα* should be added. Plato, *Legg.* p. 737. D.

Plato's Republic.

τὴν παροιμίαν κοινὰ τὰ φίλων. ἔστι δὲ καὶ νῦν τὸν τρόπον
τοῦτον ἐν ἐνίαις πόλεσιν οὕτως ὑπογεγραμμένον ὡς οὐκ ὂν
ἀδύνατον, καὶ μάλιστα ἐν ταῖς καλῶς οἰκουμέναις τὰ μὲν
7 ἔστι τὰ δὲ γένοιτ' ἄν. ἰδίαν γὰρ ἕκαστος τὴν κτῆσιν ἔχων
τὰ μὲν χρήσιμα ποιεῖ τοῖς φίλοις, τοῖς δὲ χρῆται κοινοῖς,
οἷον καὶ ἐν Λακεδαίμονι τοῖς τε δούλοις χρῶνται τοῖς ἀλλή-
λων ὡς εἰπεῖν ἰδίοις, ἔτι δ' ἵπποις καὶ κυσίν, κἂν δεηθῶσιν
8 ἐφοδίων ἐν τοῖς ἀγροῖς κατὰ τὴν χώραν. φανερὸν τοίνυν
ὅτι βέλτιον εἶναι μὲν ἰδίας τὰς κτήσεις, τῇ δὲ χρήσει ποιεῖν
κοινάς. ὅπως δὲ γίνωνται τοιοῦτοι, τοῦ νομοθέτου τοῦτ'
ἔργον ἴδιόν ἐστιν. ἔτι δὲ καὶ πρὸς ἡδονὴν ἀμύθητον ὅσον
διαφέρει τὸ νομίζειν ἴδιόν τι· μὴ γὰρ οὐ μάτην τὴν πρὸς
1263 b αὑτὸν αὐτὸς ἔχει φιλίαν ἕκαστος, ἀλλ' ἔστι τοῦτο φυσικόν.
9 τὸ δὲ φίλαυτον εἶναι ψέγεται δικαίως· οὐκ ἔστι δὲ τοῦτο τὸ
φιλεῖν ἑαυτόν, ἀλλὰ τὸ μᾶλλον ἢ δεῖ φιλεῖν, καθάπερ καὶ
τὸν φιλοχρήματον, ἐπεὶ φιλοῦσί γε πάντες ὡς εἰπεῖν ἕκα-
στον τῶν τοιούτων. ἀλλὰ μὴν καὶ τὸ χαρίσασθαι καὶ βοη-
θῆσαι φίλοις ἢ ξένοις ἢ ἑταίροις ἥδιστον· ὃ γίνεται τῆς
10 κτήσεως ἰδίας οὔσης. ταῦτά τε δὴ οὐ συμβαίνει τοῖς λίαν
ἓν ποιοῦσι τὴν πόλιν, καὶ πρὸς τούτοις ἀναιροῦσιν ἔργα
δυοῖν ἀρεταῖν φανερῶς, σωφροσύνης μὲν τὸ περὶ τὰς γυναῖ-
κας (ἔργον γὰρ καλὸν ἀλλοτρίας οὔσης ἀπέχεσθαι διὰ σω-
φροσύνην), ἐλευθεριότητος δὲ τὸ περὶ τὰς κτήσεις· οὔτε

κοινὰ τὰ φίλων] Compare the quotation of the same proverb in the *Republic*, v. 449. c.

ὑπογεγραμμένον] 'sketched out;' ὑπογραφή, an outline, a first sketch.

χρήσιμα ποιεῖ] 'places at the service of his friends.'

8 This is the exact conclusion of Art. XXXVIII. Compare Wilson, *Bampton Lect.* 1851, Lect. VII. p. 231.

τοιοῦτοι] 'men capable of this state, competent so to deal with their property.'

καὶ πρὸς ἡδονὴν] 'even for the pleasure of the thing.'

μὴ γὰρ οὐ μάτην, κ.τ.λ.] For the form of the expression compare *Eth.* x. i. 3. p. 1172, 33, μή ποτε δὲ οὐ καλῶς. And so again, *Eth.* x. ii. 4. p. 1173, 22. For the substance, comp. *Eth.* IX. iv. 1. p. 1166, 1, τὰ φιλικὰ τὰ πρὸς τοὺς φίλους... ἔοικεν ἐκ τῶν πρὸς ἑαυτὸν ἐληλυθέναι. The element of self, of the personal, it is impossible to eradicate. It is a vain endeavour to seek to do so. To control and guide and subordinate self-love to benevolence, the personal to the relative, the individual to the society—this is the true object.

φίλαυτον] This subject is treated *Eth.* IX. viii. Butler's *Sermons*, XII.

Plato's Republic.

γὰρ ἔσται φανερὸς ἐλευθέριος ὤν, οὔτε πράξει πρᾶξιν ἐλευ-
θέριον οὐδεμίαν· ἐν γὰρ τῇ χρήσει τῶν κτημάτων τὸ τῆς
ἐλευθεριότητος ἔργον ἐστίν.

Εὐπρόσωπος μὲν οὖν ἡ τοιαύτη νομοθεσία καὶ φιλάν- 11
θρωπος ἂν εἶναι δόξειεν· ὁ γὰρ ἀκροώμενος ἄσμενος ἀποδέ-
χεται, νομίζων ἔσεσθαι φιλίαν τινὰ θαυμαστὴν πᾶσι πρὸς
ἅπαντας, ἄλλως τε καὶ ὅταν κατηγορῇ τις τῶν νῦν ὑπαρχ-
όντων ἐν ταῖς πολιτείαις κακῶν ὡς γινομένων διὰ τὸ μὴ κοι-
νὴν εἶναι τὴν οὐσίαν, λέγω δὲ δίκας τε πρὸς ἀλλήλους περὶ
συμβολαίων καὶ ψευδομαρτυριῶν κρίσεις καὶ πλουσίων κολα-
κείας. ὧν οὐδὲν γίνεται διὰ τὴν ἀκοινωνησίαν ἀλλὰ διὰ τὴν 12
μοχθηρίαν, ἐπεὶ καὶ τοὺς κοινὰ κεκτημένους καὶ κοινωνοῦντας
πολλῷ διαφερομένους μᾶλλον ὁρῶμεν ἢ τοὺς χωρὶς τὰς οὐ-
σίας ἔχοντας· ἀλλὰ θεωροῦμεν ὀλίγους τοὺς ἐκ τῶν κοινωνιῶν
διαφερομένους πρὸς πολλοὺς συμβάλλοντες τοὺς κεκτημένους
ἰδίᾳ τὰς κτήσεις. ἔτι δὲ δίκαιον μὴ μόνον λέγειν ὅσων στε- 13
ρήσονται κακῶν κοινωνήσαντες, ἀλλὰ καὶ ὅσων ἀγαθῶν.
Φαίνεται δ' εἶναι πάμπαν ἀδύνατος ὁ βίος. αἴτιον δὲ τῷ
Σωκράτει τῆς παρακρούσεως χρὴ νομίζειν τὴν ὑπόθεσιν οὐκ
οὖσαν ὀρθήν. δεῖ μὲν γὰρ εἶναί πως μίαν καὶ τὴν οἰκίαν καὶ 14
τὴν πόλιν, ἀλλ' οὐ πάντως. ἔστι μὲν γὰρ ὡς οὐκ ἔσται
προϊοῦσα πόλις, ἔστι δ' ὡς ἔσται μέν, ἐγγὺς δ' οὖσα τοῦ μὴ
πόλις εἶναι ἔσται χείρων πόλις, ὥσπερ κἂν εἴ τις τὴν συμ-
φωνίαν ποιήσειεν ὁμοφωνίαν ἢ τὸν ῥυθμὸν βάσιν μίαν.
ἀλλὰ δεῖ πλῆθος ὄν, ὥσπερ εἴρηται πρότερον, διὰ τὴν παι- 15
δείαν κοινὴν καὶ μίαν ποιεῖν· καὶ τόν γε μέλλοντα παιδείαν
εἰσάγειν, καὶ νομίζοντα διὰ ταύτης ἔσεσθαι τὴν πόλιν
σπουδαίαν, ἄτοπον τοῖς τοιούτοις οἴεσθαι διορθοῦν, ἀλλὰ

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12 ὧν] 'And yet of these.'

ἀκοινωνησίαν] simply negative, 'on account of there being no such community whether of wives or property.'

ἀλλὰ θεωροῦμεν, κ.τ.λ.] 'But we have but few instances of men who have this community to compare with many who hold their goods as private property.'

τοὺς ἐκ τῶν κοινωνιῶν] 'Those under the conditions of such community.'

13 αἴτιον δέ, κ.τ.λ.] 'The cause of Socrates' failure must be considered to lie in the idea which was his groundwork not being right.'

15 πλῆθος ὄν] 'under the condition of number.' Ch. II. 2.

Plato's Republic. μὴ τοῖς ἔθεσι καὶ τῇ φιλοσοφίᾳ καὶ τοῖς νόμοις, ὥσπερ τὰ
– περὶ τὰς κτήσεις ἐν Λακεδαίμονι καὶ Κρήτῃ τοῖς συσσιτίοις
1264 16 ὁ νομοθέτης ἐκοίνωσεν. δεῖ δὲ μηδὲ τοῦτο αὐτὸ ἀγνοεῖν, ὅτι χρὴ προσέχειν τῷ πολλῷ χρόνῳ καὶ τοῖς πολλοῖς ἔτεσιν, ἐν οἷς οὐκ ἂν ἔλαθεν εἰ ταῦτα καλῶς εἶχεν· πάντα γὰρ σχεδὸν εὕρηται μέν, ἀλλὰ τὰ μὲν οὐ συνῆκται, τοῖς δ' οὐ χρῶνται
17 γινώσκοντες. μάλιστα δ' ἂν γένοιτο φανερόν, εἴ τις τοῖς ἔργοις ἴδοι τὴν τοιαύτην πολιτείαν κατασκευαζομένην· οὐ γὰρ δυνήσεται μὴ μερίζων αὐτὰ καὶ χωρίζων ποιῆσαι τὴν πόλιν, τὰ μὲν εἰς συσσίτια, τὰ δὲ εἰς φρατρίας καὶ φυλάς. ὥστε οὐδὲν ἄλλο συμβήσεται νενομοθετημένον πλὴν μὴ γεωργεῖν τοὺς φύλακας· ὅπερ καὶ νῦν Λακεδαιμόνιοι ποιεῖν
18 ἐπιχειροῦσιν. Οὐ μὴν ἀλλ' οὐδὲ ὁ τρόπος τῆς ὅλης πολιτείας τις ἔσται τοῖς κοινωνοῦσιν, οὔτ' εἴρηκεν ὁ Σωκράτης οὔτε ῥᾴδιον εἰπεῖν. καίτοι σχεδὸν τό γε πλῆθος τῆς πόλεως τὸ τῶν ἄλλων πολιτῶν γίνεται πλῆθος, περὶ ὧν οὐδὲν διώρισται, πότερον καὶ τοῖς γεωργοῖς κοινὰς εἶναι δεῖ τὰς κτήσεις ἢ καὶ καθ' ἕκαστον ἰδίας, ἔτι δὲ καὶ γυναῖκας καὶ παῖδας

τῇ φιλοσοφίᾳ] used in a very general sense, 'intellectual cultivation.' *φιλοσοφοῦμεν ἄνευ μαλακίας.* Thuc. II. 40.

16 *πάντα γὰρ σχεδὸν εὕρηται μέν, κ.τ.λ.*] For we may say generally that all the requisites for true political conclusions have been discovered by this time, but in some cases they have not been brought together, and so the fair inferences have not been drawn from them. In these cases there is a want of knowledge on the subject, in other cases the knowledge is not wanting, but its application. The world's experience was in his view sufficient; in political science a synthesis was the thing needed. It was easy to arrive at this conclusion.

17 *μάλιστα δ', κ.τ.λ.*] This carries us back to the *πάμπαν ἀδύνατος ὁ βίος* § 14. Practically (*τοῖς ἔργοις*) it would be found so to form a state, and divisions and separations will be found absolutely indispensable; so that the unity you aim at will disappear in the process.

18 Hitherto the whole of his remarks have been concerned with the governing body; but they by the very term are but a part of a whole. What is to be the system of that whole—what the relations of its parts? On this Socrates is silent. Yet it is a question which concerns the mass, the majority of the population, and cannot well be set aside. There should be a definite answer given to two questions: In what relation is this mass of the governed to stand to its governors? and, 2ndly, within itself on what principles is it to act and be regulated?

τῆς ὅλης πολιτείας] of the whole formed by the *φύλακες* and the governed.

Plato's Republic.

ἰδίους ἢ κοινούς. εἰ μὲν γὰρ τὸν αὐτὸν τρόπον κοινὰ πάντα
πάντων, τί διοίσουσιν οὗτοι ἐκείνων τῶν φυλάκων; ἢ τί
πλεῖον τοῖς ὑπομένουσι τὴν ἀρχὴν αὐτῶν; ἢ τί μαθόντες 19
ὑπομενοῦσι τὴν ἀρχήν, ἐὰν μή τι σοφίζωνται τοιοῦτον οἷον
Κρῆτες; ἐκεῖνοι γὰρ τἆλλα ταὐτὰ τοῖς δούλοις ἐφέντες μό-
νον ἀπειρήκασι τὰ γυμνάσια καὶ τὴν τῶν ὅπλων κτῆσιν. εἰ 20
δέ, καθάπερ ἐν ταῖς ἄλλαις πόλεσι, καὶ παρ' ἐκείνοις ἔσται
τὰ τοιαῦτα, τίς ὁ τρόπος ἔσται τῆς κοινωνίας; ἐν (μιᾷ) γὰρ
πόλει δύο πόλεις ἀναγκαῖον εἶναι, καὶ ταύτας ὑπεναντίας
ἀλλήλαις. ποιεῖ γὰρ τοὺς μὲν φύλακας οἷον φρουρούς, τοὺς
δὲ γεωργούς, καὶ τοὺς τεχνίτας καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους πολίτας.
ἐγκλήματα δὲ καὶ δίκαι, καὶ ὅσα ἄλλα ταῖς πόλεσιν ὑπάρ- 21
χειν φησὶ κακά, πάνθ' ὑπάρξει καὶ τούτοις. καίτοι λέγει ὁ
Σωκράτης ὡς οὐ πολλῶν δεήσονται νομίμων διὰ τὴν παι-
δείαν, οἷον ἀστυνομικῶν καὶ ἀγορανομικῶν καὶ τῶν ἄλλων
τῶν τοιούτων, ἀποδιδοὺς μόνον τὴν παιδείαν τοῖς φύλαξιν.
ἔτι δὲ κυρίους ποιεῖ τῶν κτημάτων τοὺς γεωργοὺς ἀποφορὰν 22
φέροντας· ἀλλὰ πολὺ μᾶλλον εἰκὸς εἶναι χαλεποὺς καὶ φρο-
νημάτων πλήρεις ἢ τὰς παρ' ἐνίοις εἱλωτείας τε καὶ πενε-
στείας καὶ δουλείας. ἀλλὰ γὰρ εἴτ' ἀναγκαῖα ταῦθ' ὁμοίως 23
εἴτε μή, νῦν γ' οὐδὲν διώρισται. Καὶ περὶ τῶν ἀρχομένων[a],
τίς ἡ τούτων τε πολιτεία καὶ παιδεία καὶ νόμοι τίνες. ἔστι
δ' οὔθ' εὑρεῖν ῥᾴδιον, οὔτε τὸ διαφέρον μικρόν, τὸ ποιούς
τινας εἶναι τούτους πρὸς τὸ σώζεσθαι τὴν τῶν φυλάκων κοι-
νωνίαν. ἀλλὰ μὴν εἴ γε τὰς μὲν γυναῖκας ποιήσει κοινὰς 24 1264 B

[a] ἐχομένων Bekker.

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19 τί μαθόντες, κ.τ.λ.] 'what inducements could they have to submit to the rule?'

τι σοφίζωνται] 'invent some device.'

20 παρ' ἐκείνοις] with the mass of the citizens in the Platonic state, the τῶν ἄλλων πολιτῶν πλῆθος of § 18.

21 καὶ τούτοις] 'To these as well as to actually existing states.'

ἀποδιδοὺς μόνον] 'and yet his education is only meant for his rulers.'

22 ἀποφοράν] 'a rent.'

23 However, be these results necessary, and all equally necessary or not, one thing is clear, no statement is made on the subject.

Looking at the whole context I have but little doubt that instead of ἐχομένων we should read ἀρχομένων, which lies hidden under the various reading ἐχομένων. In § 18 we had τῆς ὅλης πολιτείας, as previously we have had the φύλακας; he comes now to the other distinct member of that whole,

Plato's Republic.

τὰς δὲ κτήσεις ἰδίας, τίς οἰκονομήσει ὥσπερ τὰ ἐπὶ τῶν ἀγρῶν οἱ ἄνδρες αὐτῶν;[a] ἄτοπον δὲ καὶ τὸ ἐκ τῶν θηρίων ποιεῖσθαι τὴν παραβολήν, ὅτι δεῖ τὰ αὐτὰ ἐπιτηδεύειν τὰς
25 γυναῖκας τοῖς ἀνδράσιν, οἷς οἰκονομίας οὐδὲν μέτεστιν. ἐπισφαλὲς δὲ καὶ τοὺς ἄρχοντας ὡς καθίστησιν ὁ Σωκράτης· ἀεὶ γὰρ ποιεῖ τοὺς αὐτοὺς ἄρχοντας. τοῦτο δὲ στάσεως αἴτιον γίνεται καὶ παρὰ τοῖς μηδὲν ἀξίωμα κεκτημένοις, ἤ
26 πού γε δὴ παρά γε θυμοειδέσι καὶ πολεμικοῖς ἀνδράσιν. ὅτι δ' ἀναγκαῖον αὐτῷ ποιεῖν τοὺς αὐτοὺς ἄρχοντας, φανερόν· οὐ γὰρ ὁτὲ μὲν ἄλλοις ὁτὲ δὲ ἄλλοις μέμικται ταῖς ψυχαῖς ὁ παρὰ τοῦ θεοῦ χρυσός, ἀλλ' ἀεὶ τοῖς αὐτοῖς. φησὶ δὲ τοῖς μὲν εὐθὺ γινομένοις μῖξαι χρυσόν, τοῖς δ' ἄργυρον, χαλκὸν δὲ καὶ σίδηρον τοῖς τεχνίταις μέλλουσιν ἔσεσθαι καὶ γεωρ-
27 γοῖς. Ἔτι δὲ καὶ τὴν εὐδαιμονίαν ἀφαιρούμενος τῶν φυλάκων, ὅλην φησὶ δεῖν εὐδαίμονα ποιεῖν τὴν πόλιν τὸν νομοθέτην. ἀδύνατον δὲ εὐδαιμονεῖν ὅλην, μὴ τῶν πλείστων ἢ μὴ πάντων μερῶν ἢ τινῶν ἐχόντων τὴν εὐδαιμονίαν. οὐ γὰρ τῶν αὐτῶν τὸ εὐδαιμονεῖν ὧνπερ τὸ ἄρτιον· τοῦτο μὲν γὰρ ἐνδέχεται τῷ ὅλῳ ὑπάρχειν, τῶν δὲ μερῶν μηδετέρῳ, τὸ δὲ
28 εὐδαιμονεῖν ἀδύνατον. ἀλλὰ μὴν εἰ οἱ φύλακες μὴ εὐδαίμονες, τίνες ἕτεροι; οὐ γὰρ δὴ οἵ γε τεχνῖται καὶ τὸ πλῆθος τὸ τῶν βαναύσων. Ἡ μὲν οὖν πολιτεία περὶ ἧς ὁ Σωκράτης εἴρηκεν, ταύτας τε τὰς ἀπορίας ἔχει καὶ τούτων οὐκ ἐλάττους ἑτέρας.

Plato's Laws.

Σχεδὸν δὲ παραπλησίως καὶ περὶ τοὺς νόμους ἔχει τοὺς
6 ὕστερον γραφέντας· διὸ καὶ περὶ τῆς ἐνταῦθα πολιτείας

[a] Bekker here reads [κἂν εἰ κοιναὶ αἱ κτήσεις καὶ αἱ τῶν γεωργῶν γυναῖκες.]

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the ἀρχόμενοι, and very briefly states the question about them.

24 This is a very fragmentary treatment of the subject. One of several possible forms is given, and the objection to which it is open stated. Were the others not given, or are they lost?

οἰκονομήσει] 'shall manage the household.'

κἂν εἰ, κ.τ.λ.] This may as well be left out.

τὴν παραβολήν] 'To go to the animals for your illustration, for they have no share of family life.'

27 οὐ γὰρ τῶν αὐτῶν, κ.λ.τ.] 'For happiness does not come under the same class,' &c.

VI. 1 παραπλησίως ἔχει] That is to say, it is open, as the republic is, to

Plato's Laws.

ἐπισκέψασθαι μικρὰ βέλτιον. καὶ γὰρ ἐν τῇ πολιτείᾳ περὶ ὀλίγων πάμπαν διώρικεν ὁ Σωκράτης, περί τε γυναικῶν καὶ τέκνων κοινωνίας, πῶς ἔχειν δεῖ, καὶ περὶ κτήσεως, καὶ τῆς πολιτείας τὴν τάξιν. διαιρεῖται γὰρ εἰς δύο μέρη τὸ 2
πλῆθος τῶν οἰκούντων, τὸ μὲν εἰς τοὺς γεωργούς, τὸ δὲ εἰς τὸ προπολεμοῦν μέρος· τρίτον δ' ἐκ τούτων τὸ βουλευόμενον καὶ κύριον τῆς πόλεως. περὶ δὲ τῶν γεωργῶν καὶ 3
τῶν τεχνιτῶν, πότερον οὐδεμιᾶς ἢ μετέχουσί τινος ἀρχῆς, καὶ πότερον ὅπλα δεῖ κεκτῆσθαι καὶ τούτους καὶ συμπολεμεῖν ἢ μή, περὶ τούτων οὐδὲν διώρικεν ὁ Σωκράτης, ἀλλὰ τὰς μὲν γυναῖκας οἴεται δεῖν συμπολεμεῖν καὶ παιδείας μετέχειν τῆς αὐτῆς τοῖς φύλαξιν, τὰ δ' ἄλλα τοῖς ἔξωθεν λόγοις πεπλήρωκε τὸν λόγον καὶ περὶ τῆς παιδείας, ποίαν τινὰ δεῖ γίνεσθαι τῶν φυλάκων. Τῶν δὲ νόμων τὸ μὲν πλεῖστον 4 1265
μέρος νόμοι τυγχάνουσιν ὄντες, ὀλίγα δὲ περὶ τῆς πολιτείας εἴρηκεν. καὶ ταύτην βουλόμενος κοινοτέραν ποιεῖν ταῖς πόλεσι, κατὰ μικρὸν περιάγει πάλιν πρὸς τὴν ἑτέραν πολιτείαν. ἔξω γὰρ τῆς τῶν γυναικῶν κοινωνίας καὶ τῆς κτή- 5
σεως, τὰ ἄλλα ταὐτὰ ἀποδίδωσιν ἀμφοτέραις ταῖς πολιτείαις· καὶ γὰρ παιδείαν τὴν αὐτήν, καὶ τὸ τῶν ἔργων τῶν ἀναγκαίων ἀπεχομένους ζῆν, καὶ περὶ συσσιτίων ὡσαύτως· πλὴν ἐν ταύτῃ φησὶ δεῖν εἶναι συσσίτια καὶ γυναικῶν, καὶ τὴν μὲν χιλίων τῶν ὅπλα κεκτημένων, ταύτην δὲ πεντακι-

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many grave objections, and those in many cases similar ones. For the two coincide in a great degree, with this difference, that 'the Laws' enter more into detail.

2 *εἰς τοὺς γεωργούς—εἰς τό, κ.τ.λ.*] These prepositions are superfluous, but the sense is clear, and no MS. omits them, it seems; otherwise I should be glad to get rid of them.

ἐκ τούτων] sc. *τὸ προπολεμοῦν μέρος.*

3 *τοῖς ἔξωθεν λόγοις*] 'by discussions foreign to the subject of the constitution.'

4 *κοινοτέραν*] 'more generally attainable.'

5 *τῶν ἔργων τῶν ἀναγκαίων*] So below, Ch. IX. 2, we have *τὴν τῶν ἀναγκαίων σχολήν.* In both cases the meaning is the same. The great object for the Greek freeman was to have leisure. He must therefore be free from all the drudgery of life, free from the necessity of daily labour for daily bread.

συσσίτια γυναικῶν] This institution seems but a fair and logical development of his general view as to the position of woman.

πεντακισχιλίων] *καὶ τετταράκοντα* should be added. Plato, *Legg.* p. 737. D.

Plato's Laws.

σχιλίων. Τὸ μὲν οὖν περιττὸν ἔχουσι πάντες οἱ τοῦ Σωκράτους λόγοι καὶ τὸ κομψὸν καὶ τὸ καινοτόμον καὶ τὸ
6 ζητητικόν, καλῶς δὲ πάντα ἴσως χαλεπόν, ἐπεὶ καὶ τὸ νῦν εἰρημένον πλῆθος δεῖ μὴ λανθάνειν ὅτι χώρας δεήσει τοῖς τοσούτοις Βαβυλωνίας ἤ τινος ἄλλης ἀπεράντου τὸ πλῆθος, ἐξ ἧς ἀργοὶ πεντακισχίλιοι θρέψονται, καὶ περὶ τούτους
7 γυναικῶν καὶ θεραπόντων ἕτερος ὄχλος πολλαπλάσιος. Δεῖ μὲν οὖν ὑποτίθεσθαι κατ' εὐχήν, μηδὲν μέντοι ἀδύνατον· λέγεται δ' ὡς δεῖ τὸν νομοθέτην πρὸς δύο βλέποντα τιθέναι τοὺς νόμους, πρός τε τὴν χώραν καὶ τοὺς ἀνθρώπους. ἔτι δὲ καλῶς ἔχει προσθεῖναι καὶ πρὸς τοὺς γειτνιῶντας τόπους, εἰ δεῖ τὴν πόλιν ζῆν βίον πολιτικόν· οὐ γὰρ μόνον ἀναγκαῖόν ἐστιν αὐτὴν τοιούτοις χρῆσθαι πρὸς τὸν πόλεμον ὅπλοις ἃ χρήσιμα κατὰ τὴν οἰκείαν χώραν ἐστίν, ἀλλὰ καὶ
8 πρὸς τοὺς ἔξω τόπους. εἰ δέ τις μὴ τοιοῦτον ἀποδέχεται βίον, μήτε τὸν ἴδιον μήτε τὸν κοινὸν τῆς πόλεως, ὅμως οὐδὲν ἧττον δεῖ φοβεροὺς εἶναι τοῖς πολεμίοις, μὴ μόνον ἐλθοῦσιν εἰς τὴν χώραν, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἀπελθοῦσιν. καὶ τὸ πλῆθος δὲ

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6 This just and high compliment to his master's writings is not easy to translate. It bears witness, if such were needed, to Aristotle's careful study and correct appreciation of their beauties, as well as their more solid merits. I venture the following translation: 'All the dialogues of Plato alike are characterised by brilliancy, grace, originality, and profound enquiry.'

περιττόν] seems to be the negative of 'commonplace,' 'dull.'

καλῶς δὲ πάντα] supply ἔχειν.

ἐπεὶ καί, κ.τ.λ.] This is one of those passages which bear so distinctly the stamp of Greek thought and Greek experience. To appreciate it we are obliged to recall as well as we can the narrow limits of space and number within which the independent communities, the πόλεις of Greece, were confined. The large and populous Athens drew its supplies from all quarters; but both Plato and Aristotle would wish their state to be more complete in itself.

περὶ τούτους] Comp. Herodt. IX. 28, περὶ ἕκαστον ἑπτα, for the number of attendants as well as for the expression.

7 δεῖ μὲν οὖν] This is repeated IV. iv. 2. 'You are free, it is true, to form your hypothesis according to your wishes, on the condition, however, that you do not presuppose an impossibility.'

ζῆν βίον πολιτικόν] The state as well as the individual may have a social existence. These are "interpolitical" relations.

8 ἀποδέχεται] 'accept,' 'allow,' 'acquiesce in this social existence either for the individual or for the state.' A state may refuse, as Corcyra did, to mix itself up with other states, but it must be prepared for self-defence.

Plato's Laws.

τῆς κτήσεως ὁρᾶν δεῖ, μήποτε βέλτιον ἑτέρως διορίσαι τῷ
σαφῶς μᾶλλον· τοσαύτην γὰρ εἶναί φησι δεῖν ὥστε ζῆν
σωφρόνως, ὥσπερ ἂν εἴ τις εἶπεν ὥστε ζῆν εὖ· τοῦτο γάρ
ἐστι καθόλου μᾶλλον. ἔτι δ' ἔστι σωφρόνως μὲν ταλαι- 9
πώρως δὲ ζῆν. ἀλλὰ βελτίων ὅρος τὸ σωφρόνως καὶ ἐλευ-
θερίως (χωρὶς γὰρ ἑκάτερον τὸ μὲν τῷ τρυφᾶν ἀκολουθήσει,
τὸ δὲ τῷ ἐπιπόνως), ἐπεὶ μόναι γ' εἰσὶν ἕξεις αἱρεταὶ περὶ
τὴν τῆς οὐσίας χρῆσιν αὗται, (οἷον οὐσίᾳ πράως ἢ ἀνδρείως
χρῆσθαι οὐκ ἔστιν, σωφρόνως δὲ καὶ ἐλευθερίως ἔστιν,)
ὥστε καὶ τὰς χρήσεις ἀναγκαῖον περὶ αὐτὴν εἶναι ταύτας.
ἄτοπον δὲ καὶ τὸ τὰς κτήσεις ἰσάζοντα τὸ περὶ τὸ πλῆθος 10
τῶν πολιτῶν μὴ κατασκευάζειν, ἀλλ' ἀφεῖναι τὴν τεκνο-
ποιίαν ἀόριστον ὡς ἱκανῶς ἂν ὁμαλισθησομένην εἰς τὸ αὐτὸ
πλῆθος διὰ τὰς ἀτεκνίας ὁσωνοῦν γεννωμένων, ὅτι δοκεῖ
τοῦτο καὶ νῦν συμβαίνειν περὶ τὰς πόλεις. δεῖ δὲ τοῦτ' 11 1265 B
οὐχ ὁμοίως ἀκριβῶς ἔχειν περὶ τὰς πόλεις τότε καὶ νῦν·
νῦν μὲν γὰρ οὐδεὶς ἀπορεῖ διὰ τὸ μερίζεσθαι τὰς οὐσίας εἰς
ὁποσονοῦν πλῆθος, τότε δ' ἀδιαιρέτων οὐσῶν ἀνάγκη τοὺς
παράζυγας μηδὲν ἔχειν, ἐάν τ' ἐλάττους ὦσι τὸ πλῆθος

μήποτε] Comp. note on Ch. V. 8. *μὴ γὰρ οὐ μάτην.* Plato, *Legg.* v. 737. D.

τῷ σαφῶς μᾶλλον] 'by defining it more clearly.'

τοῦτο γάρ, κ.τ.λ.] sc. *σωφρόνως.* 'For this term, soberly or moderately, is too general.'

9 *χωρὶς γὰρ ἑκάτερον, κ.τ.λ.*] 'For when separate the two will be severally consequents of different kinds of life, the one of a life of luxury, the other of a life of hardship.'

ἐπιπόνως] sc. *ζῆν.*

ἐπεὶ μόναι] Strictly speaking, *σωφρόνως* does not concern property. By *Eth.* III. xiii. 14. pp. 1117, 1118, it is limited to quite a different sphere; but it is capable of extension. If the only virtues or habits, *ἕξεις*, that are concerned with property are these two of *σωφροσύνη* and *ἐλευθεριότης*, then they will be the only two that can be put in practice with regard to it, *χρήσεις.* Comp. *Eth.* I. ix. 9. p. 1098, b. 31: *διαφέρει δὲ ἴσως οὐ μικρὸν ἐν κτήσει ἢ χρήσει τὸ ἄριστον ὑπολαμβάνειν καὶ ἐν ἕξει ἢ ἐνεργείᾳ*; and again, v. iii. 15. p. 1120, b. 30: *καὶ τελεία μάλιστα ἀρετή, ὅτι τῆς τελείας ἀρετῆς χρῆσίς ἐστιν, κ.τ.λ.* To make the reasoning clearer I have enclosed in brackets from *οἷον οὐσίᾳ* to *ἔστιν.*

10 *τὸ αὐτὸ πλῆθος*] 'The original number.'

ὁσωνοῦν γεννωμένων] 'however large the number of children born.' Comp. IV. xvi. 4: *τὰ σώματα τῶν γεννωμένων.*

11 *τότε*] 'In Plato's state' far greater exactness will be required than is required in existing states.

τοὺς παράζυγας] 'the supernumeraries.'

Plato's Laws.

ἐάν τε πλείους. μᾶλλον δὲ δεῖν ὑπολάβοι τις ἂν ὡρίσθαι τῆς οὐσίας τὴν τεκνοποιίαν, ὥστε ἀριθμοῦ τινὸς μὴ πλεί-
12 ονα γεννᾶν· τοῦτο δὲ τιθέναι τὸ πλῆθος ἀποβλέποντα πρὸς τὰς τύχας, ἂν συμβαίνῃ τελευτᾶν τινὰς τῶν γεννηθέν-
13 των, καὶ πρὸς τὴν τῶν ἄλλων ἀτεκνίαν. τὸ δ' ἀφεῖσθαι, καθάπερ ἐν ταῖς πλείσταις πόλεσι, πενίας ἀναγκαῖον αἴτιον γίνεσθαι τοῖς πολίταις, ἡ δὲ πενία στάσιν ἐμποιεῖ καὶ κακουργίαν. Φείδων μὲν οὖν ὁ Κορίνθιος, ὢν νομοθέτης τῶν ἀρχαιοτάτων, τοὺς οἴκους ἴσους ᾠήθη δεῖν διαμένειν καὶ τὸ πλῆθος τῶν πολιτῶν, καὶ εἰ τὸ πρῶτον τοὺς κλήρους ἀνίσους εἶχον πάντες κατὰ μέγεθος· ἐν δὲ τοῖς νόμοις τού-
14 τοις τοὐναντίον ἐστίν. ἀλλὰ περὶ μὲν τούτων πῶς οἰόμεθα βέλτιον ἂν ἔχειν, λεκτέον ὕστερον· ἐλλέλειπται δὲ τοῖς νόμοις τούτοις καὶ τὰ περὶ τοὺς ἄρχοντας, ὅπως ἔσονται διαφέροντες τῶν ἀρχομένων· φησὶ γὰρ δεῖν, ὥσπερ ἐξ ἑτέρου τὸ στημόνιον ἐρίου γίνεται τῆς κρόκης, οὕτω καὶ τοὺς
15 ἄρχοντας ἔχειν δεῖν πρὸς τοὺς ἀρχομένους. ἐπεὶ δὲ τὴν πᾶσαν οὐσίαν ἐφίησι γίνεσθαι μείζονα μέχρι πενταπλασίας, διὰ τί τοῦτ' οὐκ ἂν εἴη ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς μέχρι τινός; καὶ τὴν τῶν οἰκοπέδων δὲ διαίρεσιν δεῖ σκοπεῖν, μή ποτ' οὐ συμφέρῃ πρὸς οἰκονομίαν· δύο γὰρ οἰκόπεδα ἑκάστῳ ἔνειμε
16 διελὼν χωρίς, χαλεπὸν δὲ οἰκίας δύο οἰκεῖν. Ἡ δὲ σύνταξις ὅλη βούλεται μὲν εἶναι μήτε δημοκρατία μήτε ὀλιγαρχία, μέση δὲ τούτων, ἣν καλοῦσι πολιτείαν· ἐκ γὰρ τῶν ὁπλιτευόντων ἐστίν. εἰ μὲν οὖν ὡς κοινοτάτην ταύτην κατα-

13 *κακουργίαν*] 'crime.'

Pheidon. Comp. Grote, II. 396, 421, note. Date uncertain. His object is stated to be: "An unchangeable number both of citizens and of lots of land, without any attempt to alter the unequal ratio of the lots, one to the other." Mr Grote thinks that he is different from Pheidon of Argos.

14 *στημόνιον*] 'the warp.' *κρόκη*, 'the woof.'

15 *πενταπλασίας*] From Plato, *Legg.* V. 744. E. this appears inaccurate; *τετραπλασίας* therefore has been suggested, but a careful consideration justifies Aristotle, for Plato allows for the case of a man's acquiring more than four times the minimum.

τῶν οἰκοπέδων] Plat. *Legg.* 745. E.: *δύο νέμεσθαι ἕκαστον οἰκήσεις, τήν τε ἐγγὺς τοῦ μέσου καὶ τὴν τῶν ἐσχάτων.*

16 *ἐκ γὰρ τῶν ὁπλιτευόντων*] Comp. III. vii. 4: *διόπερ κατὰ ταύτην τὴν πολιτείαν (τὴν πολιτείαν τὴν τὸ κοινὸν ὄνομα καλουμένην) κυριώτατον τὸ προπολεμοῦν.*

Plato's Laws.

σκευάζει ταῖς πόλεσι τῶν ἄλλων πολιτείαν, καλῶς εἴρηκεν ἴσως, εἰ δ' ὡς ἀρίστην μετὰ τὴν πρώτην πολιτείαν, οὐ καλῶς· τάχα γὰρ τὴν τῶν Λακώνων ἄν τις ἐπαινέσειε μᾶλλον, ἢ κἂν ἄλλην τινὰ ἀριστοκρατικωτέραν. ἔνιοι μὲν οὖν λέγου- 17
σιν ὡς δεῖ τὴν ἀρίστην πολιτείαν ἐξ ἁπασῶν εἶναι τῶν πολιτειῶν μεμιγμένην, διὸ καὶ τὴν τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων ἐπαινοῦσιν· εἶναι γὰρ αὐτὴν οἱ μὲν ἐξ ὀλιγαρχίας καὶ μοναρχίας καὶ δημοκρατίας φασίν, λέγοντες τὴν μὲν βασιλείαν μοναρχίαν, τὴν δὲ τῶν γερόντων ἀρχὴν ὀλιγαρχίαν, δημοκρατεῖσθαι δὲ κατὰ τὴν τῶν ἐφόρων ἀρχὴν διὰ τὸ ἐκ τοῦ δήμου εἶναι τοὺς ἐφόρους· οἱ δὲ τὴν μὲν ἐφορείαν εἶναι τυραννίδα, δημοκρατεῖσθαι δὲ κατά τε τὰ συσσίτια καὶ τὸν 1266
ἄλλον βίον τὸν καθ' ἡμέραν. ἐν δὲ τοῖς νόμοις εἴρηται 18
τούτοις ὡς δέον συγκεῖσθαι τὴν ἀρίστην πολιτείαν ἐκ δημοκρατίας καὶ τυραννίδος, ἃς ἢ τὸ παράπαν οὐκ ἄν τις θείη πολιτείας ἢ χειρίστας πασῶν. βέλτιον οὖν λέγουσιν οἱ πλείους μιγνύντες· ἡ γὰρ ἐκ πλειόνων συγκειμένη πολιτεία βελτίων. ἔπειτ' οὐδ' ἔχουσα φαίνεται μοναρχικὸν οὐδέν, ἀλλ' ὀλιγαρχικὰ καὶ δημοκρατικά· μᾶλλον δ' ἐγκλίνειν βούλεται πρὸς τὴν ὀλιγαρχίαν. δῆλον δ' ἐκ τῆς τῶν ἀρ- 19
χόντων καταστάσεως· τὸ μὲν γὰρ ἐξ αἱρετῶν κληρωτοὺς κοινὸν ἀμφοῖν, τὸ δὲ τοῖς μὲν εὐπορωτέροις ἐπάναγκες ἐκκλησιάζειν εἶναι καὶ φέρειν ἄρχοντας ἤ τι ποιεῖν ἄλλο τῶν πολιτικῶν, τοὺς δ' ἀφεῖσθαι, τοῦτο δ' ὀλιγαρχικόν, καὶ τὸ πειρᾶσθαι πλείους ἐκ τῶν εὐπόρων εἶναι τοὺς ἄρχοντας, καὶ τὰς μεγίστας ἐκ τῶν μεγίστων τιμημάτων. ὀλιγαρχικὴν δὲ ποιεῖ καὶ τὴν τῆς βουλῆς αἵρεσιν· αἱροῦνται μὲν

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17 δημοκρατεῖσθαι] Comp. for this subject VI. ix. 7, 8, and Grote, II. 539.

18 δέον] Comp. for this use of the word, *Eth.* II. vii. 1.

βέλτιον οὖν] 'Better than Plato.' Or it may be quite general. In proportion as there is a greater admixture of elements, is the result likely to be a good one. Comp. for the general subject Guizot's *Civilisation en Europe*, Leçon II^e. pp. 34–44.

19 ἀμφοῖν] to oligarchy and democracy.

φέρειν ἄρχοντας] simply 'to elect or create magistrates.'

20 On this passage compare Plato, *Legg.* VI. 756. B–E. All are compelled under penalty to elect out of the first and second classes. When it comes to the third class, the first three are com-

Plato's Laws.

γὰρ πάντες ἐπάναγκες, ἀλλ' ἐκ τοῦ πρώτου τιμήματος, εἶτα πάλιν ἴσους ἐκ τοῦ δευτέρου, εἶτ' ἐκ τῶν τρίτων. πλὴν οὐ πᾶσιν ἐπάναγκες ἦν τοῖς ἐκ τῶν τρίτων ἢ τετάρτων, ἐκ δὲ τοῦ τετάρτου τῶν τεττάρων[a] μόνοις ἐπάναγκες τοῖς πρώτοις
21 καὶ τοῖς δευτέροις. εἶτ' ἐκ τούτων ἴσον ἀφ' ἑκάστου τιμήματος ἀποδεῖξαί φησι δεῖν ἀριθμόν. ἔσονται δὴ πλείους οἱ ἐκ τῶν μεγίστων τιμημάτων καὶ βελτίους διὰ τὸ ἐνίους μὴ
22 αἱρεῖσθαι τῶν δημοτικῶν διὰ τὸ μὴ ἐπάναγκες. ὡς μὲν οὖν οὐκ ἐκ δημοκρατίας καὶ μοναρχίας δεῖ συνιστάναι τὴν τοιαύτην πολιτείαν, ἐκ τούτων φανερὸν καὶ τῶν ὕστερον ῥηθησομένων, ὅταν ἐπιβάλλῃ περὶ τῆς τοιαύτης πολιτείας ἡ σκέψις· ἔχει δὲ καὶ περὶ τὴν αἵρεσιν τῶν ἀρχόντων τὸ ἐξ αἱρετῶν αἱρετοὺς ἐπικίνδυνον· εἰ γάρ τινες συστῆναι θέλουσι καὶ μέτριοι τὸ πλῆθος, ἀεὶ κατὰ τὴν τούτων αἱρεθήσονται βούλησιν. Τὰ μὲν οὖν περὶ τὴν πολιτείαν τὴν ἐν τοῖς νόμοις τοῦτον ἔχει τὸν τρόπον.

7 Εἰσὶ δέ τινες πολιτεῖαι καὶ ἄλλαι, αἱ μὲν ἰδιωτῶν αἱ δὲ φιλοσόφων καὶ πολιτικῶν, πᾶσαι δὲ τῶν καθεστηκυιῶν καὶ

[a] Bekker τετάρτων.

pelled to elect, the fourth may decline. So again when it comes to the fourth class, all may elect, but the third and fourth may decline, the first two cannot with impunity.

τῶν τετάρτων] Stahr changes this into τῶν τεττάρων, as do others; and the change seems required.

21 ἔσονται δή, κ.τ.λ.] This is to me difficult, and the commentators give but little help. As far as I can see, the only way is, with Stahr, to limit the meaning to the electors. The rest of his translation I cannot agree with. βελτίους, which he makes part of the predicate, I think should be part of the subject, οἱ ἐκ τῶν μεγίστων τιμημάτων καὶ βελτίους ἔσονται πλείους.

τῶν δημοτικῶν] 'the democratical party.'

22 ἐπιβάλλῃ] 'comes on.'

ἔχει ἐπικίνδυνον] ἐπικινδύνως would be more regular; but such inaccuracies are not unfrequent in Aristotle.

At the close of this review of Plato's *Laws*, I may remark that I have confined myself to the throwing what light I could on Aristotle's text and meaning. More general questions, as to the relation between his views and those of Plato on political subjects, I have kept clear of. In a short Appendix I hope to add some remarks on these points.

VII. 1 ἰδιωτῶν] The sense of this word is always determined by the context. It means here 'men who have not scientifically studied the subject, and men who have not mixed in public affairs.'

Phaleas.

καθ' ἃς πολιτεύονται νῦν ἐγγύτερόν εἰσι τούτων ἀμφοτέρων· οὐδεὶς γὰρ οὔτε τὴν περὶ τὰ τέκνα κοινότητα καὶ τὰς γυναῖκας ἄλλος κεκαινοτόμηκεν, οὔτε περὶ τὰ συσσίτια τῶν γυναικῶν, ἀλλ' ἀπὸ τῶν ἀναγκαίων ἄρχονται μᾶλλον. Δοκεῖ 2
γάρ τισι τὸ περὶ τὰς οὐσίας εἶναι μέγιστον τετάχθαι καλῶς· περὶ γὰρ τούτων ποιεῖσθαί φασι τὰς στάσεις πάντας. διὸ Φαλέας ὁ Χαλκηδόνιος τοῦτ' εἰσήνεγκε πρῶτος· φησὶ γὰρ δεῖν ἴσας εἶναι τὰς κτήσεις τῶν πολιτῶν. τοῦτο δὲ κατοι- 3 1266 B
κιζομέναις μὲν εὐθὺς οὐ χαλεπὸν ᾤετο ποιεῖν, τὰς δ' ἤδη κατοικουμένας ἐργωδέστερον μέν, ὅμως δὲ τάχιστ' ἂν ὁμαλισθῆναι τῷ τὰς προῖκας τοὺς μὲν πλουσίους διδόναι μὲν λαμβάνειν δὲ μή, τοὺς δὲ πένητας μὴ διδόναι μὲν λαμβάνειν δέ. Πλάτων δὲ τοὺς νόμους γράφων μέχρι μέν τινος ᾤετο 4
δεῖν ἐᾶν, πλεῖον δὲ τοῦ πενταπλασίαν εἶναι τῆς ἐλαχίστης μηδενὶ τῶν πολιτῶν ἐξουσίαν εἶναι κτήσασθαι, καθάπερ εἴρηται καὶ πρότερον. δεῖ δὲ μηδὲ τοῦτο λανθάνειν τοὺς 5
οὕτω νομοθετοῦντας, ὃ λανθάνει νῦν, ὅτι τὸ τῆς οὐσίας τάττοντας πλῆθος προσήκει καὶ τῶν τέκνων τὸ πλῆθος τάττειν· ἐὰν γὰρ ὑπεραίρῃ τῆς οὐσίας τὸ μέγεθος ὁ τῶν τέκνων ἀριθμός, ἀνάγκη τόν γε νόμον λύεσθαι, καὶ χωρὶς τῆς λύσεως φαῦλον τὸ πολλοὺς ἐκ πλουσίων γίνεσθαι πένητας· ἔργον γὰρ μὴ νεωτεροποιοὺς εἶναι τοὺς τοιούτους. διότι μὲν οὖν 6

τούτων] sc. The two constitutions of Plato.

2 **δοκεῖ γάρ, κ.τ.λ.**] Comp. Arnold's *Lect. on Mod. Hist.* p. 23, 1st Ed.: "No man who thinks seriously about it can doubt the vast moral importance of institutions and laws relating to property," &c. &c.

Phaleas of Chalcedon, not known from other sources.

πρῶτος] Looking at the διό it seems that **πρῶτον** would be the better reading, and so some read. 'Primus' however is given by Vet. Tr., and acquiesced in by the best authorities. Comp. Grote, II. 523: "Phaleas of Chalcedon is expressly mentioned as the first author."

ἴσας] Equality of possessions is the doctrine under discussion, a different dream from that of Plato, but one equally erroneous, and perhaps more calculated to excite and mislead the mass of a suffering population, if at the same time it be very ignorant. For it is easier to grasp than the complex arrangements community of wives and property involves.

3 **τὰς ἤδη κατοικουμένας**] sc. **ποιεῖν.** 'That states already actually settled and organized should do it.'

5 **προσήκει**] 'it is incumbent on them.'

ὑπεραίρῃ] 'rise above.'

6 **διότι**] = **ὅτι.** Comp. note on I. II. 10.

Phaleas. ἔχει τινὰ δύναμιν εἰς τὴν πολιτικὴν κοινωνίαν ἡ τῆς οὐσίας ὁμαλότης, καὶ τῶν πάλαι τινὲς φαίνονται διεγνωκότες, οἷον καὶ Σόλων ἐνομοθέτησεν, καὶ παρ' ἄλλοις ἐστὶ νόμος ὃς κωλύει κτᾶσθαι γῆν ὁπόσην ἂν βούληταί τις. ὁμοίως δὲ καὶ τὴν οὐσίαν πωλεῖν οἱ νόμοι κωλύουσιν, ὥσπερ ἐν Λοκροῖς νόμος ἐστὶ μὴ πωλεῖν, ἐὰν μὴ φανερὰν ἀτυχίαν δείξῃ συμ-
7 βεβηκυῖαν. ἔτι δὲ τοὺς παλαιοὺς κλήρους διασώζειν. τοῦτο δὲ λυθὲν καὶ περὶ Λευκάδα δημοτικὴν ἐποίησε λίαν τὴν πολιτείαν αὐτῶν· οὐ γὰρ ἔτι συνέβαινεν ἀπὸ τῶν ὡρισμένων τιμημάτων εἰς τὰς ἀρχὰς βαδίζειν. ἀλλ' ἔστι τὴν ἰσότητα μὲν ὑπάρχειν τῆς οὐσίας, ταύτην δ' ἢ λίαν εἶναι πολλήν, ὥστε τρυφᾶν, ἢ λίαν ὀλίγην, ὥστε ζῆν γλίσχρως. δῆλον οὖν ὡς οὐχ ἱκανὸν τὸ τὰς οὐσίας ἴσας ποιῆσαι τὸν νομοθέτην,
8 ἀλλὰ τοῦ μέσου στοχαστέον. ἔτι δ' εἴ τις καὶ τὴν μετρίαν τάξειεν οὐσίαν πᾶσιν, οὐδὲν ὄφελος· μᾶλλον γὰρ δεῖ τὰς ἐπιθυμίας ὁμαλίζειν ἢ τὰς οὐσίας, τοῦτο δ' οὐκ ἔστι μὴ παιδευομένοις ἱκανῶς ὑπὸ τῶν νόμων. Ἀλλ' ἴσως εἴποι ἂν ὁ Φαλέας ὅτι ταῦτα τυγχάνει λέγων αὐτός· οἴεται γὰρ δυοῖν τούτοιν ἰσότητα δεῖν ὑπάρχειν ταῖς πόλεσιν, κτήσεως καὶ
9 παιδείας. ἀλλὰ τήν τε παιδείαν ἥτις ἔσται δεῖ λέγειν, καὶ τὸ μίαν εἶναι καὶ τὴν αὐτὴν οὐδὲν ὄφελος· ἔστι γὰρ τὴν αὐτὴν μὲν εἶναι καὶ μίαν, ἀλλὰ ταύτην εἶναι τοιαύτην ἐξ ἧς ἔσονται προαιρετικοὶ τοῦ πλεονεκτεῖν ἢ χρημάτων ἢ τιμῆς ἢ
10 συναμφοτέρων. Ἔτι στασιάζουσιν οὐ μόνον διὰ τὴν ἀνισό-

Σόλων] This allusion to Solon does not seem to imply any thing more specific than that Solon recognised the important bearing on the political society of the arrangements with regard to property.

ἐν Λοκροῖς] The Epizephyrian Locrians for whom Zaleucus legislated. II. xii. 6.

διασώζειν] 'To keep unaltered throughout.' The infinitive depends on νόμος ἐστί. This provision existed in the Jewish law. Comp. Lev. xxv.

Λευκάδα] Comp. Grote, III. 539, 544, for a notice of the early history of Leucas. The details of its constitutional history are very scanty.

οὐ γὰρ ἔτι, κ.τ.λ.] 'For the result was that the appointed qualification was no longer required before entrance into office.'

8 A due equality might be established, and yet there would be no guarantee for its existence. The arrangement would be open to immediate disturbance; for a disturbing cause is ever at hand in the passions of men.

ὅτι ταῦτα, κ.τ.λ.] 'That he will be found himself to allow this.'

τητα τῆς κτήσεως, ἀλλὰ καὶ διὰ τὴν τῶν τιμῶν. τουναντίον Phaleas.
δὲ περὶ ἑκάτερον· οἱ μὲν γὰρ πολλοὶ διὰ τὸ περὶ τὰς κτήσεις ἄνισον, οἱ δὲ χαρίεντες περὶ τῶν τιμῶν, ἐὰν ἴσαι· ὅθεν 1267
καὶ

ἐν δὲ ἰῇ τιμῇ ἠμὲν κακὸς ἠδὲ καὶ ἐσθλός.

οὐ μόνον δ' οἱ ἄνθρωποι διὰ τἀναγκαῖα ἀδικοῦσιν, ὧν ἄκος 11
εἶναι νομίζει τὴν ἰσότητα τῆς οὐσίας, ὥστε μὴ λωποδυτεῖν διὰ τὸ ῥιγοῦν ἢ πεινῆν, ἀλλὰ καὶ ὅπως χαίρωσι καὶ μὴ ἐπιθυμῶσιν· ἐὰν γὰρ μείζω ἔχωσιν ἐπιθυμίαν τῶν ἀναγκαίων,
διὰ τὴν ταύτης ἰατρείαν ἀδικήσουσιν. οὐ τοίνυν διὰ ταύτην 12
μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἂν ἐπιθυμοῖεν, ἵνα χαίρωσι ταῖς ἄνευ λυπῶν ἡδοναῖς. τί οὖν ἄκος τῶν τριῶν τούτων; τοῖς μὲν οὐσία βραχεῖα καὶ ἐργασία, τοῖς δὲ σωφροσύνη· τρίτον δ', εἴ τινες βούλοιντο δι' αὐτῶν χαίρειν, οὐκ ἂν ἐπιζητοῖεν εἰ μὴ παρὰ
φιλοσοφίας ἄκος· αἱ γὰρ ἄλλαι ἀνθρώπων δέονται. ἐπεὶ 13

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10 *τοὐναντίον*] 'But the case is reversed with regard to each of the two.'

ἐὰν ἴσαι] Comp. Plato, *Legg.* VI. 757. a.: *οὐκ ἂν γένοιντο φίλοι ἐν ἴσαις τιμαῖς διαγορευόμενοι φαῦλοι καὶ σπουδαῖοι· τοῖς γὰρ ἀνίσοις τὰ ἴσα ἄνισα γίγνοιτ' ἄν. Il.* IX. 319.

11 *ὧν ἄκος*] *ὧν ἀδικημάτων*, 'when he thinks the remedy lies in equality of property.' Men commit injustice, violate their social duty, not merely to satisfy the cravings of hunger or to ward off cold, but also to gratify their passions and desires, and that on a far greater scale than can be called necessary, *οὐ διὰ τἀναγκαῖα ἀλλὰ καὶ διὰ τὰς ὑπερβολάς*; their desires for wealth, honour, and other external goods.

ταύτης] sc. *τῆς μείζονος.*

12 'Nor, again, is this second enough; the statement is not yet complete. Men will even form desires for external goods in order to secure the enjoyment of the pleasures which are unaccompanied with pain; those, namely, which do not involve any previous sense of want. With these three evils to meet what are the remedies available? Against the first the remedy lies in a small property and labour. To meet the second, the virtue of self-control is required. For the third, granting that there are men who would command the pleasures which depend on themselves alone, the pleasures which are free from pain, they should not look for a remedy to any quarter but intellectual cultivation. All other pleasures require the aid of others, are not complete in themselves.' Such is the meaning of this section, I believe. *ταῖς ἄνευ λυπῶν ἡδοναῖς* is equivalent to *δι' αὐτῶν χαίρειν.*

τῶν τριῶν τούτων] sc. *ἀδικημάτων.*

Comp. for the distinction between *τὰ ἀναγκαῖα τῶν ποιούντων ἡδονήν* and *τὰ αἱρετὰ καθ' αὑτὰ ἔχοντα δ' ὑπερβολήν*, *Eth.* VII. vi. 2. p. 1147, b. 24, and XIII. 2. bis. p. 1154, 15.

αἱ γὰρ ἄλλαι ἀνθρώπων δέονται] Comp. *Eth.* x. vii. 4. p. 1177, 27.

13 Comp. Eur. *Phœn.* 534, and Milton, *Par. Lost*, IV. 60.

Phaleas.

ἀδικοῦσί γε τὰ μέγιστα διὰ τας ὑπερβολάς, ἀλλ' οὐ διὰ τὰ ἀναγκαῖα, οἷον τυραννοῦσιν οὐχ ἵνα μὴ ῥιγῶσιν. διὸ καὶ αἱ τιμαὶ μεγάλαι, ἂν ἀποκτείνῃ τις οὐ κλέπτην ἀλλὰ τύραννον. ὥστε πρὸς τὰς μικρὰς ἀδικίας βοηθητικὸς μόνον ὁ
14 τρόπος τῆς Φαλέου πολιτείας. Ἔτι τὰ πολλὰ βούλεται κατασκευάζειν ἐξ ὧν τὰ πρὸς αὐτοὺς πολιτεύσονται καλῶς, δεῖ δὲ καὶ πρὸς τοὺς γειτνιῶντας καὶ τοὺς ἔξωθεν πάντας, ἀναγκαῖον ἄρα τὴν πολιτείαν συντετάχθαι πρὸς τὴν πολε-
15 μικὴν ἰσχύν, περὶ ἧς ἐκεῖνος οὐδὲν εἴρηκεν. ὁμοίως δὲ καὶ περὶ τῆς κτήσεως· δεῖ γὰρ οὐ μόνον πρὸς τὰς πολιτικὰς χρήσεις ἱκανὴν ὑπάρχειν, ἀλλὰ καὶ πρὸς τοὺς ἔξωθεν κινδύνους. διόπερ οὔτε τοσοῦτον δεῖ πλῆθος ὑπάρχειν ὧν οἱ πλησίον καὶ κρείττους ἐπιθυμήσουσιν, οἱ δ' ἔχοντες ἀμύνειν οὐ δυνήσονται τοὺς ἐπιόντας, οὔθ' οὕτως ὀλίγην ὥστε μὴ δύνασθαι πόλεμον ὑπενεγκεῖν μηδὲ τῶν ἴσων καὶ τῶν ὁμοίων.
16 ἐκεῖνος μὲν οὖν οὐδὲν διώρικεν, δεῖ δὲ τοῦτο μὴ λανθάνειν, ὅτι συμφέρει πλῆθος οὐσίας. ἴσως οὖν ἄριστος ὅρος τὸ μὴ λυσιτελεῖν τοῖς κρείττοσι διὰ τὴν ὑπερβολὴν πολεμεῖν, ἀλλ'
17 οὕτως ὡς ἂν καὶ μὴ ἐχόντων τοσαύτην οὐσίαν. οἷον Εὔβουλος Αὐτοφραδάτου μέλλοντος Ἀταρνέα πολιορκεῖν ἐκέλευσεν αὐτόν, σκεψάμενον ἐν πόσῳ χρόνῳ λήψεται τὸ χωρίον, λογίσασθαι τοῦ χρόνου τούτου τὴν δαπάνην· ἐθέλειν γὰρ ἔλαττον τούτου λαβὼν ἐκλιπεῖν ἤδη τὸν Ἀταρνέα. ταῦτα δ' εἰπὼν ἐποίησε τὸν Αὐτοφραδάτην σύννουν γενόμενον
18 παύσασθαι τῆς πολιορκίας. ἔστι μὲν οὖν τι τῶν συμφερόντων τὸ τὰς οὐσίας εἶναι ἴσας τοῖς πολίταις πρὸς τὸ

διὸ καί] For his crimes are the greatest. Comp. Grote, III. 57, note. This passage is quoted with others in illustration of the view taken of the despot by philosophers.

15 μηδέ] 'not even.'

16 ὅτι συμφέροι πλῆθος οὐσίας] Poverty then is not in itself a good. Wealth is desirable as enabling a man to attain his full liberty, the complete exercise of all his faculties up to their limit.

ἀλλ' οὕτως ὡς ἄν, κ.τ.λ.] 'but only in cases in which they would do so had the party assailed not so much property in its possession.' The wealth should never be the temptation to an attack.

17 For Autophradates, see Smith, *Biog. Dict.*

18 καὶ γάρ, κ.τ.λ.] In fact, this very equality contains in it an element of discord.

Phaleas.

μὴ στασιάζειν πρὸς ἀλλήλους, οὐ μὴν μέγ' οὐδὲν ὡς εἰπεῖν. καὶ γὰρ ἂν οἱ χαρίεντες ἀγανακτοῖεν ἂν ὡς οὐκ ἴσων ὄντες ἄξιοι, διὸ καὶ φαίνονται πολλάκις ἐπιτιθέμενοι καὶ στασιάζοντες. ἔτι δ' ἡ πονηρία τῶν ἀνθρώπων ἄπληστον, καὶ τὸ 19 1267 B
πρῶτον μὲν ἱκανὸν διωβολία μόνον, ὅταν δ' ἤδη τοῦτ' ᾖ πάτριον, ἀεὶ δέονται τοῦ πλείονος, ἕως εἰς ἄπειρον ἔλθωσιν· ἄπειρος γὰρ ἡ τῆς ἐπιθυμίας φύσις, ἧς πρὸς τὴν ἀναπλήρωσιν οἱ πολλοὶ ζῶσιν. τῶν οὖν τοιούτων ἀρχή, μᾶλλον τοῦ 20
τὰς οὐσίας ὁμαλίζειν, τὸ τοὺς μὲν ἐπιεικεῖς τῇ φύσει τοιούτους παρασκευάζειν ὥστε μὴ βούλεσθαι πλεονεκτεῖν, τοὺς δὲ φαύλους ὥστε μὴ δύνασθαι· τοῦτο δ' ἐστίν, ἂν ἥττους τε ὦσι καὶ μὴ ἀδικῶνται. Οὐ καλῶς δ' οὐδὲ τὴν ἰσότητα τῆς 21
οὐσίας εἴρηκεν· περὶ γὰρ τὴν τῆς γῆς κτῆσιν ἰσάζει μόνον, ἔστι δὲ καὶ δούλων καὶ βοσκημάτων πλοῦτος καὶ νομίσματος, καὶ κατασκευὴ πολλὴ τῶν καλουμένων ἐπίπλων. ἢ πάντων οὖν τούτων ἰσότητα ζητητέον ἢ τάξιν τινὰ μετρίαν, ἢ πάντα ἐατέον. Φαίνεται δ' ἐκ τῆς νομοθεσίας κατασκευ- 22
άζων τὴν πόλιν μικράν, εἴ γ' οἱ τεχνῖται πάντες δημόσιοι ἔσονται καὶ μὴ πλήρωμά τι παρέξονται τῆς πόλεως. ἀλλ' 23
εἴπερ δεῖ δημοσίους εἶναι τοὺς τὰ κοινὰ ἐργαζομένους, δεῖ καθάπερ ἐν Ἐπιδάμνῳ τε, καὶ ὡς Διόφαντός ποτε κατεσκεύαζεν Ἀθήνησι, τοῦτον ἔχειν τὸν τρόπον. Περὶ μὲν οὖν τῆς Φαλέου πολιτείας σχεδὸν ἐκ τούτων ἄν τις θεωρήσειεν, εἴ τι τυγχάνει καλῶς εἰρηκὼς ἢ μὴ καλῶς.

Ἱππόδαμος δὲ Εὐρυφῶντος Μιλήσιος, ὃς καὶ τὴν τῶν 8

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19 διωβολία] The pay of dicasts and members of the assembly.

20 τῶν οὖν τοιούτων ἀρχή] 'In such matters the real principle is.'

τοὺς ἐπιεικεῖς] = χαρίεντες, cf. § 18. The respectable part — the upper classes. The word is used, that is, in a political sense, as is φαύλους just below.

21 From objections to the great principle of Phaleas' constitution, he comes now to one or two objections on points of detail.

ἐπίπλων] 'moveables.'

22 οἱ τεχνῖται, κ.τ.λ.] The artisans and tradesmen considered in the light of slaves belonging to the public.

23 The cases which he quotes as different from the arrangements of Phaleas are, from our want of knowledge on the subject, useless as illustrations. Comp. Grote, III. 542.

κατεσκεύαζεν] 'wished to establish.'

VIII. 1 For Hippodamus, see Smith, *Dict. Biog.*, and Grote, VI. 27.

Hippodamus. πόλεων διαίρεσιν εὗρε καὶ τὸν Πειραιᾶ κατέτεμεν, γενόμενος καὶ περὶ τὸν ἄλλον βίον περιττότερος διὰ φιλοτιμίαν οὕτως ὥστε δοκεῖν ἐνίοις ζῆν περιεργότερον τριχῶν τε πλήθει καὶ κόσμῳ πολυτελεῖ, ἔτι δὲ ἐσθῆτος εὐτελοῦς μὲν ἀλεεινῆς δὲ οὐκ ἐν τῷ χειμῶνι μόνον ἀλλὰ καὶ περὶ τοὺς θερινοὺς χρόνους, λόγιος δὲ καὶ περὶ τὴν ὅλην φύσιν εἶναι βουλόμενος, πρῶτος τῶν μὴ πολιτευομένων ἐνεχείρησέ τι περὶ πολιτείας εἰπεῖν τῆς ἀρίστης. Κατεσκεύαζε δὲ τὴν πόλιν τῷ πλήθει μὲν μυρίανδρον, εἰς τρία δὲ μέρη διῃρημένην· ἐποίει γὰρ ἓν μὲν μέρος τεχνίτας, ἓν δὲ γεωργούς, τρίτον δὲ τὸ προπολεμοῦν καὶ τὰ ὅπλα ἔχον. διῄρει δ' εἰς τρία μέρη τὴν χώραν, τὴν μὲν ἱεράν, τὴν δὲ δημοσίαν, τὴν δ' ἰδίαν· ὅθεν μὲν τὰ νομιζόμενα ποιήσουσι πρὸς τοὺς θεούς, ἱεράν, ἀφ' ὧν δ' οἱ προπολεμοῦντες βιώσονται, κοινήν, τὴν δὲ τῶν γεωργῶν ἰδίαν. ᾤετο δ' εἴδη καὶ τῶν νόμων εἶναι τρία μόνον· περὶ ὧν γὰρ αἱ δίκαι γίνονται, τρία ταῦτ' εἶναι τὸν ἀριθμόν, ὕβριν βλάβην θάνατον. ἐνομοθέτει δὲ καὶ δικαστήριον ἓν τὸ κύριον, εἰς ὃ πάσας ἀνάγεσθαι δεῖν τὰς μὴ καλῶς κεκρίσθαι δοκούσας δίκας· τοῦτο δὲ κατεσκεύαζεν ἐκ τινῶν γερόντων αἱρετῶν. τὰς δὲ κρίσεις ἐν τοῖς δικαστηρίοις οὐ διὰ ψηφοφορίας ᾤετο γίνεσθαι δεῖν, ἀλλὰ φέρειν ἕκαστον πινάκιον, ἐν ᾧ γράφειν, εἰ καταδικάζοι ἁπλῶς τὴν δίκην, εἰ δ' ἀπολύοι ἁπλῶς, κενόν· εἰ δὲ τὸ μὲν τὸ δὲ μή, τοῦτο διορίζειν. νῦν γὰρ οὐκ ᾤετο νενομοθετῆσθαι καλῶς· ἀναγκάζειν

περιττότερος διὰ φιλοτιμίαν] 'rather eccentric from ostentation.'

περιεργότερον, κ.τ.λ.] 'somewhat extravagantly, both from the quantity and expensive ornaments of his hair.'

λόγιος δέ, κ.τ.λ.] and wishing to be well-informed on all subjects of natural science, "a man of considerable attainments in the physical philosophy of the age." The word λόγιοι occurs later, IV. (VII.) x. 3. Comp. Herod. I. I. II. 3.

I cannot but think this whole description of Hippodamus very suspicious, not as to the truth of it in itself, but as to its being Aristotle's. It would be more consistent with Theophrastus. It seems to me one of the many places in which you may reasonably suspect a later hand.

3 ἀφ' ὧν] used without any regard to the number, as the equivalent of ὅθεν.

4 δικαστήριον, κ.τ.λ.] a supreme court of appeal.

5 εἰ καταδικάζοι ἁπλῶς] 'If he simply gave sentence against the accused.'

ἀναγκάζειν γάρ] The subject is τὴν

Hippodamus.

γὰρ ἐπιορκεῖν ἢ ταῦτα ἢ ταῦτα δικάζοντας. ἐτίθει δὲ νό-
μον περὶ τῶν εὑρισκόντων τι τῇ πόλει συμφέρον, ὅπως τυγ-
χάνωσι τιμῆς, καὶ τοῖς παισὶ τῶν ἐν τῷ πολέμῳ τελευτώντων
ἐκ δημοσίου γίνεσθαι τὴν τροφήν, ὡς οὔπω τοῦτο παρ' ἄλ-
λοις νενομοθετημένον· ἔστι δὲ καὶ ἐν Ἀθήναις οὗτος ὁ νόμος
νῦν καὶ ἐν ἑτέραις τῶν πόλεων. τοὺς δ' ἄρχοντας αἱρετοὺς 7
ὑπὸ τοῦ δήμου εἶναι πάντας· δῆμον δ' ἐποίει τὰ τρία μέρη
τῆς πόλεως· τοὺς δ' αἱρεθέντας ἐπιμελεῖσθαι κοινῶν καὶ ξενι-
κῶν καὶ ὀρφανικῶν. Τὰ μὲν οὖν πλεῖστα καὶ τὰ μάλιστα
ἀξιόλογα τῆς Ἱπποδάμου τάξεως ταῦτ' ἐστίν, ἀπορήσειε δ'
ἄν τις πρῶτον μὲν τὴν διαίρεσιν τοῦ πλήθους τῶν πολιτῶν.
οἵ τε γὰρ τεχνῖται καὶ οἱ γεωργοὶ καὶ οἱ τὰ ὅπλα ἔχοντες 8
κοινωνοῦσι τῆς πολιτείας πάντες, οἱ μὲν γεωργοὶ οὐκ ἔχοντες
ὅπλα, οἱ δὲ τεχνῖται οὔτε γῆν οὔτε ὅπλα, ὥστε γίνονται
σχεδὸν δοῦλοι τῶν τὰ ὅπλα κεκτημένων. μετέχειν μὲν οὖν 9
πασῶν τῶν τιμῶν ἀδύνατον· ἀνάγκη γὰρ ἐκ τῶν τὰ ὅπλα
ἐχόντων καθίστασθαι καὶ στρατηγοὺς καὶ πολιτοφύλακας
καὶ τὰς κυριωτάτας ἀρχὰς ὡς εἰπεῖν· μὴ μετέχοντας δὲ τῆς
πολιτείας πῶς οἷόν τε φιλικῶς ἔχειν πρὸς τὴν πολιτείαν;
ἀλλὰ δεῖ κρείττους εἶναι τοὺς τὰ ὅπλα γε κεκτημένους ἀμ-
φοτέρων τῶν μερῶν· τοῦτο δ' οὐ ῥᾴδιον μὴ πολλοὺς ὄντας.
εἰ δέ τοῦτ' ἔσται, τί δεῖ τοὺς ἄλλους μετέχειν τῆς πολι- 10
τείας καὶ κυρίους εἶναι τῆς τῶν ἀρχόντων καταστάσεως; ἔτι
οἱ γεωργοὶ τί χρήσιμοι τῇ πόλει; τεχνίτας μὲν γὰρ ἀναγ-

νῦν τάξιν, or some similar expression. 'The present arrangement.'

6 **ὡς οὔπω, κ.τ.λ.**] 'as though this had not yet been enacted by law in other cases.'

7 **ἀπορήσειε...τὴν διαίρεσιν**] 'would find a difficulty in his division of the whole body of his citizens.'

9 **μετέχειν μὲν οὖν, κ.τ.λ.**] 'without going so far as this, it is clear that for them to share in all the offices is impossible.'

πολιτοφύλακας] a magistracy mentioned VIII. (V.) VI. 6, as existing at Larissa, but one on which there seems no information.

μὴ μετέχοντας, κ.τ.λ.] 'If not admitted to a share in the government, how can they feel friendly to that government?' And if not friendly they will want coercion. 'That must be allowed for, and the armed class must be stronger than both the others together. But it is not easy for them to be so unless they are numerous; and if numerous, and so the stronger, then why admit the others at all?'

Hippodamus.

καῖον εἶναι· πᾶσα γὰρ δεῖται πόλις τεχνιτῶν, καὶ δύνανται
διαγίγνεσθαι καθάπερ ἐν ταῖς ἄλλαις πόλεσιν ἀπὸ τῆς τέ-
χνης· οἱ δὲ γεωργοὶ πορίζοντες μὲν τοῖς τὰ ὅπλα κεκτημέ-
νοις τὴν τροφὴν εὐλόγως ἂν ἦσάν τι τῆς πόλεως μέρος, νῦν
11 δ' ἰδίαν ἔχουσιν, καὶ ταύτην ἰδίᾳ γεωργοῦσιν. ἔτι δὲ τὴν
κοινήν, ἀφ' ἧς οἱ προπολεμοῦντες ἕξουσι τὴν τροφήν, εἰ μὲν
αὐτοὶ γεωργήσουσιν, οὐκ ἂν εἴη τὸ μάχιμον ἕτερον καὶ τὸ
γεωργοῦν, βούλεται δ' ὁ νομοθέτης· εἰ δ' ἕτεροί τινες ἔσον-
ται τῶν τε τὰ ἴδια γεωργούντων καὶ τῶν μαχίμων, τέταρτον
αὖ μόριον ἔσται τοῦτο τῆς πόλεως, οὐδενὸς μετέχον, ἀλλ'
12 ἀλλότριον τῆς πολιτείας. ἀλλὰ μὴν εἴ τις τοὺς αὐτοὺς
θήσει τούς τε τὴν ἰδίαν καὶ τοὺς τὴν κοινὴν γεωργοῦντας, τό
1268 b τε πλῆθος ἄπορον ἔσται τῶν καρπῶν ἐξ ὧν ἕκαστος γεωρ-
γήσει δύο οἰκίας, καὶ τίνος ἕνεκεν οὐκ εὐθὺς ἀπὸ τῆς γῆς καὶ
τῶν αὐτῶν κλήρων αὐτοῖς τε τὴν τροφὴν λήψονται καὶ τοῖς
μαχίμοις παρέξουσιν; ταῦτα δὴ πάντα πολλὴν ἔχει ταρα-
13 χήν. Οὐ καλῶς δ' οὐδ' ὁ περὶ τῆς κρίσεως ἔχει νόμος, τὸ
κρίνειν ἀξιοῦν διαιροῦντα τῆς κρίσεως ἁπλῶς γεγραμμένης,

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10 *διαγίγνεσθαι*] 'support themselves.'

ἰδίᾳ γεωργοῦσιν] 'Not merely is the land they cultivate their own, but they cultivate it entirely for themselves;' the produce is not any of it thrown into a common stock, or made available for the others.

11 *ἕτεροί τινες ἔσονται*] sc. *οἱ γεωργοῦντες τὴν κοινήν*.

12 *ἄπορον*] 'will be a difficulty.'

γεωργήσει δύο οἰκίας] 'maintain by agriculture.'

εὐθύς] 'at once,' without any division taking place. There need be no distinction between common and private land.

ἀπὸ τῆς γῆς, κ.τ.λ.] This would seem to be nothing more than 'from the same lots of land.' So it is taken by Schneider and Stahr: "aus ein ... denselben ihnen durchs Loos ...lten Grundstücken."

13 *διαιροῦντα*] 'distinguishing.'

τῆς κρίσεως ἁπλῶς γεγραμμένης] I understand this to be a concentrated expression. In full it would be: When the issue taken is simple, and therefore the verdict to be given should be simple. *κρίσις*, 'the decision,' properly is made to do double duty, to represent both the form of the indictment and the form of the decision.

καὶ πλείοσιν] In all cases of arbitration there is necessarily more than one party, and their respective claims admit of discussion and distinctions. The arbitrator therefore, or arbitrators, may discuss these claims with one another, and draw distinctions as to their amount. In a court of justice this is not so. The defendant as a single party stands before the court for a decision simply. Is he or is he not guilty on the point raised? There is no need of distinctions as to amount;

Hippodamus.

καὶ γίνεσθαι τὸν δικαστὴν διαιτητήν. τοῦτο δ' ἐν μὲν τῇ διαίτῃ καὶ πλείοσιν ἐνδέχεται (κοινολογοῦνται γὰρ ἀλλήλοις περὶ τῆς κρίσεως), ἐν δὲ τοῖς δικαστηρίοις οὐκ ἔστιν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοὐναντίον τούτῳ τῶν νομοθετῶν οἱ πολλοὶ παρασκευάζουσιν ὅπως οἱ δικασταὶ μὴ κοινολογῶνται πρὸς ἀλλήλους.
ἔπειτα πῶς οὐκ ἔσται ταραχώδης ἡ κρίσις, ὅταν ὀφείλειν 14
μὲν ὁ δικαστὴς οἴηται, μὴ τοσοῦτον δ' ὅσον ὁ δικαζόμενος; ὁ μὲν γὰρ εἴκοσι μνᾶς, ὁ δὲ δικαστὴς κρίνει δέκα μνᾶς, ἢ ὁ μὲν πλέον, ὁ δ' ἔλασσον, ἄλλος δὲ πέντε, ὁ δὲ τέτταρας· καὶ τοῦτον δὴ τὸν τρόπον δῆλον ὅτι μεριοῦσιν, οἱ δὲ πάντα
καταδικάσουσιν, οἱ δ' οὐθέν. τίς οὖν ὁ τρόπος ἔσται τῆς 15
διαλογῆς τῶν ψήφων; ἔτι δ' οὐδεὶς ἐπιορκεῖν ἀναγκάζει τὸν ἁπλῶς ἀποδικάσαντα ἢ καταδικάσαντα, εἴπερ ἁπλῶς τὸ ἔγκλημα γέγραπται δικαίως· οὐ γὰρ μηδὲν ὀφείλειν ὁ ἀποδικάσας κρίνει, ἀλλὰ τὰς εἴκοσι μνᾶς· ἀλλ' ἐκεῖνος ἤδη ἐπιορ-
κεῖ ὁ καταδικάσας μὴ νομίζων ὀφείλειν τὰς εἴκοσι μνᾶς. Περὶ 16
δὲ τοῦ τοῖς εὑρίσκουσί τι τῇ πόλει συμφέρον ὡς δεῖ γίνεσθαί τινα τιμήν, οὐκ ἔστιν ἀσφαλὲς τὸ νομοθετεῖν, ἀλλ' εὐόφθαλμον ἀκοῦσαι μόνον· ἔχει γὰρ συκοφαντίας καὶ κινήσεις, ἂν τύχῃ, πολιτείας. ἐμπίπτει δ' εἰς ἄλλο πρόβλημα καὶ σκέψιν ἑτέραν· ἀποροῦσι γάρ τινες πότερον βλαβερὸν ἢ συμφέρον ταῖς πόλεσι τὸ κινεῖν τοὺς πατρίους νόμους, ἂν ᾖ τις
ἄλλος βελτίων. διόπερ οὐ ῥᾴδιον τῷ λεχθέντι ταχὺ συγ- 17
χωρεῖν, εἴπερ μὴ συμφέρει κινεῖν. ἐνδέχεται δ' εἰσηγεῖσθαί τινας νόμων λύσιν ἢ πολιτείας ὡς κοινὸν ἀγαθόν. ἐπεὶ δὲ πεποιήμεθα μνείαν, ἔτι μικρὰ περὶ αὐτοῦ διαστείλασθαι βέλ-

there is no need for discussion among the judges. It were better that each gave his unbiassed opinion. I offer this view with hesitation on a subject which I am not familiar with.

14 **ὁ δικαζόμενος**] 'the plaintiff.'

15 **τῆς διαλογῆς τῶν ψήφων**] 'The counting of the votes.'

δικαίως] 'on good grounds.' **τὸ ἔγκλημα**, 'the indictment.'

16 **εὐόφθαλμον ἀκοῦσαι**] an odd use of the word in which the specific sense is to be dropped as much as possible, 'fair to the ear.'

ἔχει γὰρ συκοφαντίας] 'for it opens a door to vexatious cavillings against the old law.' Again, in *συκοφαντίας* the most general sense is all that can be retained, as far as I see.

17 **διαστείλασθαι**] 'set out,' 'state at length.' Comp. Plato, *Rep.* VII. 535. B.

Plato's Laws.

γὰρ πάντες ἐπάναγκες, ἀλλ' ἐκ τοῦ πρώτου τιμήματος, εἶτα πάλιν ἴσους ἐκ τοῦ δευτέρου, εἶτ' ἐκ τῶν τρίτων. πλὴν οὐ πᾶσιν ἐπάναγκες ἦν τοῖς ἐκ τῶν τρίτων ἢ τετάρτων, ἐκ δὲ τοῦ τετάρτου τῶν τεττάρων[a] μόνοις ἐπάναγκες τοῖς πρώτοις
21 καὶ τοῖς δευτέροις. εἶτ' ἐκ τούτων ἴσον ἀφ' ἑκάστου τιμήματος ἀποδεῖξαί φησι δεῖν ἀριθμόν. ἔσονται δὴ πλείους οἱ ἐκ τῶν μεγίστων τιμημάτων καὶ βελτίους διὰ τὸ ἐνίους μὴ
22 αἱρεῖσθαι τῶν δημοτικῶν διὰ τὸ μὴ ἐπάναγκες. ὡς μὲν οὖν οὐκ ἐκ δημοκρατίας καὶ μοναρχίας δεῖ συνιστάναι τὴν τοιαύτην πολιτείαν, ἐκ τούτων φανερὸν καὶ τῶν ὕστερον ῥηθησομένων, ὅταν ἐπιβάλλῃ περὶ τῆς τοιαύτης πολιτείας ἡ σκέψις· ἔχει δὲ καὶ περὶ τὴν αἵρεσιν τῶν ἀρχόντων τὸ ἐξ αἱρετῶν αἱρετοὺς ἐπικίνδυνον· εἰ γάρ τινες συστῆναι θέλουσι καὶ μέτριοι τὸ πλῆθος, ἀεὶ κατὰ τὴν τούτων αἱρεθήσονται βούλησιν. Τὰ μὲν οὖν περὶ τὴν πολιτείαν τὴν ἐν τοῖς νόμοις τοῦτον ἔχει τὸν τρόπον.

7 Εἰσὶ δέ τινες πολιτεῖαι καὶ ἄλλαι, αἱ μὲν ἰδιωτῶν αἱ δὲ φιλοσόφων καὶ πολιτικῶν, πᾶσαι δὲ τῶν καθεστηκυιῶν καὶ

[a] Bekker τετάρτων.

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pelled to elect, the fourth may decline. So again when it comes to the fourth class, all may elect, but the third and fourth may decline, the first two cannot with impunity.

τῶν τετάρτων] Stahr changes this into τῶν τεττάρων, as do others; and the change seems required.

21 ἔσονται δή, κ.τ.λ.] This is to me difficult, and the commentators give but little help. As far as I can see, the only way is, with Stahr, to limit the meaning to the electors. The rest of his translation I cannct agree with. βελτίους, which he makes part of the predicate, I think should be part of the subject, οἱ ἐκ τῶν μεγίστων τιμημάτων καὶ βελτίους ἔσονται πλείους.

τῶν δημοτικῶν] 'the democratical party.'

22 ἐπιβάλλῃ] 'comes on.'

ἔχει ἐπικίνδυνον] ἐπικινδύνως would be more regular; but such inaccuracies are not unfrequent in Aristotle.

At the close of this review of Plato's *Laws*, I may remark that I have confined myself to the throwing what light I could on Aristotle's text and meaning. More general questions, as to the relation between his views and those of Plato on political subjects, I have kept clear of. In a short Appendix I hope to add some remarks on these points.

VII. 1 ἰδιωτῶν] The sense of this word is always determined by the context. It means here 'men who have not scientifically studied the subject, and men who have not mixed in public affairs.'

καθ' ἃς πολιτεύονται νῦν ἐγγύτερόν εἰσι τούτων ἀμφοτέρων· Phaleas. οὐδεὶς γὰρ οὔτε τὴν περὶ τὰ τέκνα κοινότητα καὶ τὰς γυναῖκας ἄλλος κεκαινοτόμηκεν, οὔτε περὶ τὰ συσσίτια τῶν γυναικῶν, ἀλλ' ἀπὸ τῶν ἀναγκαίων ἄρχονται μᾶλλον. Δοκεῖ 2 γάρ τισι τὸ περὶ τὰς οὐσίας εἶναι μέγιστον τετάχθαι καλῶς· περὶ γὰρ τούτων ποιεῖσθαί φασι τὰς στάσεις πάντας. διὸ Φαλέας ὁ Χαλκηδόνιος τοῦτ' εἰσήνεγκε πρῶτος· φησὶ γὰρ δεῖν ἴσας εἶναι τὰς κτήσεις τῶν πολιτῶν. τοῦτο δὲ κατοι- 3 1266 B κιζομέναις μὲν εὐθὺς οὐ χαλεπὸν ᾤετο ποιεῖν, τὰς δ' ἤδη κατοικουμένας ἐργωδέστερον μέν, ὅμως δὲ τάχιστ' ἂν ὁμαλισθῆναι τῷ τὰς προῖκας τοὺς μὲν πλουσίους διδόναι μὲν λαμβάνειν δὲ μή, τοὺς δὲ πένητας μὴ διδόναι μὲν λαμβάνειν δέ. Πλάτων δὲ τοὺς νόμους γράφων μέχρι μέν τινος ᾤετο 4 δεῖν ἐᾶν, πλεῖον δὲ τοῦ πενταπλασίαν εἶναι τῆς ἐλαχίστης μηδενὶ τῶν πολιτῶν ἐξουσίαν εἶναι κτήσασθαι, καθάπερ εἴρηται καὶ πρότερον. δεῖ δὲ μηδὲ τοῦτο λανθάνειν τοὺς 5 οὕτω νομοθετοῦντας, ὃ λανθάνει νῦν, ὅτι τὸ τῆς οὐσίας τάττοντας πλῆθος προσήκει καὶ τῶν τέκνων τὸ πλῆθος τάττειν· ἐὰν γὰρ ὑπεραίρῃ τῆς οὐσίας τὸ μέγεθος ὁ τῶν τέκνων ἀριθμός, ἀνάγκη τόν γε νόμον λύεσθαι, καὶ χωρὶς τῆς λύσεως φαῦλον τὸ πολλοὺς ἐκ πλουσίων γίνεσθαι πένητας· ἔργον γὰρ μὴ νεωτεροποιοὺς εἶναι τοὺς τοιούτους. διότι μὲν οὖν 6

τούτων] sc. The two constitutions of Plato.

2 **δοκεῖ γάρ, κ.τ.λ.**] Comp. Arnold's *Lect. on Mod. Hist.* p. 23, 1st Ed.: "No man who thinks seriously about it can doubt the vast moral importance of institutions and laws relating to property," &c. &c.

Phaleas of Chalcedon, not known from other sources.

πρῶτος] Looking at the **διό** it seems that **πρῶτον** would be the better reading, and so some read. 'Primus' however is given by Vet. Tr., and acquiesced in by the best authorities. Comp. Grote, II. 523: "Phaleas of Chalcedon is expressly mentioned as the first author."

ἴσας] Equality of possessions is the doctrine under discussion, a different dream from that of Plato, but one equally erroneous, and perhaps more calculated to excite and mislead the mass of a suffering population, if at the same time it be very ignorant. For it is easier to grasp than the complex arrangements community of wives and property involves.

3 **τὰς ἤδη κατοικουμένας**] sc. **ποιεῖν**. 'That states already actually settled and organized should do it.'

5 **προσήκει**] 'it is incumbent on them.'

ὑπεραίρῃ] 'rise above.'

6 **διότι**] = **ὅτι**. Comp. note on I. II. 10.

Phaleas.

ἔχει τινὰ δύναμιν εἰς τὴν πολιτικὴν κοινωνίαν ἡ τῆς οὐσίας
ὁμαλότης, καὶ τῶν πάλαι τινὲς φαίνονται διεγνωκότες, οἷον
καὶ Σόλων ἐνομοθέτησεν, καὶ παρ' ἄλλοις ἐστὶ νόμος ὃς κω-
λύει κτᾶσθαι γῆν ὁπόσην ἂν βούληταί τις. ὁμοίως δὲ καὶ
τὴν οὐσίαν πωλεῖν οἱ νόμοι κωλύουσιν, ὥσπερ ἐν Λοκροῖς
νόμος ἐστὶ μὴ πωλεῖν, ἐὰν μὴ φανερὰν ἀτυχίαν δείξῃ συμ-
7 βεβηκυῖαν. ἔτι δὲ τοὺς παλαιοὺς κλήρους διασώζειν. τοῦτο
δὲ λυθὲν καὶ περὶ Λευκάδα δημοτικὴν ἐποίησε λίαν τὴν πο-
λιτείαν αὐτῶν· οὐ γὰρ ἔτι συνέβαινεν ἀπὸ τῶν ὡρισμένων
τιμημάτων εἰς τὰς ἀρχὰς βαδίζειν. ἀλλ' ἔστι τὴν ἰσότητα
μὲν ὑπάρχειν τῆς οὐσίας, ταύτην δ' ἢ λίαν εἶναι πολλήν,
ὥστε τρυφᾶν, ἢ λίαν ὀλίγην, ὥστε ζῆν γλίσχρως. δῆλον
οὖν ὡς οὐχ ἱκανὸν τὸ τὰς οὐσίας ἴσας ποιῆσαι τὸν νομοθέτην,
8 ἀλλὰ τοῦ μέσου στοχαστέον. ἔτι δ' εἴ τις καὶ τὴν μετρίαν
τάξειεν οὐσίαν πᾶσιν, οὐδὲν ὄφελος· μᾶλλον γὰρ δεῖ τὰς
ἐπιθυμίας ὁμαλίζειν ἢ τὰς οὐσίας, τοῦτο δ' οὐκ ἔστι μὴ παι-
δευομένοις ἱκανῶς ὑπὸ τῶν νόμων. Ἀλλ' ἴσως εἴποι ἂν ὁ
Φαλέας ὅτι ταῦτα τυγχάνει λέγων αὐτός· οἴεται γὰρ δυοῖν
τούτοιν ἰσότητα δεῖν ὑπάρχειν ταῖς πόλεσιν, κτήσεως καὶ
9 παιδείας. ἀλλὰ τήν τε παιδείαν ἥτις ἔσται δεῖ λέγειν, καὶ
τὸ μίαν εἶναι καὶ τὴν αὐτὴν οὐδὲν ὄφελος· ἔστι γὰρ τὴν
αὐτὴν μὲν εἶναι καὶ μίαν, ἀλλὰ ταύτην εἶναι τοιαύτην ἐξ ἧς
ἔσονται προαιρετικοὶ τοῦ πλεονεκτεῖν ἢ χρημάτων ἢ τιμῆς ἢ
10 συναμφοτέρων. Ἔτι στασιάζουσιν οὐ μόνον διὰ τὴν ἀνισό-

Σόλων] This allusion to Solon does not seem to imply any thing more specific than that Solon recognised the important bearing on the political society of the arrangements with regard to property.

ἐν Λοκροῖς] The Epizephyrian Locrians for whom Zaleucus legislated. II. xii. 6.

διασώζειν] 'To keep unaltered throughout.' The infinitive depends on νόμος ἐστί. This provision existed in the Jewish law. Comp. Lev. xxv.

7 Λευκάδα] Comp. Grote, III. 539, 543, for a notice of the early history of Leucas. The details of its constitutional history are very scanty.

οὐ γὰρ ἔτι, κ.τ.λ.] 'For the result was that the appointed qualification was no longer required before entrance into office.'

8 A due equality might be established, and yet there would be no guarantee for its existence. The arrangement would be open to immediate disturbance; for a disturbing cause is ever at hand in the passions of men.

ὅτι ταῦτα, κ.τ.λ.] 'That he will be found himself to allow this.'

τητα τῆς κτήσεως, ἀλλὰ καὶ διὰ τὴν τῶν τιμῶν. τοὐναντίον Phaleas.
δὲ περὶ ἑκάτερον· οἱ μὲν γὰρ πολλοὶ διὰ τὸ περὶ τὰς κτή-
σεις ἄνισον, οἱ δὲ χαρίεντες περὶ τῶν τιμῶν, ἐὰν ἴσαι· ὅθεν 1267
καὶ

ἐν δὲ ἰῇ τιμῇ ἠμὲν κακὸς ἠδὲ καὶ ἐσθλός.

οὐ μόνον δ' οἱ ἄνθρωποι διὰ τἀναγκαῖα ἀδικοῦσιν, ὧν ἄκος 11
εἶναι νομίζει τὴν ἰσότητα τῆς οὐσίας, ὥστε μὴ λωποδυτεῖν
διὰ τὸ ῥιγοῦν ἢ πεινῆν, ἀλλὰ καὶ ὅπως χαίρωσι καὶ μὴ ἐπι-
θυμῶσιν· ἐὰν γὰρ μείζω ἔχωσιν ἐπιθυμίαν τῶν ἀναγκαίων,
διὰ τὴν ταύτης ἰατρείαν ἀδικήσουσιν. οὐ τοίνυν διὰ ταύτην 12
μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἂν ἐπιθυμοῖεν, ἵνα χαίρωσι ταῖς ἄνευ λυπῶν
ἡδοναῖς. τί οὖν ἄκος τῶν τριῶν τούτων; τοῖς μὲν οὐσία
βραχεῖα καὶ ἐργασία, τοῖς δὲ σωφροσύνη· τρίτον δ', εἴ τινες
βούλοιντο δι' αὐτῶν χαίρειν, οὐκ ἂν ἐπιζητοῖεν εἰ μὴ παρὰ
φιλοσοφίας ἄκος· αἱ γὰρ ἄλλαι ἀνθρώπων δέονται. ἐπεὶ 13

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10 **τοὐναντίον**] 'But the case is reversed with regard to each of the two.'

ἐὰν ἴσαι] Comp. Plato, *Legg.* VI. 757. a.: *οὐκ ἂν γένοιντο φίλοι ἐν ἴσαις τιμαῖς διαγορευόμενοι φαῦλοι καὶ σπουδαῖοι· τοῖς γὰρ ἀνίσοις τὰ ἴσα ἄνισα γίγνοιτ' ἄν. Il.* IX. 319.

11 **ὧν ἄκος**] **ὧν ἀδικημάτων**, 'when he thinks the remedy lies in equality of property.' Men commit injustice, violate their social duty, not merely to satisfy the cravings of hunger or to ward off cold, but also to gratify their passions and desires, and that on a far greater scale than can be called necessary, *οὐ διὰ τἀναγκαῖα ἀλλὰ καὶ διὰ τὰς ὑπερβολάς*; their desires for wealth, honour, and other external goods.

ταύτης] sc. *τῆς μείζονος.*

12 'Nor, again, is this second enough; the statement is not yet complete. Men will even form desires for external goods in order to secure the enjoyment of the pleasures which are unaccompanied with pain; those, namely, which do not involve any previous sense of want. With these three evils to meet what are the remedies available? Against the first the remedy lies in a small property and labour. To meet the second, the virtue of self-control is required. For the third, granting that there are men who would command the pleasures which depend on themselves alone, the pleasures which are free from pain, they should not look for a remedy to any quarter but intellectual cultivation. All other pleasures require the aid of others, are not complete in themselves.' Such is the meaning of this section, I believe. *ταῖς ἄνευ λυπῶν ἡδοναῖς* is equivalent to *δι' αὐτῶν χαίρειν.*

τῶν τριῶν τούτων] sc. *ἀδικημάτων.*

Comp. for the distinction between *τὰ ἀναγκαῖα τῶν ποιούντων ἡδονὴν* and *τὰ αἱρετὰ καθ' αὐτὰ ἔχοντα δ' ὑπερβολήν*, *Eth.* VII. vi. 2. p. 1147, b. 24, and XIII. 2. bis. p. 1154, 15.

αἱ γὰρ ἄλλαι ἀνθρώπων δέονται] Comp. *Eth.* X. vii. 4. p. 1177, 27.

13 Comp. Eur. *Phœn.* 534, and Milton, *Par. Lost*, IV. 60.

Phaleas.

ἀδικοῦσί γε τὰ μέγιστα διὰ τας ὑπερβολάς, ἀλλ' οὐ διὰ τὰ
ἀναγκαῖα, οἷον τυραννοῦσιν οὐχ ἵνα μὴ ῥιγῶσιν. διὸ καὶ
αἱ τιμαὶ μεγάλαι, ἂν ἀποκτείνῃ τις οὐ κλέπτην ἀλλὰ τύραν-
νον. ὥστε πρὸς τὰς μικρὰς ἀδικίας βοηθητικὸς μόνον ὁ
14 τρόπος τῆς Φαλέου πολιτείας. Ἔτι τὰ πολλὰ βούλεται
κατασκευάζειν ἐξ ὧν τὰ πρὸς αὑτοὺς πολιτεύσονται καλῶς,
δεῖ δὲ καὶ πρὸς τοὺς γειτνιῶντας καὶ τοὺς ἔξωθεν πάντας,
ἀναγκαῖον ἄρα τὴν πολιτείαν συντετάχθαι πρὸς τὴν πολε-
15 μικὴν ἰσχύν, περὶ ἧς ἐκεῖνος οὐδὲν εἴρηκεν. ὁμοίως δὲ καὶ
περὶ τῆς κτήσεως· δεῖ γὰρ οὐ μόνον πρὸς τὰς πολιτικὰς
χρήσεις ἱκανὴν ὑπάρχειν, ἀλλὰ καὶ πρὸς τοὺς ἔξωθεν κινδύ-
νους. διόπερ οὔτε τοσοῦτον δεῖ πλῆθος ὑπάρχειν ὧν οἱ
πλησίον καὶ κρείττους ἐπιθυμήσουσιν, οἱ δ' ἔχοντες ἀμύνειν
οὐ δυνήσονται τοὺς ἐπιόντας, οὔθ' οὕτως ὀλίγην ὥστε μὴ
δύνασθαι πόλεμον ὑπενεγκεῖν μηδὲ τῶν ἴσων καὶ τῶν ὁμοίων.
16 ἐκεῖνος μὲν οὖν οὐδὲν διώρικεν, δεῖ δὲ τοῦτο μὴ λανθάνειν,
ὅτι συμφέρει πλῆθος οὐσίας. ἴσως οὖν ἄριστος ὅρος τὸ μὴ
λυσιτελεῖν τοῖς κρείττοσι διὰ τὴν ὑπερβολὴν πολεμεῖν, ἀλλ'
17 οὕτως ὡς ἂν καὶ μὴ ἐχόντων τοσαύτην οὐσίαν. οἷον Εὔβου-
λος Αὐτοφραδάτου μέλλοντος Ἀταρνέα πολιορκεῖν ἐκέλευ-
σεν αὐτόν, σκεψάμενον ἐν πόσῳ χρόνῳ λήψεται τὸ χωρίον,
λογίσασθαι τοῦ χρόνου τούτου τὴν δαπάνην· ἐθέλειν γὰρ
ἔλαττον τούτου λαβὼν ἐκλιπεῖν ἤδη τὸν Ἀταρνέα. ταῦτα
δ' εἰπὼν ἐποίησε τὸν Αὐτοφραδάτην σύννουν γενόμενον
18 παύσασθαι τῆς πολιορκίας. ἔστι μὲν οὖν τι τῶν συμ-
φερόντων τὸ τὰς οὐσίας εἶναι ἴσας τοῖς πολίταις πρὸς τὸ

διὸ καί] For his crimes are the greatest. Comp. Grote, III. 57, note. This passage is quoted with others in illustration of the view taken of the despot by philosophers.

15 μηδέ] 'not even.'

16 ὅτι συμφέροι πλῆθος οὐσίας] Poverty then is not in itself a good. Wealth is desirable as enabling a man to attain his full liberty, the complete exercise of all his faculties up to their natural limit.

ἀλλ' οὕτως ὡς ἄν, κ.τ.λ.] 'but only in cases in which they would do so had the party assailed not so much property in its possession.' The wealth should never be the temptation to an attack.

17 For Autophradates, see Smith, *Biog. Dict.*

18 καὶ γάρ, κ.τ.λ.] In fact, this very equality contains in it an element of discord.

Phaleas.

μὴ στασιάζειν πρὸς ἀλλήλους, οὐ μὴν μέγ' οὐδὲν ὡς εἰπεῖν.
καὶ γὰρ ἂν οἱ χαρίεντες ἀγανακτοῖεν ἂν ὡς οὐκ ἴσων ὄντες
ἄξιοι, διὸ καὶ φαίνονται πολλάκις ἐπιτιθέμενοι καὶ στασιά-
ζοντες. ἔτι δ' ἡ πονηρία τῶν ἀνθρώπων ἄπληστον, καὶ τὸ 19 1267 B
πρῶτον μὲν ἱκανὸν διωβολία μόνον, ὅταν δ' ἤδη τοῦτ' ᾖ πά-
τριον, ἀεὶ δέονται τοῦ πλείονος, ἕως εἰς ἄπειρον ἔλθωσιν·
ἄπειρος γὰρ ἡ τῆς ἐπιθυμίας φύσις, ἧς πρὸς τὴν ἀναπλήρω-
σιν οἱ πολλοὶ ζῶσιν. τῶν οὖν τοιούτων ἀρχή, μᾶλλον τοῦ 20
τὰς οὐσίας ὁμαλίζειν, τὸ τοὺς μὲν ἐπιεικεῖς τῇ φύσει τοιού-
τους παρασκευάζειν ὥστε μὴ βούλεσθαι πλεονεκτεῖν, τοὺς δὲ
φαύλους ὥστε μὴ δύνασθαι· τοῦτο δ' ἐστίν, ἂν ἥττους τε
ὦσι καὶ μὴ ἀδικῶνται. Οὐ καλῶς δ' οὐδὲ τὴν ἰσότητα τῆς 21
οὐσίας εἴρηκεν· περὶ γὰρ τὴν τῆς γῆς κτῆσιν ἰσάζει μόνον,
ἔστι δὲ καὶ δούλων καὶ βοσκημάτων πλοῦτος καὶ νομίσμα-
τος, καὶ κατασκευὴ πολλὴ τῶν καλουμένων ἐπίπλων. ἢ
πάντων οὖν τούτων ἰσότητα ζητητέον ἢ τάξιν τινὰ μετρίαν,
ἢ πάντα ἐατέον. Φαίνεται δ' ἐκ τῆς νομοθεσίας κατασκευ- 22
άζων τὴν πόλιν μικράν, εἴ γ' οἱ τεχνῖται πάντες δημόσιοι
ἔσονται καὶ μὴ πλήρωμά τι παρέξονται τῆς πόλεως. ἀλλ' 23
εἴπερ δεῖ δημοσίους εἶναι τοὺς τὰ κοινὰ ἐργαζομένους, δεῖ
καθάπερ ἐν Ἐπιδάμνῳ τε, καὶ ὡς Διόφαντός ποτε κατε-
σκεύαζεν Ἀθήνησι, τοῦτον ἔχειν τὸν τρόπον. Περὶ μὲν οὖν
τῆς Φαλέου πολιτείας σχεδὸν ἐκ τούτων ἄν τις θεωρήσειεν,
εἴ τι τυγχάνει καλῶς εἰρηκὼς ἢ μὴ καλῶς.

Ἱππόδαμος δὲ Εὐρυφῶντος Μιλήσιος, ὃς καὶ τὴν τῶν 8

19 διωβολία] The pay of dicasts and members of the assembly.

20 τῶν οὖν τοιούτων ἀρχή] 'In such matters the real principle is.'

τοὺς ἐπιεικεῖς] = χαρίεντες, cf. § 18. The respectable part — the upper classes. The word is used, that is, in a political sense, as is φαύλους just below.

21 From objections to the great principle of Phaleas' constitution, he comes now to one or two objections on points of detail.

ἐπίπλων] 'moveables.'

22 οἱ τεχνῖται, κ.τ.λ.] The artisans and tradesmen considered in the light of slaves belonging to the public.

23 The cases which he quotes as different from the arrangements of Phaleas are, from our want of knowledge on the subject, useless as illustrations. Comp. Grote, III. 542.

κατεσκεύαζεν] 'wished to establish.'

VIII. 1 For Hippodamus, see Smith, *Dict. Biog.*, and Grote, VI. 27.

Hippodamus.

πόλεων διαίρεσιν εὗρε καὶ τὸν Πειραιᾶ κατέτεμεν, γενόμενος
καὶ περὶ τὸν ἄλλον βίον περιττότερος διὰ φιλοτιμίαν οὕτως
ὥστε δοκεῖν ἐνίοις ζῆν περιεργότερον τριχῶν τε πλήθει καὶ
κόσμῳ πολυτελεῖ, ἔτι δὲ ἐσθῆτος εὐτελοῦς μὲν ἀλεεινῆς δὲ
οὐκ ἐν τῷ χειμῶνι μόνον ἀλλὰ καὶ περὶ τοὺς θερινοὺς χρό-
νους, λόγιος δὲ καὶ περὶ τὴν ὅλην φύσιν εἶναι βουλόμενος,
πρῶτος τῶν μὴ πολιτευομένων ἐνεχείρησέ τι περὶ πολιτείας
εἰπεῖν τῆς ἀρίστης. Κατεσκεύαζε δὲ τὴν πόλιν τῷ πλήθει
μὲν μυρίανδρον, εἰς τρία δὲ μέρη διῃρημένην· ἐποίει γὰρ ἓν
μὲν μέρος τεχνίτας, ἓν δὲ γεωργούς, τρίτον δὲ τὸ προπο-
λεμοῦν καὶ τὰ ὅπλα ἔχον. διῄρει δ' εἰς τρία μέρη τὴν χώ-
ραν, τὴν μὲν ἱεράν, τὴν δὲ δημοσίαν, τὴν δ' ἰδίαν· ὅθεν μὲν
τὰ νομιζόμενα ποιήσουσι πρὸς τοὺς θεούς, ἱεράν, ἀφ' ὧν δ'
οἱ προπολεμοῦντες βιώσονται, κοινήν, τὴν δὲ τῶν γεωργῶν
4 ἰδίαν. ᾤετο δ' εἴδη καὶ τῶν νόμων εἶναι τρία μόνον· περὶ
ὧν γὰρ αἱ δίκαι γίνονται, τρία ταῦτ' εἶναι τὸν ἀριθμόν,
ὕβριν βλάβην θάνατον. ἐνομοθέτει δὲ καὶ δικαστήριον ἓν
τὸ κύριον, εἰς ὃ πάσας ἀνάγεσθαι δεῖν τὰς μὴ καλῶς κεκρί-
σθαι δοκούσας δίκας· τοῦτο δὲ κατεσκεύαζεν ἐκ τινῶν γερόν-
1268 5 των αἱρετῶν. τὰς δὲ κρίσεις ἐν τοῖς δικαστηρίοις οὐ διὰ
ψηφοφορίας ᾤετο γίνεσθαι δεῖν, ἀλλὰ φέρειν ἕκαστον πινά-
κιον, ἐν ᾧ γράφειν, εἰ καταδικάζοι ἁπλῶς τὴν δίκην, εἰ δ'
ἀπολύοι ἁπλῶς, κενόν· εἰ δὲ τὸ μὲν τὸ δὲ μή, τοῦτο διορί-
ζειν. νῦν γὰρ οὐκ ᾤετο νενομοθετῆσθαι καλῶς· ἀναγκάζειν

περιττότερος διὰ φιλοτιμίαν] 'rather eccentric from ostentation.'

περιεργότερον, κ.τ.λ.] 'somewhat extravagantly, both from the quantity and expensive ornaments of his hair.'

λόγιος δέ, κ.τ.λ.] and wishing to be well-informed on all subjects of natural science, "a man of considerable attainments in the physical philosophy of the age." The word *λόγιοι* occurs later, IV. (VII.) X. 3. Comp. Herod. I. I. II. 3.

I cannot but think this whole description of Hippodamus very suspicious, not as to the truth of it in itself, but as to its being Aristotle's. It would be more consistent with Theophrastus. It seems to me one of the many places in which you may reasonably suspect a later hand.

3 *ἀφ' ὧν*] used without any regard to the number, as the equivalent of *ὅθεν*.

4 *δικαστήριον, κ.τ.λ.*] a supreme court of appeal.

5 *εἰ καταδικάζοι ἁπλῶς*] 'If he simply gave sentence against the accused.'

ἀναγκάζειν γάρ] The subject is *τὴν*

Hippodamus.

γὰρ ἐπιορκεῖν ἢ ταῦτα ἢ ταῦτα δικάζοντας. ἐτίθει δὲ νόμον περὶ τῶν εὑρισκόντων τι τῇ πόλει συμφέρον, ὅπως τυγχάνωσι τιμῆς, καὶ τοῖς παισὶ τῶν ἐν τῷ πολέμῳ τελευτώντων ἐκ δημοσίου γίνεσθαι τὴν τροφήν, ὡς οὔπω τοῦτο παρ' ἄλλοις νενομοθετημένον· ἔστι δὲ καὶ ἐν Ἀθήναις οὗτος ὁ νόμος νῦν καὶ ἐν ἑτέραις τῶν πόλεων. τοὺς δ' ἄρχοντας αἱρετοὺς 7
ὑπὸ τοῦ δήμου εἶναι πάντας· δῆμον δ' ἐποίει τὰ τρία μέρη τῆς πόλεως· τοὺς δ' αἱρεθέντας ἐπιμελεῖσθαι κοινῶν καὶ ξενικῶν καὶ ὀρφανικῶν. Τὰ μὲν οὖν πλεῖστα καὶ τὰ μάλιστα ἀξιόλογα τῆς Ἱπποδάμου τάξεως ταῦτ' ἐστίν, ἀπορήσειε δ' ἄν τις πρῶτον μὲν τὴν διαίρεσιν τοῦ πλήθους τῶν πολιτῶν. οἵ τε γὰρ τεχνῖται καὶ οἱ γεωργοὶ καὶ οἱ τὰ ὅπλα ἔχοντες 8
κοινωνοῦσι τῆς πολιτείας πάντες, οἱ μὲν γεωργοὶ οὐκ ἔχοντες ὅπλα, οἱ δὲ τεχνῖται οὔτε γῆν οὔτε ὅπλα, ὥστε γίνονται σχεδὸν δοῦλοι τῶν τὰ ὅπλα κεκτημένων. μετέχειν μὲν οὖν 9
πασῶν τῶν τιμῶν ἀδύνατον· ἀνάγκη γὰρ ἐκ τῶν τὰ ὅπλα ἐχόντων καθίστασθαι καὶ στρατηγοὺς καὶ πολιτοφύλακας καὶ τὰς κυριωτάτας ἀρχὰς ὡς εἰπεῖν· μὴ μετέχοντας δὲ τῆς πολιτείας πῶς οἷόν τε φιλικῶς ἔχειν πρὸς τὴν πολιτείαν; ἀλλὰ δεῖ κρείττους εἶναι τοὺς τὰ ὅπλα γε κεκτημένους ἀμφοτέρων τῶν μερῶν· τοῦτο δ' οὐ ῥᾴδιον μὴ πολλοὺς ὄντας. εἰ δέ τοῦτ' ἔσται, τί δεῖ τοὺς ἄλλους μετέχειν τῆς πολι- 10
τείας καὶ κυρίους εἶναι τῆς τῶν ἀρχόντων καταστάσεως; ἔτι οἱ γεωργοὶ τί χρήσιμοι τῇ πόλει; τεχνίτας μὲν γὰρ ἀναγ-

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νῦν τάξιν, or some similar expression. 'The present arrangement.'

6 ὡς οὔπω, κ.τ.λ.] 'as though this had not yet been enacted by law in other cases.'

7 ἀπορήσειε...τὴν διαίρεσιν] 'would find a difficulty in his division of the whole body of his citizens.'

9 μετέχειν μὲν οὖν, κ.τ.λ.] 'without going so far as this, it is clear that for them to share in all the offices is impossible.'

πολιτοφύλακας] a magistracy mentioned VIII. (V.) vi. 6, as existing at Larissa, but one on which there seems no information.

μὴ μετέχοντας, κ.τ.λ.] 'If not admitted to a share in the government, how can they feel friendly to that government?' And if not friendly they will want coercion. 'That must be allowed for, and the armed class must be stronger than both the others together. But it is not easy for them to be so unless they are numerous; and if numerous, and so the stronger, then why admit the others at all?'

Hippodamus.

καῖον εἶναι· πᾶσα γὰρ δεῖται πόλις τεχνιτῶν, καὶ δύνανται
διαγίγνεσθαι καθάπερ ἐν ταῖς ἄλλαις πόλεσιν ἀπὸ τῆς τέ-
χνης· οἱ δὲ γεωργοὶ πορίζοντες μὲν τοῖς τὰ ὅπλα κεκτημέ-
νοις τὴν τροφὴν εὐλόγως ἂν ἦσάν τι τῆς πόλεως μέρος, νῦν
11 δ' ἰδίαν ἔχουσιν, καὶ ταύτην ἰδίᾳ γεωργοῦσιν. ἔτι δὲ τὴν
κοινήν, ἀφ' ἧς οἱ προπολεμοῦντες ἕξουσι τὴν τροφήν, εἰ μὲν
αὐτοὶ γεωργήσουσιν, οὐκ ἂν εἴη τὸ μάχιμον ἕτερον καὶ τὸ
γεωργοῦν, βούλεται δ' ὁ νομοθέτης· εἰ δ' ἕτεροί τινες ἔσον-
ται τῶν τε τὰ ἴδια γεωργούντων καὶ τῶν μαχίμων, τέταρτον
αὖ μόριον ἔσται τοῦτο τῆς πόλεως, οὐδενὸς μετέχον, ἀλλ'
12 ἀλλότριον τῆς πολιτείας. ἀλλὰ μὴν εἴ τις τοὺς αὐτοὺς
θήσει τούς τε τὴν ἰδίαν καὶ τοὺς τὴν κοινὴν γεωργοῦντας, τό
1268 b τε πλῆθος ἄπορον ἔσται τῶν καρπῶν ἐξ ὧν ἕκαστος γεωρ-
γήσει δύο οἰκίας, καὶ τίνος ἕνεκεν οὐκ εὐθὺς ἀπὸ τῆς γῆς καὶ
τῶν αὐτῶν κλήρων αὐτοῖς τε τὴν τροφὴν λήψονται καὶ τοῖς
μαχίμοις παρέξουσιν; ταῦτα δὴ πάντα πολλὴν ἔχει ταρα-
13 χήν. Οὐ καλῶς δ' οὐδ' ὁ περὶ τῆς κρίσεως ἔχει νόμος, τὸ
κρίνειν ἀξιοῦν διαιροῦντα τῆς κρίσεως ἁπλῶς γεγραμμένης,

10 διαγίγνεσθαι] 'support themselves.'

ἰδίᾳ γεωργοῦσιν] 'Not merely is the land they cultivate their own, but they cultivate it entirely for themselves;' the produce is not any of it thrown into a common stock, or made available for the others.

11 ἕτεροί τινες ἔσονται] sc. οἱ γεωργοῦντες τὴν κοινήν.

12 ἄπορον] 'will be a difficulty.'

γεωργήσει δύο οἰκίας] 'maintain by agriculture.'

εὐθύς] 'at once,' without any division taking place. There need be no distinction between common and private land.

ἀπὸ τῆς γῆς, κ.τ.λ.] This would seem to be nothing more than 'from the same lots of land.' So it is taken by Schneider and Stahr: "aus ein und denselben ihnen durchs Loos ertheilten Grundstücken."

13 διαιροῦντα] 'distinguishing.'

τῆς κρίσεως ἁπλῶς γεγραμμένης] I understand this to be a concentrated expression. In full it would be: When the issue taken is simple, and therefore the verdict to be given should be simple. κρίσις, 'the decision,' properly is made to do double duty, to represent both the form of the indictment and the form of the decision.

καὶ πλείοσιν] In all cases of arbitration there is necessarily more than one party, and their respective claims admit of discussion and distinctions. The arbitrator therefore, or arbitrators, may discuss these claims with one another, and draw distinctions as to their amount. In a court of justice this is not so. The defendant as a single party stands before the court for a decision simply. Is he or is he not guilty on the point raised? There is no need of distinctions as to amount;

καὶ γίνεσθαι τὸν δικαστὴν διαιτητήν. τοῦτο δ' ἐν μὲν τῇ Hippodamus.
διαίτῃ καὶ πλείοσιν ἐνδέχεται (κοινολογοῦνται γὰρ ἀλλήλοις
περὶ τῆς κρίσεως), ἐν δὲ τοῖς δικαστηρίοις οὐκ ἔστιν, ἀλλὰ
καὶ τοὐναντίον τούτῳ τῶν νομοθετῶν οἱ πολλοὶ παρασκευά-
ζουσιν ὅπως οἱ δικασταὶ μὴ κοινολογῶνται πρὸς ἀλλήλους.
ἔπειτα πῶς οὐκ ἔσται ταραχώδης ἡ κρίσις, ὅταν ὀφείλειν 14
μὲν ὁ δικαστὴς οἴηται, μὴ τοσοῦτον δ' ὅσον ὁ δικαζόμενος;
ὁ μὲν γὰρ εἴκοσι μνᾶς, ὁ δὲ δικαστὴς κρίνει δέκα μνᾶς, ἢ ὁ
μὲν πλέον, ὁ δ' ἔλασσον, ἄλλος δὲ πέντε, ὁ δὲ τέτταρας·
καὶ τοῦτον δὴ τὸν τρόπον δῆλον ὅτι μεριοῦσιν, οἱ δὲ πάντα
καταδικάσουσιν, οἱ δ' οὐθέν. τίς οὖν ὁ τρόπος ἔσται τῆς 15
διαλογῆς τῶν ψήφων; ἔτι δ' οὐδεὶς ἐπιορκεῖν ἀναγκάζει
τὸν ἁπλῶς ἀποδικάσαντα ἢ καταδικάσαντα, εἴπερ ἁπλῶς τὸ
ἔγκλημα γέγραπται δικαίως· οὐ γὰρ μηδὲν ὀφείλειν ὁ ἀπο-
δικάσας κρίνει, ἀλλὰ τὰς εἴκοσι μνᾶς· ἀλλ' ἐκεῖνος ἤδη ἐπιορ-
κεῖ ὁ καταδικάσας μὴ νομίζων ὀφείλειν τὰς εἴκοσι μνᾶς. Περὶ 16
δὲ τοῦ τοῖς εὑρίσκουσί τι τῇ πόλει συμφέρον ὡς δεῖ γίνεσθαί
τινα τιμήν, οὐκ ἔστιν ἀσφαλὲς τὸ νομοθετεῖν, ἀλλ' εὐόφθαλ-
μον ἀκοῦσαι μόνον· ἔχει γὰρ συκοφαντίας καὶ κινήσεις, ἂν
τύχῃ, πολιτείας. ἐμπίπτει δ' εἰς ἄλλο πρόβλημα καὶ σκέ-
ψιν ἑτέραν· ἀποροῦσι γάρ τινες πότερον βλαβερὸν ἢ συμ-
φέρον ταῖς πόλεσι τὸ κινεῖν τοὺς πατρίους νόμους, ἂν ᾖ τις
ἄλλος βελτίων. διόπερ οὐ ῥᾴδιον τῷ λεχθέντι ταχὺ συγ- 17
χωρεῖν, εἴπερ μὴ συμφέρει κινεῖν. ἐνδέχεται δ' εἰσηγεῖσθαί
τινας νόμων λύσιν ἢ πολιτείας ὡς κοινὸν ἀγαθόν. ἐπεὶ δὲ
πεποιήμεθα μνείαν, ἔτι μικρὰ περὶ αὐτοῦ διαστείλασθαι βέλ-

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there is no need for discussion among the judges. It were better that each gave his unbiassed opinion. I offer this view with hesitation on a subject which I am not familiar with.

14 *ὁ δικαζόμενος*] 'the plaintiff.'

15 *τῆς διαλογῆς τῶν ψήφων*] 'The counting of the votes.'

δικαίως] 'on good grounds.' *τὸ ἔγκλημα*, 'the indictment.'

16 *εὐόφθαλμον ἀκοῦσαι*] an odd use of the word in which the specific sense is to be dropped as much as possible, 'fair to the ear.'

ἔχει γὰρ συκοφαντίας] 'for it opens a door to vexatious cavillings against the old law.' Again, in *συκοφαντίας* the most general sense is all that can be retained, as far as I see.

17 *διαστείλασθαι*] 'set out,' 'state at length.' Comp. Plato, *Rep.* VII. 535. B.

Hippodamus. — τιον. ἔχει γάρ, ὥσπερ εἴπομεν, ἀπορίαν, καὶ δόξειεν ἂν βέλτιον εἶναι τὸ κινεῖν· ἐπὶ γοῦν τῶν ἄλλων ἐπιστημῶν τοῦτο συνενήνοχεν, οἷον ἰατρικὴ κινηθεῖσα παρὰ τὰ πάτρια καὶ γυμναστικὴ καὶ ὅλως αἱ τέχναι πᾶσαι καὶ αἱ δυνάμεις, ὥστ' ἐπεὶ μίαν τούτων θετέον καὶ τὴν πολιτικήν, δῆλον ὅτι καὶ
19 περὶ ταύτην ἀναγκαῖον ὁμοίως ἔχειν. σημεῖον δ' ἂν γεγονέναι φαίη τις ἐπ' αὐτῶν τῶν ἔργων· τοὺς γὰρ ἀρχαίους νόμους λίαν ἁπλοῦς εἶναι καὶ βαρβαρικούς. ἐσιδηροφοροῦντό τε γὰρ οἱ Ἕλληνες, καὶ τὰς γυναῖκας ἐωνοῦντο παρ' ἀλλή-
20 λων. ὅσα τε λοιπὰ τῶν ἀρχαίων ἐστί που νομίμων, εὐήθη
20 πάμπαν ἐστίν, οἷον ἐν Κύμῃ περὶ τὰ φονικὰ νόμος ἐστίν, ἂν πλῆθός τι παράσχηται μαρτύρων ὁ διώκων τὸν φόνον τῶν
21 αὑτοῦ συγγενῶν, ἔνοχον εἶναι τῷ φόνῳ τὸν φεύγοντα. ζητοῦσι δ' ὅλως οὐ τὸ πάτριον ἀλλὰ τἀγαθὸν πάντες· εἰκός τε τοὺς πρώτους, εἴτε γηγενεῖς ἦσαν εἴτ' ἐκ φθορᾶς τινὸς ἐσώθησαν, ὁμοίους εἶναι καὶ τοὺς τυχόντας καὶ τοὺς ἀνοήτους, ὥσπερ καὶ λέγεται κατὰ τῶν γηγενῶν, ὥστ' ἄτοπον τὸ μένειν ἐν τοῖς τούτων δόγμασιν. πρὸς δὲ τούτοις οὐδὲ τοὺς γεγραμμένους ἐᾶν ἀκινήτους βέλτιον. ὥσπερ γὰρ καὶ περὶ τὰς ἄλλας τέχνας, καὶ τὴν πολιτικὴν τάξιν ἀδύνατον ἀκριβῶς πάντα γραφῆναι· καθόλου γὰρ ἀναγκαῖον γραφῆναι, αἱ δὲ πράξεις περὶ τῶν καθ' ἕκαστόν εἰσιν. Ἐκ μὲν οὖν

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18 ἔχει γάρ, κ.τ.λ.] He first gives the reasons in favour of change to the middle of § 22.

19 ἀρχαίους νόμους] rather 'customs' than laws, 'usages.' Comparing γεγραμμένους in § 21, here we have [illegible].

ἐσιδηροφοροῦντο] Thuc. I. 5, 6.

ἐωνοῦντο] Comp. Grote II. 112, note.

20 ἐν Κύμῃ] Grote II. 125 not.: "If the accuser produced in support of his charge a certain number of witnesses from his own kindred, the person was held presumptively guilty."

ἔνοχον τῷ φόνῳ] Comp. Eurip. [illegible]

21 ζητοῦσι δέ, κ.τ.λ.] 'In fact what men look for in all cases is not the old but the good.'

ἐκ φθορᾶς τινὸς ἐσώθησαν] Compare a passage in Plato, *Legg.* III. 677 A.: τὸ πολλὰς ἀνθρώπων φθορὰς γεγονέναι κατακλυσμοῖς τε καὶ νόσοις καὶ ἄλλοις πολλοῖς, ἐν οἷς βραχύ τι τῶν ἀνθρώπων λείπεσθαι γένος. Compare in *Politicus*, 270.

ὁμοίους εἶναι καί] The construction is the same as ἴσα καί, 'on a level with quite ordinary men in intelligence, or even simply below the ordinary standard.'

22 ἐκ μὲν οὖν τούτων, κ.τ.λ.] 'On these grounds then it is evident that

Hippodamus.

τούτων φανερὸν ὅτι κινητέοι καὶ τινὲς καὶ ποτὲ τῶν νόμων
εἰσίν, ἄλλον δὲ τρόπον ἐπισκοποῦσιν εὐλαβείας ἂν δόξειεν
εἶναι πολλῆς. ὅταν γὰρ ᾖ τὸ μὲν βέλτιον μικρόν, τὸ δ' 23
ἐθίζειν εὐχερῶς λύειν τοὺς νόμους φαῦλον, φανερὸν ὡς ἐατέον
ἐνίας ἁμαρτίας καὶ τῶν νομοθετῶν καὶ τῶν ἀρχόντων· οὐ
γὰρ τοσοῦτον ὠφελήσεται κινήσας, ὅσον βλαβήσεται τοῖς
ἄρχουσιν ἀπειθεῖν ἐθισθείς. ψεῦδος δὲ καὶ τὸ παράδειγμα 24
τὸ περὶ τῶν τεχνῶν· οὐ γὰρ ὅμοιον τὸ κινεῖν τέχνην καὶ
νόμον. ὁ γὰρ νόμος ἰσχὺν οὐδεμίαν ἔχει πρὸς τὸ πείθε-
σθαι πλὴν παρὰ τὸ ἔθος, τοῦτο δ' οὐ γίνεται εἰ μὴ διὰ
χρόνου πλῆθος, ὥστε τὸ ῥᾳδίως μεταβάλλειν ἐκ τῶν ὑπαρ-
χόντων νόμων εἰς ἑτέρους νόμους καινοὺς ἀσθενῆ ποιεῖν ἐστὶ
τὴν τοῦ νόμου δύναμιν. ἔτι δ' εἰ καὶ κινητέοι, πότερον 25
καὶ πάντες καὶ ἐν πάσῃ πολιτείᾳ, ἢ οὔ; καὶ πότερον τῷ
τυχόντι ἢ τισίν; ταῦτα γὰρ ἔχει μεγάλην διαφοράν. διὸ
νῦν μὲν ἀφῶμεν ταύτην τὴν σκέψιν· ἄλλων γάρ ἐστι καιρῶν.

Sparta

Περὶ δὲ τῆς Λακεδαιμονίων πολιτείας καὶ τῆς Κρητικῆς, 9
σχεδὸν δὲ καὶ περὶ τῶν ἄλλων πολιτειῶν, δύο εἰσὶν αἱ σκέ-
ψεις, μία μὲν εἴ τι καλῶς ἢ μὴ καλῶς πρὸς τὴν ἀρίστην νε-
νομοθέτηται τάξιν, ἑτέρα δ' εἴ τι πρὸς τὴν ὑπόθεσιν καὶ τὸν
τρόπον ὑπεναντίως τῆς προκειμένης αὐτοῖς πολιτείας. Ὅτι 2

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there must be a change in some laws, and at certain times; but looking at it from a different point of view, it would seem that great caution is required.'

23 *τῶν νομοθετῶν καὶ τῶν ἀρχόντων*] 'both in the legislator and the executive magistrates.'

κινήσας] is the citizen under the law.

24 *ὁ γὰρ νόμος*] 'Whatever force the law has to secure obedience is entirely dependent on habit.' Comp. Arnold's *Rome*, Vol. II. p. 55: "The ancient heathen world craved, what all men must crave, an authoritative rule of conduct; and not finding it elsewhere, they imagined it to exist in the fundamental and original laws of each particular race or people. To destroy this sanction without having any thing to substitute in its place, was deeply perilous; and reason has been but too seldom possessed of power sufficient to recommend its truths to the mass of mankind by their own sole authority."

25 *τῷ τυχόντι ἢ τισίν;*] 'Is it open to any given person to propose the change, or to some definite number?'

IX. 1 *δύο εἰσὶν αἱ σκέψεις, κ.τ.λ.*] 'There are two points for consideration; the one, is any given part of their legislation right or wrong when viewed with reference to the best possible arrangement? the other, is it contrary to the idea and general system of the constitution actually established?'

Sparta. μὲν οὖν δεῖ τῇ μελλούσῃ καλῶς πολιτεύεσθαι τὴν τῶν ἀναγκαίων ὑπάρχειν σχολήν, ὁμολογούμενόν ἐστιν· τίνα δὲ τρόπον ὑπάρχειν, οὐ ῥᾴδιον λαβεῖν. ἥ τε γὰρ Θετταλῶν πενεστεία πολλάκις ἐπέθετο τοῖς Θετταλοῖς, ὁμοίως δὲ καὶ τοῖς Λάκωσιν οἱ Εἵλωτες· ὥσπερ γὰρ ἐφεδρεύοντες τοῖς ἀτυχή-
3 μασι διατελοῦσιν. περὶ δὲ τοὺς Κρῆτας οὐδέν πω τοιοῦτον
1269 B συμβέβηκεν· αἴτιον δ' ἴσως τὸ τὰς γειτνιώσας πόλεις, καίπερ πολεμούσας ἀλλήλαις, μηδεμίαν εἶναι σύμμαχον τοῖς ἀφισταμένοις διὰ τὸ μὴ συμφέρειν καὶ αὐταῖς κεκτημέναις περιοίκους· τοῖς δὲ Λάκωσιν οἱ γειτνιῶντες ἐχθροὶ πάντες ἦσαν, Ἀργεῖοι καὶ Μεσσήνιοι καὶ Ἀρκάδες, ἐπεὶ καὶ τοῖς Θετταλοῖς κατ' ἀρχὰς ἀφίσταντο διὰ τὸ πολεμεῖν ἔτι τοῖς προσ-
4 χώροις, Ἀχαιοῖς καὶ Περραιβοῖς καὶ Μάγνησιν. ἔοικε δὲ καὶ εἰ μηδὲν ἕτερον, ἀλλὰ τό γε τῆς ἐπιμελείας ἐργῶδες εἶναι, τίνα δεῖ πρὸς αὐτοὺς ὁμιλῆσαι τρόπον· ἀνιέμενοί τε γὰρ ὑβρίζουσι καὶ τῶν ἴσων ἀξιοῦσιν ἑαυτοὺς τοῖς κυρίοις, καὶ κακοπαθῶς ζῶντες ἐπιβουλεύουσι καὶ μισοῦσιν. δῆλον οὖν ὡς οὐκ ἐξευρίσκουσι τὸν βέλτιστον τρόπον, οἷς τοῦτο συμ-
5 βαίνει περὶ τὴν εἱλωτείαν. Ἔτι δ' ἡ περὶ τὰς γυναῖκας ἄνεσις καὶ πρὸς τὴν προαίρεσιν τῆς πολιτείας βλαβερὰ καὶ πρὸς εὐδαιμονίαν πόλεως. ὥσπερ γὰρ οἰκίας μέρος ἀνὴρ

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2 τὴν τῶν ἀναγκαίων σχολήν] 'leisure, freedom from attention to the first necessities of life.' This is allowed by all to be the basis of existence for the Greek freeman. To secure it slaves were necessary, and in the case of Sparta these were the Helots. In principle this body of men was necessary, and yet practically the relations between them and their masters were very unsatisfactory. Nor was this the case only in Lacedæmon. Thessaly was an instance of the same thing. Crete was free from the evils under which the others suffered, but this might be traced to peculiar causes.

ἡ ... Θετταλῶν πενεστεία] Compare Grote, II. 369 and foll.

ἐφεδρεύοντες] 'watching for.'

3 It was the common interest of the cities of Crete to make common cause against the serf population.

Ἀχαιοῖς, κ.τ.λ.] These then were not Penestæ, but tribes more in the position of the Laconian Periœci.

4 ἀνιέμενοι] 'If left unchecked.' κακοπαθῶς ζῶντες, 'if harshly treated.'

οἷς τοῦτο συμβαίνει] 'When this is the actual result they arrive at in regard to their Helots.'

5 τὴν προαίρεσιν τῆς πολιτείας] = τὴν ὑπόθεσιν of § I. and πρὸς εὐδαιμονίαν = τὴν ἀρίστην τάξιν.

Sparta.

καὶ γυνή, δῆλον ὅτι καὶ πόλιν ἐγγὺς τοῦ δίχα διῃρῆσθαι δεῖ
νομίζειν εἴς τε τὸ τῶν ἀνδρῶν πλῆθος καὶ τὸ τῶν γυναικῶν,
ὥστ᾽ ἐν ὅσαις πολιτείαις φαύλως ἔχει τὸ περὶ τὰς γυναῖκας,
τὸ ἥμισυ τῆς πόλεως εἶναι δεῖ νομίζειν ἀνομοθέτητον. ὅπερ 6
ἐκεῖ συμβέβηκεν· ὅλην γὰρ τὴν πόλιν ὁ νομοθέτης εἶναι βου-
λόμενος καρτερικήν, κατὰ μὲν τοὺς ἄνδρας φανερός ἐστι τοι-
οῦτος ὤν, ἐπὶ δὲ τῶν γυναικῶν ἐξημέληκεν· ζῶσι γὰρ ἀκο-
λάστως πρὸς ἅπασαν ἀκολασίαν καὶ τρυφερῶς. ὥστ᾽ ἀναγ- 7
καῖον ἐν τῇ τοιαύτῃ πολιτείᾳ τιμᾶσθαι τὸν πλοῦτον, ἄλλως
τε κἂν τύχωσι γυναικοκρατούμενοι, καθάπερ τὰ πολλὰ τῶν
στρατιωτικῶν καὶ πολεμικῶν γενῶν, ἔξω Κελτῶν ἢ κἂν εἴ
τινες ἕτεροι φανερῶς τετιμήκασι τὴν πρὸς τοὺς ἄρρενας συν-
ουσίαν. ἔοικε γὰρ ὁ μυθολογήσας πρῶτος οὐκ ἀλόγως συ- 8
ζεῦξαι τὸν Ἄρη πρὸς τὴν Ἀφροδίτην· ἢ γὰρ πρὸς τὴν
τῶν ἀρρένων ὁμιλίαν ἢ πρὸς τὴν τῶν γυναικῶν φαίνονται
κατακώχιμοι πάντες οἱ τοιοῦτοι. διὸ παρὰ τοῖς Λάκωσι
τοῦθ᾽ ὑπῆρχεν, καὶ πολλὰ διῳκεῖτο ὑπὸ τῶν γυναικῶν ἐπὶ
τῆς ἀρχῆς αὐτῶν. καίτοι τί διαφέρει γυναῖκας ἄρχειν ἢ 9
τοὺς ἄρχοντας ὑπὸ τῶν γυναικῶν ἄρχεσθαι; ταὐτὸ γὰρ
συμβαίνει. χρησίμου δ᾽ οὔσης τῆς θρασύτητος πρὸς οὐδὲν
τῶν ἐγκυκλίων, ἀλλ᾽ εἴπερ πρὸς τὸν πόλεμον, βλαβερώταται
καὶ πρὸς ταῦθ᾽ αἱ τῶν Λακώνων ἦσαν. ἐδήλωσαν δ᾽ ἐπὶ 10

δίχα διῃρῆσθαι] 'divided into two equal parts.'

ὥστ᾽ ἐν ὅσαις, κ.τ.λ.] We have the same language in I. XIII. 15, 16.

6 **ὅπερ ἐκεῖ**] 'This actually was the result at Sparta.'

7 To gratify this unbridled luxury money will be wanted, especially if the men are inclined to submit to the government of the women. A high value therefore will be set on wealth. Comp. Grote, II. 513.

8 **ἔοικε γάρ**] The γάρ refers to the words τὰ πολλὰ τῶν πολεμικῶν γενῶν.

κατακώχιμοι] *Eth.* X. X. 3. p. 1179, b. 9, the same word occurs but spelt differently, κατοκώχιμος, 'easily led,' 'inclined to.'

τοῦθ᾽] sc. τὸ γυναικοκρατεῖσθαι.

ἐπὶ τῆς ἀρχῆς αὐτῶν] 'during the period of the Spartan Empire.'

9 **ἐγκυκλίων**] I. VII. 2, the word occurs with a substantive, διακονήματα.

10 **ἐδήλωσαν, κ.τ.λ.**] Mr Grote, in his notice of this passage, II. 507, note 3, thinks that Aristotle is hard on the Spartan women, that "he probably had formed to himself exaggerated notions of what their courage under such circumstances ought to have been, as the result of their peculiar training. We may add that their violent demonstrations on that trying occasion may well have arisen quite

Sparta. τῆς Θηβαίων ἐμβολῆς· χρήσιμοι μὲν γὰρ οὐδὲν ἦσαν, ὥσπερ
ἐν ἑτέραις πόλεσιν, θόρυβον δὲ παρεῖχον πλείω τῶν πολε-
μίων. ἐξ ἀρχῆς μὲν οὖν ἔοικε συμβεβηκέναι τοῖς Λάκωσιν
1270 11 εὐλόγως ἡ τῶν γυναικῶν ἄνεσις. ἔξω γὰρ τῆς οἰκείας διὰ
τὰς στρατείας ἀπεξενοῦντο πολὺν χρόνον, πολεμοῦντες τόν
τε πρὸς Ἀργείους πόλεμον καὶ πάλιν τὸν πρὸς Ἀρκάδας
καὶ Μεσσηνίους· σχολάσαντες δὲ αὐτοὺς μὲν παρεῖχον τῷ
νομοθέτῃ προωδοπεποιημένους διὰ τὸν στρατιωτικὸν βίον
(πολλὰ γὰρ ἔχει μέρη τῆς ἀρετῆς), τὰς δὲ γυναῖκας φασὶ
μὲν ἄγειν ἐπιχειρῆσαι τὸν Λυκοῦργον ἐπὶ τοὺς νόμους, ὡς
12 δ' ἀντέκρουον, ἀποστῆναι πάλιν. αἰτίαι μὲν οὖν εἰσὶν αὗται
τῶν γενομένων, ὥστε δῆλον ὅτι καὶ ταύτης τῆς ἁμαρτίας.
ἀλλ' ἡμεῖς οὐ τοῦτο σκοποῦμεν, τίνι δεῖ συγγνώμην ἔχειν
13 ἢ μὴ ἔχειν, ἀλλὰ περὶ τοῦ ὀρθῶς καὶ μὴ ὀρθῶς. Τὰ δὲ περὶ
τὰς γυναῖκας ἔχοντα μὴ καλῶς ἔοικεν, ὥσπερ ἐλέχθη καὶ
πρότερον, οὐ μόνον ἀπρέπειάν τινα ποιεῖν τῆς πολιτείας αὐ-
τὴν καθ' αὑτήν, ἀλλὰ συμβάλλεσθαί τι πρὸς τὴν φιλοχρη-

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as much from the agony of wounded honour as from fear, when we consider what an event the appearance of a conquering army in Sparta was." Compare also, Vol. x. 304, the account of the Theban Invasion alluded to by Aristotle.

εὐλόγως] The lax discipline of the Spartan women can be accounted for without difficulty.

11 ἀπεξενοῦντο] 'They lived away from.'

πολεμοῦντες, κ.τ.λ.] On these early wars of Sparta with its neighbours, see Grote, Vol. II. 555, and foll. chapters VII. VIII.

αὐτοὺς μέν, κ.τ.λ.] 'So far as they themselves went they presented themselves to their legislator ready prepared for his operations.' Does not the whole passage seem to imply that Aristotle placed Lycurgus much later than he is usually placed, after these wars in fact; whereas the general view is that the Spartan successes in these wars were in a great degree attributable to his measures of reform.

πολλὰ γὰρ ἔχει μέρη τῆς ἀρετῆς] Compare on this subject Arnold's *Lectures on Modern History*, Lect. I. pp. 10, 11.

ὡς δ' ἀντέκρουον, κ.τ.λ.] 'but as they resisted, he desisted.' Grote, II. 508.

12 αὗται] The women.

13 οὐ μόνον, κ.τ.λ.] 'not only to introduce a certain disorder and indecorum into the social relations within its own natural sphere, but to contribute considerably to the tendency to avarice.'

αὐτὴν καθ' αὑτήν] αὐτῆς καθ' αὑτήν would seem more natural, connecting it with πολιτείας; or the neuter plural, if it is connected with τὰ περὶ τὰς γυναῖκας. As it stands it must be connected grammatically with ἀπρέπειαν, and ἀπρέπειάν τινα ποιεῖν τῆς πολιτείας must be looked on as equi-

Sparta.

ματίαν. μετὰ γὰρ τὰ νῦν ῥηθέντα τοῖς περὶ τὴν ἀνωμα-
λίαν τῆς κτήσεως ἐπιτιμήσειεν ἄν τις. τοῖς μὲν γὰρ αὐτῶν 14
συμβέβηκε κεκτῆσθαι πολλὴν λίαν οὐσίαν, τοῖς δὲ τάμπαν
μικράν· διόπερ εἰς ὀλίγους ἧκεν ἡ χώρα. τοῦτο δὲ καὶ διὰ
τῶν νόμων τέτακται φαύλως· ὠνεῖσθαι μὲν γὰρ ἢ πωλεῖν τὴν
ὑπάρχουσαν ἐποίησεν οὐ καλόν, ὀρθῶς ποιήσας, διδόναι δὲ
καὶ καταλείπειν ἐξουσίαν ἔδωκε τοῖς βουλομένοις· καίτοι
ταὐτό[a] συμβαίνειν ἀναγκαῖον ἐκείνως τε καὶ οὕτως. ἔστι 15
δὲ καὶ τῶν γυναικῶν σχεδὸν τῆς πάσης χώρας τῶν πέντε
μερῶν τὰ δύο, τῶν τ' ἐπικλήρων πολλῶν γινομένων, καὶ διὰ
τὸ προῖκας διδόναι μεγάλας. καίτοι βέλτιον ἦν μηδεμίαν
ἢ ὀλίγην ἢ καὶ μετρίαν τετάχθαι. νῦν δ' ἔξεστι δοῦναί τε
τὴν ἐπίκληρον ὅτῳ ἂν βούληται· κἂν ἀποθάνῃ μὴ διαθέμε-
νος, ὃν ἂν καταλίπῃ κληρονόμον, οὗτος ᾧ ἂν θέλῃ δίδωσιν.
τοιγαροῦν δυναμένης τῆς χώρας χιλίους ἱππεῖς τρέφειν καὶ 16
πεντακοσίους καὶ ὁπλίτας τρισμυρίους, οὐδὲ χίλιοι τὸ πλῆ-
θος ἦσαν. γέγονε δὲ διὰ τῶν ἔργων αὐτῶν δῆλον ὅτι φαύλως
αὐτοῖς εἶχε τὰ περὶ τὴν τάξιν ταύτην· μίαν γὰρ πληγὴν
οὐχ ὑπήνεγκεν ἡ πόλις, ἀλλ' ἀπώλετο διὰ τὴν ὀλιγανθρω-
πίαν. λέγουσι δ' ὡς ἐπὶ μὲν τῶν προτέρων βασιλέων μετε- 17
δίδοσαν τῆς πολιτείας, ὥστ' οὐ γίνεσθαι τότε ὀλιγανθρω-

[a] τοῦτο Bekker.

valent to ἀπρεπῆ ποιεῖν τὴν πολιτείαν. My construction is meant to express what I consider to be the meaning of the passage, rather than to keep close to the Greek words.

μετὰ γάρ] This mention of avarice leads me to speak of property.

14 ἧκεν] why ἧκεν, not ἥκει?

τοῦτο συμβαίνειν] If τοῦτο is kept, then it must be referred to εἰς ὀλίγους ἥκειν; but with Stahr I read ταὐτό, as giving by far the best sense: 'You have the same result either way.'

15 καὶ τῶν γυναικῶν] The καί seems superfluous: if kept it must be 'even.'

κἂν ἀποθάνῃ, κ.τ.λ.] 'And if a man has died intestate, then his heir, whoever he may be, has the disposal of the heiress.'

16 διὰ τῶν ἔργων αὐτῶν] 'By facts'—the actual course of events.

μίαν πληγήν] Leuctra. Grote, x. 263. It was fatal to Sparta, both on account of the large relative loss sustained, and also on account of her diminished prestige.

17 ἐπὶ τῶν πρότερων, κ.τ.λ.] It would appear (Grote, II. 549) that Aristotle is the only authority for this fact, which is said to imply the acquisition of additional lots of land. On the other hand, Herodotus, IX. 35, is very positive in his assertion that Tisamenus and Hegias μοῦνοι δὴ πάντων ἀνθρώπων ἐγένοντο Σπαρτιήτῃσι πολιῆται.

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πίαν πολεμούντων πολὺν χρόνον· καί φασιν εἶναί ποτε τοῖς
Σπαρτιάταις καὶ μυρίους. οὐ μὴν ἀλλ' εἴτ' ἐστὶν ἀληθῆ
ταῦτα εἴτε μή, βέλτιον τὸ διὰ τῆς κτήσεως ὡμαλισμένης
18 πληθύειν ἀνδρῶν τὴν πόλιν. ὑπεναντίος δὲ καὶ ὁ περὶ τὴν
1270 B τεκνοποιίαν νόμος πρὸς ταύτην τὴν διόρθωσιν. βουλόμενος
γὰρ ὁ νομοθέτης ὡς πλείστους εἶναι τοὺς Σπαρτιάτας, προ-
άγεται τοὺς πολίτας ὅτι πλείστους ποιεῖσθαι παῖδας· ἔστι
γὰρ αὐτοῖς νόμος τὸν μὲν γεννήσαντα τρεῖς υἱοὺς ἄφρουρον
19 εἶναι, τὸν δὲ τέτταρας ἀτελῆ πάντων. καίτοι φανερὸν ὅτι
πολλῶν γινομένων, τῆς δὲ χώρας οὕτω διῃρημένης, ἀναγκαῖον
πολλοὺς γίνεσθαι πένητας. Ἀλλὰ μὴν καὶ τὰ περὶ τὴν
ἐφορείαν ἔχει φαύλως· ἡ γὰρ ἀρχὴ κυρία μὲν αὕτη[a] τῶν με-
γίστων αὐτοῖς ἐστίν, γίνονται δ' ἐκ τοῦ δήμου πάντες, ὥστε
πολλάκις ἐμπίπτουσιν ἄνθρωποι σφόδρα πένητες εἰς τὸ ἀρ-
20 χεῖον, οἳ διὰ τὴν ἀπορίαν ὤνιοι ἦσαν. ἐδήλωσαν δὲ πολ-
λάκις μὲν καὶ πρότερον, καὶ νῦν δὲ ἐν τοῖς ἀνδρίοις· διαφθα-
ρέντες γὰρ ἀργυρίῳ τινές, ὅσον ἐφ' ἑαυτοῖς, ὅλην τὴν πόλιν
ἀπώλεσαν. καὶ διὰ τὸ τὴν ἀρχὴν εἶναι λίαν μεγάλην καὶ
ἰσοτύραννον δημαγωγεῖν αὐτοὺς ἠναγκάζοντο καὶ οἱ βασι-

[a] Bekker αὐτή.

καὶ μυρίους] In Herod. VII. 234. Demaratus estimates them at 8000.

18 *ὑπεναντίος, κ.τ.λ.*] 'Contrary to what is right when looked at in reference to this reform.'

ἄφρουρον] 'free from military service,' as, I think, Victorius and Schneider rightly interpret it; not "free from garrison duty," as Liddell and Scott translate it.

19 *αὐτή*] rather *αὕτη*.

ἦσαν] why this tense? Is it that in Aristotle's time it mattered little whether they were so or not, but that he is stating the result of historical experience during the period when the Spartan Ephors were the most important body in Greece.

20 *ἀνδρίοις*] The Oxford text reads *Ἀνδρίοις*; but it is better to keep the reading of the Berlin Edition, p. 1270. B. 12, and suppose that it refers to some misconduct of the Ephors in reference to the public mess, which, from X. 5, bore anciently the name of *ἄνδρια*. I cannot agree with Schneider, who thinks that misconduct relating to the syssitia could not be important. They were one of the most important features of the whole system, admission to them was the test of citizenship; and we can quite as easily conceive that their mismanagement threatened the safety of the state, as some misconduct that concerned the small island of Andros.

ὅσον ἐφ' ἑαυτοῖς] 'as far as depended on them.'

δημαγωγεῖν] 'to court them.'

λεῖς, ὥστε καὶ ταύτῃ συνεπιβλάπτεσθαι τὴν πολιτείαν· Sparta. δημοκρατία γὰρ ἐξ ἀριστοκρατίας συνέβαινεν. συνέχει μὲν 21 οὖν τὴν πολιτείαν τὸ ἀρχεῖον τοῦτο· ἡσυχάζει γὰρ ὁ δῆμος διὰ τὸ μετέχειν τῆς μεγίστης ἀρχῆς, ὥστ' εἴτε διὰ τὸν νομοθέτην εἴτε διὰ τύχην τοῦτο συμπέπτωκεν, συμφερόντως ἔχει τοῖς πράγμασιν. δεῖ γὰρ τὴν πολιτείαν τὴν μέλλουσαν 22 σώζεσθαι πάντα βούλεσθαι τὰ μέρη τῆς πόλεως εἶναι καὶ διαμένειν ταὐτά· οἱ μὲν οὖν βασιλεῖς διὰ τὴν αὑτῶν τιμὴν οὕτως ἔχουσιν, οἱ δὲ καλοὶ κἀγαθοὶ διὰ τὴν γερουσίαν (ἆθλον γὰρ ἡ ἀρχὴ αὕτη τῆς ἀρετῆς ἐστίν), ὁ δὲ δῆμος διὰ τὴν ἐφορείαν· καθίσταται γὰρ ἐξ ἁπάντων. ἀλλ' αἱρετὴν ἔδει 23 τὴν ἀρχὴν εἶναι ταύτην ἐξ ἁπάντων μέν, μὴ τὸν τρόπον δὲ τοῦτον ὃν νῦν· παιδαριώδης γάρ ἐστι λίαν. ἔτι δὲ καὶ κρίσεών εἰσι μεγάλων κύριοι, ὄντες οἱ τυχόντες, διόπερ οὐκ αὐτογνώμονας βέλτιον κρίνειν ἀλλὰ κατὰ τὰ γράμματα καὶ τοὺς νόμους. ἔστι δὲ καὶ ἡ δίαιτα τῶν ἐφόρων οὐχ ὁμολο- 24 γουμένη τῷ βουλήματι τῆς πόλεως· αὐτὴ μὲν γὰρ ἀνειμένη λίαν ἐστίν, ἐν δὲ τοῖς ἄλλοις μᾶλλον ὑπερβάλλει ἐπὶ τὸ σκληρόν, ὥστε μὴ δύνασθαι καρτερεῖν ἀλλὰ λάθρᾳ τὸν νόμον ἀποδιδράσκοντας ἀπολαύειν τῶν σωματικῶν ἡδονῶν. Ἔχει δὲ καὶ τὰ περὶ τὴν τῶν γερόντων ἀρχὴν οὐ καλῶς αὐ-

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συνεπιβλάπτεσθαι] through the disturbance of the kingly functions over and above the flaws in the Ephoralty.

22 *τὴν πολιτείαν τὴν μέλλουσαν, κ.τ.λ.*] *τὴν πολιτείαν* is the accusative before *βούλεσθαι*, the subject of the verb, not its object. The only difficulty lies in *ταὐτά*, which I cannot but consider an inaccuracy, introduced by a species of attraction to *τὰ μέρη*. Schneider agrees, as does Corai, but Stahr dissents, and construes the passage so as to keep *ταὐτά*; but surely the context is against this; the *οὕτως ἔχουσιν οἱ βασιλεῖς* is equivalent to *βούλονται οἱ βασιλεῖς τὴν πολιτείαν εἶναι καὶ διαμένειν*.

οἱ καλοὶ κἀγαθοί] in the political sense—the upper classes, not without some admixture of the moral sense.

23 *παιδαριώδης*] This leaves it quite uncertain what the method was, Grote, II. 463.

αὐτογνώμονας] 'merely on their own judgment.'

24 *οὐχ ὁμολογουμένη*] 'not in accordance with, not consistent with,' Grote, II. 468.

αὐτή] better *αὕτη*.

μὴ δύνασθαι καρτερεῖν] Comp. Nieb. Pref. Vol. I. xxvii.: "Theirs was no state of unnatural constraint, such as under the laws of Sparta, where in the opinion of other Greeks the contempt of death was natural, because death burst an intolerable yoke."

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τιον. ἔχει γάρ, ὥσπερ εἴπομεν, ἀπορίαν καὶ δόξειεν ἂν βέλτιον εἶναι τὸ κινεῖν· ἐπὶ γοῦν τῶν ἄλλων ἐπιστημῶν τοῦτο συνενήνοχεν, οἷον ἰατρικὴ κινηθεῖσα παρὰ τὰ πάτρια καὶ γυμναστικὴ καὶ ὅλως αἱ τέχναι πᾶσαι καὶ αἱ δυνάμεις, ὥστ' ἐπεὶ μίαν τούτων θετέον καὶ τὴν πολιτικήν, δῆλον ὅτι καὶ
19 περὶ ταύτην ἀναγκαῖον ὁμοίως ἔχειν. σημεῖον δ' ἂν γεγονέναι φαίη τις ἐπ' αὐτῶν τῶν ἔργων· τοὺς γὰρ ἀρχαίους νόμους λίαν ἁπλοῦς εἶναι καὶ βαρβαρικούς. ἐσιδηροφοροῦντό τε γὰρ οἱ Ἕλληνες, καὶ τὰς γυναῖκας ἐωνοῦντο παρ' ἀλλή-
20 λων. ὅσα τε λοιπὰ τῶν ἀρχαίων ἐστί που νομίμων, εὐήθη
269 πάμπαν ἐστίν, οἷον ἐν Κύμῃ περὶ τὰ φονικὰ νόμος ἐστίν, ἂν πλῆθός τι παράσχηται μαρτύρων ὁ διώκων τὸν φόνον τῶν
21 αὑτοῦ συγγενῶν, ἔνοχον εἶναι τῷ φόνῳ τὸν φεύγοντα. ζητοῦσι δ' ὅλως οὐ τὸ πάτριον ἀλλὰ τἀγαθὸν πάντες· εἰκός τε τοὺς πρώτους, εἴτε γηγενεῖς ἦσαν εἴτ' ἐκ φθορᾶς τινὸς ἐσώθησαν, ὁμοίους εἶναι καὶ τοὺς τυχόντας καὶ τοὺς ἀνοήτους ὥσπερ καὶ λέγεται κατὰ τῶν γηγενῶν, ὥστ' ατοπον τὸ μένειν ἐν τοῖς τούτων δόγμασιν. πρὸς δὲ τούτοις οὐδὲ τοὺς γεγραμμένους ἐᾶν ἀκινήτους βέλτιον. ὥσπερ γὰρ καὶ περὶ τὰς ἄλλας τέχνας, καὶ τὴν πολιτικὴν τάξιν ἀδύνατον ἀκριβῶς πάντα γραφῆναι· καθόλου γὰρ ἀναγκαῖον γραφῆναι, αἱ δὲ πράξεις περὶ τῶν καθ' ἕκαστόν εἰσιν. Ἐκ μὲν οὖν

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18 *ἔχει γάρ, κ.τ.λ.*] He first gives the reasons in favour of change to the middle of § 22.

19 *ἀρχαίους νόμους*] rather 'customs' than laws, '*instituta*.' Comparing *γεγραμμένους* in § 21, here we have *ἄγραφοι νόμοι*.

ἐσιδηροφοροῦντο] Thuc. I. 5, 6.

ἐωνοῦντο] Comp. Grote, II. 112, note.

20 *ἐν Κύμῃ*] Grote, II. 126, not.: "If the accuser produced in support of his charge a certain number of witnesses from his own kindred, the person was held peremptorily guilty."

ὁ διώκων τὸν φόνον] Comp. Eurip. *Or*. 1534: *τὸν Ἑλένης φόνον διώκων*,

21 *ζητοῦσι δέ, κ.τ.λ.*] 'In fact what men look for in all cases is not the old but the good.'

ἐκ φθορᾶς τινὸς ἐσώθησαν] Compare a passage in Plato, *Legg*. III. 677. a.: *τὸ πολλὰς ἀνθρώπων φθορὰς γεγονέναι κατακλυσμοῖς τε καὶ νόσοις καὶ ἄλλοις πολλοῖς, ἐν οἷς βραχύ τι τῶν ἀνθρώπων λείπεσθαι γένος*. Compare in *Politicus*, 270.

ὁμοίους εἶναι καί] The construction is the same as *ἴσα καί*, 'on a level with quite ordinary men in intelligence, or even simply below the ordinary standard.'

22 *ἐκ μὲν οὖν τούτων, κ.τ.λ.*] 'On these grounds then it is evident that

τούτων φανερὸν ὅτι κινητέοι καὶ τινὲς καὶ ποτὲ τῶν νόμων εἰσίν, ἄλλον δὲ τρόπον ἐπισκοποῦσιν εὐλαβείας ἂν δόξειεν εἶναι πολλῆς. ὅταν γὰρ ᾖ τὸ μὲν βέλτιον μικρόν, τὸ δ' 23 ἐθίζειν εὐχερῶς λύειν τοὺς νόμους φαῦλον, φανερὸν ὡς ἐατέον ἐνίας ἁμαρτίας καὶ τῶν νομοθετῶν καὶ τῶν ἀρχόντων· οὐ γὰρ τοσοῦτον ὠφελήσεται κινήσας, ὅσον βλαβήσεται τοῖς ἄρχουσιν ἀπειθεῖν ἐθισθείς. ψεῦδος δὲ καὶ τὸ παράδειγμα 24 τὸ περὶ τῶν τεχνῶν· οὐ γὰρ ὅμοιον τὸ κινεῖν τέχνην καὶ νόμον. ὁ γὰρ νόμος ἰσχὺν οὐδεμίαν ἔχει πρὸς τὸ πείθεσθαι πλὴν παρὰ τὸ ἔθος, τοῦτο δ' οὐ γίνεται εἰ μὴ διὰ χρόνου πλῆθος, ὥστε τὸ ῥᾳδίως μεταβάλλειν ἐκ τῶν ὑπαρχόντων νόμων εἰς ἑτέρους νόμους καινοὺς ἀσθενῆ ποιεῖν ἐστὶ τὴν τοῦ νόμου δύναμιν. ἔτι δ' εἰ καὶ κινητέοι, πότερον 25 καὶ πάντες καὶ ἐν πάσῃ πολιτείᾳ, ἢ οὔ; καὶ πότερον τῷ τυχόντι ἢ τισίν; ταῦτα γὰρ ἔχει μεγάλην διαφοράν. διὸ νῦν μὲν ἀφῶμεν ταύτην τὴν σκέψιν· ἄλλων γάρ ἐστι καιρῶν.

Hippodamus.

Περὶ δὲ τῆς Λακεδαιμονίων πολιτείας καὶ τῆς Κρητικῆς, 9 σχεδὸν δὲ καὶ περὶ τῶν ἄλλων πολιτειῶν, δύο εἰσὶν αἱ σκέψεις, μία μὲν εἴ τι καλῶς ἢ μὴ καλῶς πρὸς τὴν ἀρίστην νενομοθέτηται τάξιν, ἑτέρα δ' εἴ τι πρὸς τὴν ὑπόθεσιν καὶ τὸν τρόπον ὑπεναντίως τῆς προκειμένης αὐτοῖς πολιτείας. Ὅτι 2

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there must be a change in some laws, and at certain times; but looking at it from a different point of view, it would seem that great caution is required.'

23 τῶν νομοθετῶν καὶ τῶν ἀρχόντων] 'both in the legislator and the executive magistrates.'

κινήσας] is the citizen under the law.

24 ὁ γὰρ νόμος] 'Whatever force the law has to secure obedience is entirely dependent on habit.' Comp. Arnold's *Rome*, Vol. II. p. 55: "The ancient heathen world craved, what all men must crave, an authoritative rule of conduct; and not finding it elsewhere, they imagined it to exist in the fundamental and original laws of each particular race or people. To destroy this sanction without having any thing to substitute in its place, was deeply perilous; and reason has been but too seldom possessed of power sufficient to recommend its truths to the mass of mankind by their own sole authority."

25 τῷ τυχόντι ἢ τισίν;] 'Is it open to any given person to propose the change, or to some definite number?'

IX. 1 δύο εἰσὶν αἱ σκέψεις, κ.τ.λ.] 'There are two points for consideration; the one, is any given part of their legislation right or wrong when viewed with reference to the best possible arrangement? the other, is it contrary to the idea and general system of the constitution actually established?'

[illegible] τὴν τῶν ἀναγ-
[illegible] ἐστιν· τίνα δὲ τρό-
[illegible] ἥ τε γὰρ Θετταλῶν πε-
[illegible] ὁμοίως δὲ καὶ τοῖς
[illegible] τοῖς ἀτυχή-
[illegible] Κρῆτας [illegible] τοιοῦτον
[illegible] πόλεις, καίπερ
[illegible] τοῖς ἀφιστα-
[illegible] περιοί-
[illegible] πάντες ἦσαν,
[illegible] καὶ τοῖς Θεττα-
[illegible] ἔτι τοῖς προσ-
[illegible] ἔοικε δὲ
[illegible] ἐργῶδες εἶναι,
[illegible] τε γὰρ
[illegible] κυρίοις, καὶ
[illegible] δῆλον οὖν
[illegible] τοῦτο συμ-
[illegible] τὰς γυναῖκας
[illegible] βλαβερὰ καὶ
[illegible] μέρος ἀνὴρ

[illegible]

[illegible] and foll.

[illegible]] 'watching for.'

[illegible] the common interest of [illegible] Crete to make common [illegible] against the serf population.

[illegible]] These then were [illegible], but tribes more in the [illegible] Laconian Periœci.

[illegible]] 'If left unchecked.'

[illegible] 'if harshly treated.'

[illegible]] 'When this is [illegible] they arrive at in re[illegible] their Helots.'

[illegible] τῆς πολιτείας] = [illegible] of § 1. and πρὸς εὐδαιμο-[illegible]

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καὶ γυνή, δῆλον ὅτι καὶ πόλιν ἐγγὺς τοῦ δίχα διῃρῆσθαι δεῖ
νομίζειν εἴς τε τὸ τῶν ἀνδρῶν πλῆθος καὶ τὸ τῶν γυναικῶν,
ὥστ' ἐν ὅσαις πολιτείαις φαύλως ἔχει τὸ περὶ τὰς γυναῖκας,
τὸ ἥμισυ τῆς πόλεως εἶναι δεῖ νομίζειν ἀνομοθέτητον. ὅπερ 6
ἐκεῖ συμβέβηκεν· ὅλην γὰρ τὴν πόλιν ὁ νομοθέτης εἶναι βου-
λόμενος καρτερικήν, κατὰ μὲν τοὺς ἄνδρας φανερός ἐστι τοι-
οῦτος ὤν, ἐπὶ δὲ τῶν γυναικῶν ἐξημέληκεν· ζῶσι γὰρ ἀκο-
λάστως πρὸς ἅπασαν ἀκολασίαν καὶ τρυφερῶς. ὥστ' ἀναγ- 7
καῖον ἐν τῇ τοιαύτῃ πολιτείᾳ τιμᾶσθαι τὸν πλοῦτον, ἄλλως
τε κἂν τύχωσι γυναικοκρατούμενοι, καθάπερ τὰ πολλὰ τῶν
στρατιωτικῶν καὶ πολεμικῶν γενῶν, ἔξω Κελτῶν ἢ κἂν εἴ
τινες ἕτεροι φανερῶς τετιμήκασι τὴν πρὸς τοὺς ἄρρενας συν-
ουσίαν. ἔοικε γὰρ ὁ μυθολογήσας πρῶτος οὐκ ἀλόγως συ- 8
ζεῦξαι τὸν Ἄρη πρὸς τὴν Ἀφροδίτην· ἢ γὰρ πρὸς τὴν
τῶν ἀρρένων ὁμιλίαν ἢ πρὸς τὴν τῶν γυναικῶν φαίνονται
κατακώχιμοι πάντες οἱ τοιοῦτοι. διὸ παρὰ τοῖς Λάκωσι
τοῦθ' ὑπῆρχεν, καὶ πολλὰ διῳκεῖτο ὑπὸ τῶν γυναικῶν ἐπὶ
τῆς ἀρχῆς αὐτῶν. καίτοι τί διαφέρει γυναῖκας ἄρχειν ἢ 9
τοὺς ἄρχοντας ὑπὸ τῶν γυναικῶν ἄρχεσθαι; ταὐτὸ γὰρ
συμβαίνει. χρησίμου δ' οὔσης τῆς θρασύτητος πρὸς οὐδὲν
τῶν ἐγκυκλίων, ἀλλ' εἴπερ πρὸς τὸν πόλεμον, βλαβερώταται
καὶ πρὸς ταῦθ' αἱ τῶν Λακώνων ἦσαν. ἐδήλωσαν δ' ἐπὶ 10

δίχα διῃρῆσθαι] 'divided into two equal parts.'

ὥστ' ἐν ὅσαις, κ.τ.λ.] We have the same language in I. XIII. 15, 16.

6 ὅπερ ἐκεῖ] 'This actually was the result at Sparta.'

7 To gratify this unbridled luxury money will be wanted, especially if the men are inclined to submit to the government of the women. A high value therefore will be set on wealth. Comp. Grote, II. 513.

8 ἔοικε γάρ] The γάρ refers to the words τὰ πολλὰ τῶν πολεμικῶν γενῶν.

κατακώχιμοι] *Eth.* X. X. 3. p. 1179, b. 9, the same word occurs but spelt differently, κατοκώχιμος, 'easily led,' 'inclined to.'

τοῦθ'] sc. τὸ γυναικοκρατεῖσθαι.

ἐπὶ τῆς ἀρχῆς αὐτῶν] 'during the period of the Spartan Empire.'

9 ἐγκυκλίων] I. VII. 2, the word occurs with a substantive, διακονήματα.

10 ἐδήλωσαν, κ.τ.λ.] Mr Grote, in his notice of this passage, II. 507, note 3, thinks that Aristotle is hard on the Spartan women, that "he probably had formed to himself exaggerated notions of what their courage under such circumstances ought to have been, as the result of their peculiar training. We may add that their violent demonstrations on that trying occasion may well have arisen quite

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τῆς Θηβαίων ἐμβολῆς· χρήσιμοι μὲν γὰρ οὐδὲν ἦσαν, ὥσπερ
ἐν ἑτέραις πόλεσιν, θόρυβον δὲ παρεῖχον πλείω τῶν πολε-
μίων. ἐξ ἀρχῆς μὲν οὖν ἔοικε συμβεβηκέναι τοῖς Λάκωσιν
1270 11 εὐλόγως ἡ τῶν γυναικῶν ἄνεσις. ἔξω γὰρ τῆς οἰκείας διὰ
τὰς στρατείας ἀπεξενοῦντο πολὺν χρόνον, πολεμοῦντες τόν
τε πρὸς Ἀργείους πόλεμον καὶ πάλιν τὸν πρὸς Ἀρκάδας
καὶ Μεσσηνίους· σχολάσαντες δὲ αὐτοὺς μὲν παρεῖχον τῷ
νομοθέτῃ προῳδοπεποιημένους διὰ τὸν στρατιωτικὸν βίον
(πολλὰ γὰρ ἔχει μέρη τῆς ἀρετῆς), τὰς δὲ γυναῖκας φασὶ
μὲν ἄγειν ἐπιχειρῆσαι τὸν Λυκοῦργον ἐπὶ τοὺς νόμους, ὡς
12 δ' ἀντέκρουον, ἀποστῆναι πάλιν. αἰτίαι μὲν οὖν εἰσὶν αὗται
τῶν γενομένων, ὥστε δῆλον ὅτι καὶ ταύτης τῆς ἁμαρτίας.
ἀλλ' ἡμεῖς οὐ τοῦτο σκοποῦμεν, τίνι δεῖ συγγνώμην ἔχειν
13 ἢ μὴ ἔχειν, ἀλλὰ περὶ τοῦ ὀρθῶς καὶ μὴ ὀρθῶς. Τὰ δὲ περὶ
τὰς γυναῖκας ἔχοντα μὴ καλῶς ἔοικεν, ὥσπερ ἐλέχθη καὶ
πρότερον, οὐ μόνον ἀπρέπειάν τινα ποιεῖν τῆς πολιτείας αὐ-
τὴν καθ' αὑτήν, ἀλλὰ συμβάλλεσθαί τι πρὸς τὴν φιλοχρη-

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as much from the agony of wounded honour as from fear, when we consider what an event the appearance of a conquering army in Sparta was." Compare also, Vol. x. 304, the account of the Theban Invasion alluded to by Aristotle.

εὐλόγως] The lax discipline of the Spartan women can be accounted for without difficulty.

11 ἀπεξενοῦντο] 'They lived away from.'

πολεμοῦντες, κ.τ.λ.] On these early wars of Sparta with its neighbours, see Grote, Vol. II. 555, and foll. chapters VII. VIII.

αὐτοὺς μέν, κ.τ.λ.] 'So far as they themselves went they presented themselves to their legislator ready prepared for his operations.' Does not the whole passage seem to imply that Aristotle placed Lycurgus much later than he is usually placed, after these wars in fact; whereas the general view is that the Spartan successes in these wars were in a great degree attributable to his measures of reform.

πολλὰ γὰρ ἔχει μέρη τῆς ἀρετῆς] Compare on this subject Arnold's *Lectures on Modern History*, Lect. I. pp. 10, 11.

ὡς δ' ἀντέκρουον, κ.τ.λ.] 'but as they resisted, he desisted.' Grote, II. 508.

12 αὗται] The women.

13 οὐ μόνον, κ.τ.λ.] 'not only to introduce a certain disorder and indecorum into the social relations within its own natural sphere, but to contribute considerably to the tendency to avarice.'

αὐτὴν καθ' αὑτήν] αὐτῆς καθ' αὑτὴν would seem more natural, connecting it with πολιτείας; or the neuter plural, if it is connected with τὰ περὶ τὰς γυναῖκας. As it stands it must be connected grammatically with ἀπρέπειαν, and ἀπρέπειάν τινα ποιεῖν τῆς πολιτείας must be looked on as equi-

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ματίαν. μετὰ γὰρ τὰ νῦν ῥηθέντα τοῖς περὶ τὴν ἀνωμα-
λίαν τῆς κτήσεως ἐπιτιμήσειεν ἄν τις. τοῖς μὲν γὰρ αὐτῶν 14
συμβέβηκε κεκτῆσθαι πολλὴν λίαν οὐσίαν, τοῖς δὲ τάμπαν
μικράν· διόπερ εἰς ὀλίγους ἧκεν ἡ χώρα. τοῦτο δὲ καὶ διὰ
τῶν νόμων τέτακται φαύλως· ὠνεῖσθαι μὲν γὰρ ἢ πωλεῖν τὴν
ὑπάρχουσαν ἐποίησεν οὐ καλόν, ὀρθῶς ποιήσας, διδόναι δὲ
καὶ καταλείπειν ἐξουσίαν ἔδωκε τοῖς βουλομένοις· καίτοι
ταὐτό[a] συμβαίνειν ἀναγκαῖον ἐκείνως τε καὶ οὕτως. ἔστι 15
δὲ καὶ τῶν γυναικῶν σχεδὸν τῆς πάσης χώρας τῶν πέντε
μερῶν τὰ δύο, τῶν τ᾽ ἐπικλήρων πολλῶν γινομένων, καὶ διὰ
τὸ προῖκας διδόναι μεγάλας. καίτοι βέλτιον ἦν μηδεμίαν
ἢ ὀλίγην ἢ καὶ μετρίαν τετάχθαι. νῦν δ᾽ ἔξεστι δοῦναί τε
τὴν ἐπίκληρον ὅτῳ ἂν βούληται· κἂν ἀποθάνῃ μὴ διαθέμε-
νος, ὃν ἂν καταλίπῃ κληρονόμον, οὗτος ᾧ ἂν θέλῃ δίδωσιν.
τοιγαροῦν δυναμένης τῆς χώρας χιλίους ἱππεῖς τρέφειν καὶ 16
πεντακοσίους καὶ ὁπλίτας τρισμυρίους, οὐδὲ χίλιοι τὸ πλῆ-
θος ἦσαν. γέγονε δὲ διὰ τῶν ἔργων αὐτῶν δῆλον ὅτι φαύλως
αὐτοῖς εἶχε τὰ περὶ τὴν τάξιν ταύτην· μίαν γὰρ πληγὴν
οὐχ ὑπήνεγκεν ἡ πόλις, ἀλλ᾽ ἀπώλετο διὰ τὴν ὀλιγανθρω-
πίαν. λέγουσι δ᾽ ὡς ἐπὶ μὲν τῶν προτέρων βασιλέων μετε- 17
δίδοσαν τῆς πολιτείας, ὥστ᾽ οὐ γίνεσθαι τότε ὀλιγανθρω-

[a] τοῦτο Bekker.

valent to ἀπρεπῆ ποιεῖν τὴν πολιτείαν. My construction is meant to express what I consider to be the meaning of the passage, rather than to keep close to the Greek words.

μετὰ γάρ] This mention of avarice leads me to speak of property.

14 *ἧκεν*] why *ἧκεν*, not *ἥκει*?

τοῦτο συμβαίνειν] If *τοῦτο* is kept, then it must be referred to *εἰς ὀλίγους ἥκειν*; but with Stahr I read *ταὐτό*, as giving by far the best sense: 'You have the same result either way.'

15 *καὶ τῶν γυναικῶν*] The *καί* seems superfluous: if kept it must be 'even.'

κἂν ἀποθάνῃ, κ.τ.λ.] 'And if a man has died intestate, then his heir, whoever he may be, has the disposal of the heiress.'

16 *διὰ τῶν ἔργων αὐτῶν*] 'By facts'—the actual course of events.

μίαν πληγήν] Leuctra. Grote, x. 263. It was fatal to Sparta, both on account of the large relative loss sustained, and also on account of her diminished prestige.

17 *ἐπὶ τῶν πρότερων, κ.τ.λ.*] It would appear (Grote, II. 549) that Aristotle is the only authority for this fact, which is said to imply the acquisition of additional lots of land. On the other hand, Herodotus, IX. 35, is very positive in his assertion that Tisamenus and Hegias *μοῦνοι δὴ πάντων ἀνθρώπων ἐγένοντο Σπαρτιήτῃσι πολιῆται.*

Sparta. πίαν πολεμούντων πολὺν χρόνον· καί φασιν εἶναί ποτε τοῖς
Σπαρτιάταις καὶ μυρίους. οὐ μὴν ἀλλ' εἴτ' ἐστὶν ἀληθῆ
ταῦτα εἴτε μή, βέλτιον τὸ διὰ τῆς κτήσεως ὡμαλισμένης
18 πληθύειν ἀνδρῶν τὴν πόλιν. ὑπεναντίος δὲ καὶ ὁ περὶ τὴν
1270 B τεκνοποιίαν νόμος πρὸς ταύτην τὴν διόρθωσιν. βουλόμενος
γὰρ ὁ νομοθέτης ὡς πλείστους εἶναι τοὺς Σπαρτιάτας, προάγεται τοὺς πολίτας ὅτι πλείστους ποιεῖσθαι παῖδας· ἔστι
γὰρ αὐτοῖς νόμος τὸν μὲν γεννήσαντα τρεῖς υἱοὺς ἄφρουρον
19 εἶναι, τὸν δὲ τέτταρας ἀτελῆ πάντων. καίτοι φανερὸν ὅτι
πολλῶν γινομένων, τῆς δὲ χώρας οὕτω διῃρημένης, ἀναγκαῖον
πολλοὺς γίνεσθαι πένητας. Ἀλλὰ μὴν καὶ τὰ περὶ τὴν
ἐφορείαν ἔχει φαύλως· ἡ γὰρ ἀρχὴ κυρία μὲν αὕτη[a] τῶν μεγίστων αὐτοῖς ἐστίν, γίνονται δ' ἐκ τοῦ δήμου πάντες, ὥστε
πολλάκις ἐμπίπτουσιν ἄνθρωποι σφόδρα πένητες εἰς τὸ ἀρ-
20 χεῖον, οἳ διὰ τὴν ἀπορίαν ὤνιοι ἦσαν. ἐδήλωσαν δὲ πολλάκις μὲν καὶ πρότερον, καὶ νῦν δὲ ἐν τοῖς ἀνδρίοις· διαφθαρέντες γὰρ ἀργυρίῳ τινές, ὅσον ἐφ' ἑαυτοῖς, ὅλην τὴν πόλιν ἀπώλεσαν. καὶ διὰ τὸ τὴν ἀρχὴν εἶναι λίαν μεγάλην καὶ ἰσοτύραννον δημαγωγεῖν αὐτοὺς ἠναγκάζοντο καὶ οἱ βασι-

[a] Bekker αὐτή.

καὶ μυρίους] In Herod. VII. 234. Demaratus estimates them at 8000.

18 ὑπεναντίος, κ.τ.λ.] 'Contrary to what is right when looked at in reference to this reform.'

ἄφρουρον] 'free from military service,' as, I think, Victorius and Schneider rightly interpret it; not "free from garrison duty," as Liddell and Scott translate it.

19 αὐτή] rather αὕτη.

ἦσαν] why this tense? Is it that in Aristotle's time it mattered little whether they were so or not, but that he is stating the result of historical experience during the period when the Spartan Ephors were the most important body in Greece.

20 ἀνδρίοις] The Oxford text reads Ἀνδρίοις; but it is better to keep the reading of the Berlin Edition, p. 1270. B. 12, and suppose that it refers to some misconduct of the Ephors in reference to the public mess, which, from X. 5, bore anciently the name of ἄνδρια. I cannot agree with Schneider, who thinks that misconduct relating to the syssitia could not be important. They were one of the most important features of the whole system, admission to them was the test of citizenship; and we can quite as easily conceive that their mismanagement threatened the safety of the state, as some misconduct that concerned the small island of Andros.

ὅσον ἐφ' ἑαυτοῖς] 'as far as depended on them.'

δημαγωγεῖν] 'to court them.'

λεῖς, ὥστε καὶ ταύτῃ συνεπιβλάπτεσθαι τὴν πολιτείαν· Sparta.
δημοκρατία γὰρ ἐξ ἀριστοκρατίας συνέβαινεν. συνέχει μὲν 21
οὖν τὴν πολιτείαν τὸ ἀρχεῖον τοῦτο· ἡσυχάζει γὰρ ὁ δῆμος
διὰ τὸ μετέχειν τῆς μεγίστης ἀρχῆς, ὥστ' εἴτε διὰ τὸν
νομοθέτην εἴτε διὰ τύχην τοῦτο συμπέπτωκεν, συμφερόντως
ἔχει τοῖς πράγμασιν. δεῖ γὰρ τὴν πολιτείαν τὴν μέλλουσαν 22
σώζεσθαι πάντα βούλεσθαι τὰ μέρη τῆς πόλεως εἶναι καὶ
διαμένειν ταὐτά· οἱ μὲν οὖν βασιλεῖς διὰ τὴν αὐτῶν τιμὴν
οὕτως ἔχουσιν, οἱ δὲ καλοὶ κἀγαθοὶ διὰ τὴν γερουσίαν (ἆθ-
λον γὰρ ἡ ἀρχὴ αὕτη τῆς ἀρετῆς ἐστίν), ὁ δὲ δῆμος διὰ τὴν
ἐφορείαν· καθίσταται γὰρ ἐξ ἁπάντων. ἀλλ' αἱρετὴν ἔδει 23
τὴν ἀρχὴν εἶναι ταύτην ἐξ ἁπάντων μέν, μὴ τὸν τρόπον δὲ
τοῦτον ὃν νῦν· παιδαριώδης γάρ ἐστι λίαν. ἔτι δὲ καὶ κρί-
σεων εἰσὶ μεγάλων κύριοι, ὄντες οἱ τυχόντες, διόπερ οὐκ
αὐτογνώμονας βέλτιον κρίνειν ἀλλὰ κατὰ τὰ γράμματα καὶ
τοὺς νόμους. ἔστι δὲ καὶ ἡ δίαιτα τῶν ἐφόρων οὐχ ὁμολο- 24
γουμένη τῷ βουλήματι τῆς πόλεως· αὐτὴ μὲν γὰρ ἀνειμένη
λίαν ἐστίν, ἐν δὲ τοῖς ἄλλοις μᾶλλον ὑπερβάλλει ἐπὶ τὸ
σκληρόν, ὥστε μὴ δύνασθαι καρτερεῖν ἀλλὰ λάθρᾳ τὸν
νόμον ἀποδιδράσκοντας ἀπολαύειν τῶν σωματικῶν ἡδονῶν.
Ἔχει δὲ καὶ τὰ περὶ τὴν τῶν γερόντων ἀρχὴν οὐ καλῶς αὐ-

συνεπιβλάπτεσθαι] through the disturbance of the kingly functions over and above the flaws in the Ephoralty.

22 τὴν πολιτείαν τὴν μέλλουσαν, κ.τ.λ.] τὴν πολιτείαν is the accusative before βούλεσθαι, the subject of the verb, not its object. The only difficulty lies in ταὐτά, which I cannot but consider an inaccuracy, introduced by a species of attraction to τὰ μέρη. Schneider agrees, as does Corai, but Stahr dissents, and construes the passage so as to keep ταὐτά; but surely the context is against this; the οὕτως ἔχουσιν οἱ βασιλεῖς is equivalent to βούλονται οἱ βασιλεῖς τὴν πολιτείαν εἶναι καὶ διαμένειν.

οἱ καλοὶ κἀγαθοί] in the political sense—the upper classes, not without some admixture of the moral sense.

23 παιδαριώδης] This leaves it quite uncertain what the method was, Grote, II. 463.

αὐτογνώμονας] 'merely on their own judgment.'

24 οὐχ ὁμολογουμένη] 'not in accordance with, not consistent with,' Grote, II. 468.

αὐτή] better αὕτη.

μὴ δύνασθαι καρτερεῖν] Comp. Nieb. Pref. Vol. I. xxvii.: "Theirs was no state of unnatural constraint, such as under the laws of Sparta, where in the opinion of other Greeks the contempt of death was natural, because death burst an intolerable yoke."

Sparta. τοῖς. ἐπιεικῶν μὲν γὰρ ὄντων καὶ πεπαιδευμένων ἱκανῶς
25 πρὸς ἀνδραγαθίαν τάχ' ἂν εἴπειέ τις συμφέρειν τῇ πόλει. καίτοι τό γε διὰ βίου κυρίους εἶναι κρίσεων μεγάλων ἀμφισβητήσιμον· ἔστι γάρ, ὥσπερ καὶ σώματος, καὶ διανοίας
1271 γῆρας. τὸν τρόπον δὲ τοῦτον πεπαιδευμένων ὥστε καὶ τὸν νομοθέτην αὐτὸν ἀπιστεῖν ὡς οὐκ ἀγαθοῖς ἀνδράσιν, οὐκ
26 ἀσφαλές. φαίνονται δὲ καὶ καταδωροδοκούμενοι καὶ καταχαριζόμενοι πολλὰ τῶν κοινῶν οἱ κεκοινωνηκότες τῆς ἀρχῆς ταύτης. διόπερ βέλτιον αὐτοὺς μὴ ἀνευθύνους εἶναι· νῦν δ' εἰσίν. δόξειε δ' ἂν ἡ τῶν ἐφόρων ἀρχὴ πάσας εὐθύνειν τὰς ἀρχάς· τοῦτο δὲ τῇ ἐφορείᾳ μέγα λίαν τὸ δῶρον, καὶ τὸν
27 τρόπον οὐ τοῦτον λέγομεν διδόναι δεῖν τὰς εὐθύνας. ἔτι δὲ καὶ τὴν αἵρεσιν ἣν ποιοῦνται τῶν γερόντων, κατά τε τὴν κρίσιν ἐστὶ παιδαριώδης, καὶ τὸ αὐτὸν αἰτεῖσθαι τὸν ἀξιωθησόμενον τῆς ἀρχῆς οὐκ ὀρθῶς ἔχει· δεῖ γὰρ καὶ βουλόμε-
28 νον καὶ μὴ βουλόμενον ἄρχειν τὸν ἄξιον τῆς ἀρχῆς. νῦν δ' ὅπερ καὶ περὶ τὴν ἄλλην πολιτείαν ὁ νομοθέτης φαίνεται ποιῶν· φιλοτίμους γὰρ κατασκευάζων τοὺς πολίτας τούτοις κέχρηται πρὸς τὴν αἵρεσιν τῶν γερόντων· οὐδεὶς γὰρ ἂν ἄρχειν αἰτήσαιτο μὴ φιλότιμος ὤν· καίτοι τῶν γ' ἀδικημάτων ἑκουσίων τὰ πλεῖστα συμβαίνει σχεδὸν διὰ φιλοτιμίαν
29 καὶ διὰ φιλοχρηματίαν τοῖς ἀνθρώποις. Περὶ δὲ βασιλείας, εἰ μὲν μὴ βέλτιόν ἐστιν ὑπάρχειν ταῖς πόλεσιν ἢ βέλτιον,

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25 καίτοι] 'and yet even then it would be questionable policy.' Grote, II. 475.

τὸν τρόπον δὲ τοῦτον, κ.τ.λ.] 'But when so educated that even their lawgiver himself distrusts them.'

26 Grote, v. 483, quotes this judgment as the basis for an inference as to the effect at Athens of the Elders sitting for life.

ἀνευθύνους] 'irresponsible,' 'without accountability.'

εὐθύνειν] 'check, or control.' Grote, II. 472.

27 αὐτὸν αἰτεῖσθαι] 'to canvass personally.'

28 ὅπερ καί, κ.τ.λ.] Compare below, § 37, ἀποβέβηκε τοὐναντίον. So here, the legislator has completely failed in attaining a correct view of what is required.

φιλοτίμους γάρ, κ.τ.λ.] 'For it is from his wish to make his citizens ambitious that he adopts these means in the election of the Senate.' τούτοις, not τοὺς πολίτας, but the sanction given to personal canvassing.

οὐδεὶς γάρ] refers to the κατασκευάζων. I attribute this object to him, 'for evidently no one would ask for office unless he were ambitious.'

29 εἰ μὲν μὴ βέλτιόν ἐστιν] The

Sparta.

ἄλλος ἔστω λόγος. ἀλλὰ μὴν βέλτιόν γε μὴ καθάπερ νῦν, ἀλλὰ κατὰ τὸν αὐτοῦ βίον ἕκαστον κρίνεσθαι τῶν βασιλέων. ὅτι δ' ὁ νομοθέτης οὐδ' αὐτὸς οἴεται δύνασθαι ποιεῖν καλοὺς 30
κἀγαθούς, δῆλον· ἀπιστεῖ γοῦν ὡς οὐκ οὖσιν ἱκανῶς ἀγαθοῖς ἀνδράσιν· διόπερ ἐξέπεμπον συμπρεσβευτὰς τοὺς ἐχθρούς, καὶ σωτηρίαν ἐνόμιζον τῇ πόλει εἶναι τὸ στασιάζειν τοὺς βασιλεῖς. Οὐ καλῶς δ' οὐδὲ περὶ τὰ συσσίτια τὰ καλούμενα φιδίτια νενομοθέτηται τῷ καταστήσαντι πρῶτον. ἔδει γὰρ 31
ἀπὸ κοινοῦ μᾶλλον εἶναι τὴν σύνοδον, καθάπερ ἐν Κρήτῃ· παρὰ δὲ τοῖς Λάκωσιν ἕκαστον δεῖ φέρειν, καὶ σφόδρα πενήτων ἐνίων ὄντων καὶ τοῦτο τὸ ἀνάλωμα οὐ δυναμένων δαπανᾶν, ὥστε συμβαίνειν τοὐναντίον τῷ νομοθέτῃ τῆς προαιρέσεως. βούλεται μὲν γὰρ δημοκρατικὸν εἶναι τὸ κατα- 32
σκεύασμα τῶν συσσιτίων, γίνεται δ' ἥκιστα δημοκρατικὸν οὕτω νενομοθετημένον· μετέχειν μὲν γὰρ οὐ ῥᾴδιον τοῖς λίαν πένησιν, ὅρος δὲ τῆς πολιτείας οὗτός ἐστιν αὐτοῖς ὁ πάτριος, τὸν μὴ δυνάμενον τοῦτο τὸ τέλος φέρειν μὴ μετέχειν αὐτῆς. Τῷ δὲ περὶ τοὺς ναυάρχους νόμῳ καὶ ἕτεροί 33
τινες ἐπιτετιμήκασιν, ὀρθῶς ἐπιτιμῶντες· στάσεως γὰρ γίνεται αἴτιος. ἐπὶ γὰρ τοῖς βασιλεῦσιν οὖσι στρατηγοῖς

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order should rather be εἰ μὲν βέλτιόν ἐστι μή.

ἄλλος λόγος] Below, III. xiv. and foll.

κατὰ τὸν αὐτοῦ βίον κρίνεσθαι] 'be selected with reference to his own life and conduct.'

30 ἀπιστεῖ γοῦν] Is not this a later stage of feeling, and scarcely to be supposed existing in the mind of Lycurgus?

ἐξέπεμπον] 'They were in the habit of sending out.' Instances will occur to every one. Grote, II. 469.

στασιάζειν] On the perpetual dissensions of the Spartan kings, see Grote, II. 464.

31 σύνοδον] This word seems here to mean not so much a 'meeting' as a 'contribution.' The passage quoted from L. and S., Herodotus, I. 64, χρημάτων συνόδοισι, gives the nearest approach to its meaning here.

δαπανᾶν τὸ ἀνάλωμα] 'To meet this expense.'

32 ὅρος δέ, κ.τ.λ.] 'The right of citizenship has this limit fixed.' From this arose the body called οἱ ὑπομείονες, the Inferiors, Spartans disfranchised, but with the power of recovering their franchise. Grote, II. 482, and 525, not.

33 ἕτεροί τινες] Who are meant?

στάσεως γὰρ γίνεται αἴτιος] This is a statement of which we have hardly adequate justification. Mr Grote, IX. 327, thinks it founded on the case of Lysander. Comp. also p. 376, where the king and admiral are united in Agesilaus.

Sparta.

ἀϊδίοις[a] ἡ ναυαρχία σχεδὸν ἑτέρα βασιλεία καθέστηκεν. Καὶ
34 ὡδὶ δὲ τῇ ὑποθέσει τοῦ νομοθέτου ἐπιτιμήσειεν ἄν τις, ὅπερ
1271 B καὶ Πλάτων ἐν τοῖς νόμοις ἐπιτετίμηκεν· πρὸς γὰρ μέρος
ἀρετῆς ἡ πᾶσα σύνταξις τῶν νόμων ἐστί, τὴν πολεμικήν·
αὕτη γὰρ χρησίμη πρὸς τὸ κρατεῖν. τοιγαροῦν ἐσώζοντο
μὲν πολεμοῦντες, ἀπώλλυντο δὲ ἄρξαντες διὰ τὸ μὴ ἐπί-
στασθαι σχολάζειν μηδὲ ἠσκηκέναι μηδεμίαν ἄσκησιν ἑτέραν
35 κυριωτέραν τῆς πολεμικῆς. τούτου δὲ ἁμάρτημα οὐκ ἔλατ-
τον· νομίζουσι μὲν γὰρ γίνεσθαι τἀγαθὰ τὰ περιμάχητα δι'
ἀρετῆς μᾶλλον ἢ κακίας· καὶ τοῦτο μὲν καλῶς, ὅτι μέντοι
36 ταῦτα κρείττω τῆς ἀρετῆς ὑπολαμβάνουσιν, οὐ καλῶς. Φαύ-
λως δ' ἔχει καὶ περὶ τὰ κοινὰ χρήματα τοῖς Σπαρτιάταις.
οὔτε γὰρ ἐν τῷ κοινῷ τῆς πόλεώς ἐστιν οὐδὲν πολέμους με-
γάλους ἀναγκαζομένοις πολεμεῖν, εἰσφέρουσί τε κακῶς· διὰ
γὰρ τὸ τῶν Σπαρτιατῶν εἶναι τὴν πλείστην γῆν οὐκ ἐξετά-
37 ζουσιν ἀλλήλων τὰς εἰσφοράς. ἀποβέβηκέ τε τοὐναντίον
τῷ νομοθέτῃ τοῦ συμφέροντος· τὴν μὲν γὰρ πόλιν πεποίηκεν
ἀχρήματον, τοὺς δ' ἰδιώτας φιλοχρηματους. Περὶ μὲν οὖν

[a] ἀΐδιος Bekker.

ἀΐδιος] ἀϊδίοις seems the true reading, and the weight of authority is in favour of it. Vet. Tr., Stahr., Schn., and others, adopt it. In fact, Bekker's reading gives a sense contrary to very plain statements. Xenophon, *Hell.* I. vi. 4. and II. i. 7.

34 τῇ ὑποθέσει] 'The prevailing idea.' Compare the language of Brasidas, Thuc. IV. 126. Plato, *Legg.* I. 628. E. foll.

35 τούτου] This mistake of directing all their energies towards excellence in war.

τὰ περιμάχητα ἀγαθά] *Eth.* IX. viii. 4, 9, p. 1168. B. 19; 1169. 21, the same expression occurs.

36 τὰ κοινὰ χρήματα] Compare the language of King Archidamus, Thuc. I. 80; also Grote, IX. 322, 323, for the two periods at which the language was true.

εἰσφέρουσι κακῶς] On this see Grote, II. 493, and his note. τὴν πλείστην γῆν, "the country eastward of Taygetus, since the foundation of Messene by Epaminondas had been consummated."

37 τοῦ συμφέροντος] 'of what is really the interest of the state.'

φιλοχρημάτους] For this tendency, with instances of it before Lysander, and the stimulus applied by Lysander, see Grote, IX. 321, 2.

It seemed needless in the case of Sparta to do more than refer to Mr Grote. Any one who wishes to go further will find all necessary references there given. Nor is it necessary to dwell on the unfavourable judgment of Aristotle on the Spartan institutions. They are not likely to be overvalued

τῆς Λακεδαιμονίων πολιτείας ἐπὶ τοσοῦτον εἰρήσθω· ταῦτα Sparta.
γάρ ἐστιν ἃ μάλιστ' ἄν τις ἐπιτιμήσειεν.

Ἡ δὲ Κρητικὴ πολιτεία πάρεγγυς μέν ἐστι ταύτης,
ἔχει δὲ μικρὰ μὲν οὐ χεῖρον, τὸ δὲ πλεῖον ἧττον γλαφυρῶς. Crete.
καὶ γὰρ ἔοικε καὶ λέγεται δὲ τὰ πλεῖστα μεμιμῆσθαι τὴν
Κρητικὴν πολιτείαν ἡ τῶν Λακώνων, τὰ δὲ πλεῖστα τῶν
ἀρχαίων ἧττον διήρθρωται τῶν νεωτέρων. φασὶ γὰρ τὸν 2
Λυκοῦργον, ὅτε τὴν ἐπιτροπείαν τὴν Χαρίλλου τοῦ βασι-
λέως καταλιπὼν ἀπεδήμησεν, τότε τὸν πλεῖστον διατρῖψαι
χρόνον περὶ τὴν Κρήτην διὰ τὴν συγγένειαν· ἄποικοι γὰρ
οἱ Λύκτιοι τῶν Λακώνων ἦσαν, κατέλαβον δ' οἱ πρὸς τὴν
ἀποικίαν ἐλθόντες τὴν τάξιν τῶν νόμων ὑπάρχουσαν ἐν τοῖς

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now. Aristotle's long criticism was partly due to the prominent position Sparta had held in earlier Greek history, partly also to the fact that Plato, in his *Laws*, had criticised them. So that the chapter of Aristotle is a continuation of the criticism of that work given in ch. VI. That had touched the speculative or ideal part of Plato's work, this touches one point in the practical. For the *Laws* are a discussion between an Athenian, Lacedæmonian, and Cretan, of their respective constitutions, and on the principles on which a new state, if founded, should be based.

X. 1 Unlike Sparta, there is in the case of Crete no historical importance to justify much attention to it. A fragmentary sketch is all that is now possible. And it is to be remembered that Crete was not one state but an aggregate of states, so far as we know. Hoeck seems to think that Lyctos (which C. F. Hermann speaks of as "considered a daughter state of Lacedæmon") was the one most present to the mind of Aristotle. I pass to the consideration of the text of the chapter, referring any who would inquire further, to the article on Crete in Smith's *Geogr. Dict.*, where the sources of information are indicated.

πάρεγγυς μέν, κ.τ.λ.] 'Though it borders very closely on the Lacedæmonian, and though it is in some few points quite as well arranged, yet for the most part it is less finished.'

καὶ γὰρ ἔοικε, κ.τ.λ.] Scarcely any recent writers accept the view contained in this sentence. Comp. the article above quoted, p. 704, a.

διήρθρωται] *Eth.* I. vii. 17. διαρθρῶσαι, 'are less articulate, distinct.' Comp. Bonitz, *ad Metaph.* 986. B. 5: "διαρθροῦν est rem aliquam quasi per membra et artus distinguere et certum in ordinem redigere, ut unius corporis referant similitudinem."

2 On the various accounts of Lycurgus, comp. Grote, II. 452.

ἐπιτροπείαν] 'the guardianship.'

On Charillus, or Charilaus, more will be said later, VIII. (V.) XII. 12.

κατέλαβον ὑπάρχουσαν] 'found existing.' This surely is the fair and natural way of translating it, and, if allowed, points to the previous existence of Dorian institutions in Crete.

Crete.

τότε κατοικοῦσιν. διὸ καὶ νῦν οἱ περίοικοι τὸν αὐτὸν τρό-
3 πον χρῶνται αὐτοῖς, ὡς κατασκευάσαντος Μίνω πρώτου
τὴν τάξιν τῶν νόμων. δοκεῖ δ' ἡ νῆσος καὶ πρὸς τὴν
ἀρχὴν τὴν Ἑλληνικὴν πεφυκέναι καὶ κεῖσθαι καλῶς· πάσῃ
γὰρ ἐπίκειται τῇ θαλάσσῃ, σχεδὸν τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἱδρυμένων
περὶ τὴν θάλασσαν πάντων· ἀπέχει γὰρ τῇ μὲν τῆς Πελο-
ποννήσου μικρόν, τῇ δὲ τῆς Ἀσίας τοῦ περὶ Τριόπιον
4 τόπου καὶ Ῥόδον. διὸ καὶ τὴν τῆς θαλάσσης ἀρχὴν κατέ-
σχεν ὁ Μίνως, καὶ τὰς νήσους τὰς μὲν ἐχειρώσατο τὰς δ'
ᾤκισεν, τέλος δὲ ἐπιθέμενος τῇ Σικελίᾳ τὸν βίον ἐτελεύτη-
σεν ἐκεῖ περὶ Κάμικον. Ἔχει δ' ἀνάλογον ἡ Κρητικὴ
5 τάξις πρὸς τὴν Λακωνικήν. γεωργοῦσί τε γὰρ τοῖς μὲν
1272 εἵλωτες τοῖς δὲ Κρησὶν οἱ περίοικοι, καὶ συσσίτια παρ'
ἀμφοτέροις ἐστίν· καὶ τό γε ἀρχαῖον ἐκάλουν οἱ Λάκωνες
οὐ φιδίτια ἀλλ' ἄνδρια, καθάπερ οἱ Κρῆτες, ᾗ καὶ δῆλον
ὅτι ἐκεῖθεν ἐλήλυθεν. ἔτι δὲ τῆς πολιτείας ἡ τάξις. οἱ
μὲν γὰρ ἔφοροι τὴν αὐτὴν ἔχουσι δύναμιν τοῖς ἐν τῇ Κρήτῃ
καλουμένοις κόσμοις, πλὴν οἱ μὲν ἔφοροι πέντε τὸν ἀριθμὸν
οἱ δὲ κόσμοι δέκα εἰσίν· οἱ δὲ γέροντες τοῖς γέρουσιν, οὓς
καλοῦσιν οἱ Κρῆτες βουλήν, ἴσοι. βασιλεία δὲ πρότερον
μὲν ἦν, εἶτα κατέλυσαν οἱ Κρῆτες, καὶ τὴν ἡγεμονίαν οἱ

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3 *οἱ περιοίκοι*] to be taken "in its simple natural sense." Grote, II. 484. note 2. 'The neighbouring states.'

On Minos, compare Grote, I. 301, and foll.; in p. 310 is pointed out the distinction between the Minos of the poets and logographers, and the Minos of Thucydides and Aristotle.

πρὸς τὴν ἀρχὴν πεφυκέναι] 'To be naturally qualified for holding the empire of Greece.'

ἐπίκειται] 'It commands.'

ἀπέχει γάρ] refers to *ἐπίκειται*.

4 *ἐτελεύτησεν*] Herodotus, VII. 170.

ἔχει δ' ἀνάλογον] 'There is a correspondence between the Cretan order and that of Lacedæmon.'

5 *οἱ περίοικοι*] This is quite a different sense from that given § 3. The sense here is the more technical one of the dependent population, lower in position than the Laconian periœci.

6 *ἔτι δέ, κ.τ.λ.*] Not only did society in Crete as at Sparta rest on the basis of a large serf population, but also there is a correspondence between the two states distinctly traceable, when you come to consider the relations of the citizens, the civil society in each case.

ἴσοι τοῖς γέρουσιν] Does this necessarily imply that they were equal in number?

τὴν ἡγεμονίαν] That the Cosmi should exercise this power would be the natural course when the kingly power had ceased.

Crete.

κόσμοι τὴν κατὰ πόλεμον ἔχουσιν. ἐκκλησίας δὲ μετέ-
χουσι πάντες· κυρία δ' οὐδενός ἐστιν ἀλλ' ἢ συνεπιψηφίσαι 7
τὰ δόξαντα τοῖς γέρουσι καὶ τοῖς κόσμοις. Τὰ μὲν οὖν
τῶν συσσιτίων ἔχει βέλτιον τοῖς Κρησὶν ἢ τοῖς Λάκωσιν.
ἐν μὲν γὰρ Λακεδαίμονι κατὰ κεφαλὴν ἕκαστος εἰσφέρει
τὸ τεταγμένον· εἰ δὲ μή, μετέχειν νόμος κωλύει τῆς πολι-
τείας, καθάπερ εἴρηται καὶ πρότερον. ἐν δὲ Κρήτῃ κοινο- 8
τέρως· ἀπὸ πάντων γὰρ τῶν γινομένων καρπῶν τε καὶ βο-
σκημάτων καὶ ἐκ τῶν δημοσίων καὶ φόρων οὓς φέρουσιν οἱ
περίοικοι τέτακται μέρος τὸ μὲν πρὸς τοὺς θεοὺς καὶ τὰς
κοινὰς λειτουργίας, τὸ δὲ τοῖς συσσιτίοις, ὥστ' ἐκ κοινοῦ
τρέφεσθαι πάντας, καὶ γυναῖκας καὶ παῖδας καὶ ἄνδρας.
πρὸς δὲ τὴν ὀλιγοσιτίαν ὡς ὠφέλιμον πολλὰ πεφιλοσό- 9
φηκεν ὁ νομοθέτης, καὶ πρὸς τὴν διάζευξιν τῶν γυναι-
κῶν, ἵνα μὴ πολυτεκνῶσι, τὴν πρὸς τοὺς ἄρρενας ποιή-
σας ὁμιλίαν, περὶ ἧς εἰ φαύλως ἢ μὴ φαύλως, ἕτερος ἔσται
τοῦ διασκέψασθαι καιρός. ὅτι δὲ τὰ περὶ τὰ συσσίτια
βέλτιον τέτακται τοῖς Κρησὶν ἢ τοῖς Λάκωσι, φανερόν.
τὰ δὲ περὶ τοὺς κόσμους ἔτι χεῖρον τῶν ἐφόρων. ὃ μὲν 10
γὰρ ἔχει κακὸν τὸ τῶν ἐφόρων ἀρχεῖον, ὑπάρχει καὶ τούτων·
γίνονται γὰρ οἱ τυχόντες· ὃ δ' ἐκεῖ συμφέρει πρὸς τὴν πο-
λιτείαν, ἐνταῦθ' οὐκ ἔστιν. ἐκεῖ μὲν γάρ, διὰ τὸ τὴν αἱρε-

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7 *συνεπιψηφίσαι*] 'to join in ratifying.' Compare XI. 6. A simple assent alone was allowed them.

πρότερον] Ch. IX. 32.

8 *κοινοτέρως*] 'on fairer terms.'

ἀπὸ πάντων, κ.τ.λ.] If Bekker's reading is kept, what sense are we to attach to the words *καὶ ἐκ τῶν δημοσίων?* Are we with Hoeck to interpret it of "the Dorian common land, the state domains," or with Stahr, "of the public revenues," "reditus publici," Schneider? We know so little of the facts that it is difficult to determine which is the right interpretation. I have felt inclined to change the text and read: *ἀπὸ πάντων γὰρ τῶν γινομένων καρπῶν τε καὶ βοσκημάτων δημοσίων καὶ ἐκ τῶν φόρων οὓς φέρουσιν οἱ περίοικοι.* This would point to two sources from which the public tables were maintained, the produce of the public lands whether tillage or pasture, and the tribute or rents paid by the subject population. It seems to me the easiest and simplest way, but it is not necessary.

9 *πρὸς τὴν ὀλιγοσιτίαν*] 'To secure a sparing diet the lawgiver has taken many wise measures.' *διάζευξιν*, 'separation.'

10 *τὸ ἀρχεῖον*] 'The board.'

ἐκεῖ] at Lacedæmon.

Crete.

σιν ἐκ πάντων εἶναι, μετέχων ὁ δῆμος τῆς μεγίστης ἀρχῆς
βούλεται μένειν τὴν πολιτείαν· ἐνταῦθα δ' οὐκ ἐξ ἁπάντων
αἱροῦνται τοὺς κόσμους ἀλλ' ἐκ τινῶν γενῶν, καὶ τοὺς γέρον-
11 τας ἐκ τῶν κεκοσμηκότων. περὶ ὧν τοὺς αὐτοὺς ἄν τις
εἴπειε λόγους καὶ περὶ τῶν ἐν Λακεδαίμονι γερόντων[a] τὸ
γὰρ ἀνυπεύθυνον καὶ τὸ διὰ βίου μεῖζόν ἐστι γέρας τῆς
ἀξίας αὐτοῖς, καὶ τὸ μὴ κατὰ γράμματα ἄρχειν ἀλλ' αὐτο-
12 γνώμονας ἐπισφαλές. τὸ δ' ἡσυχάζειν μὴ μετέχοντα τὸν
δῆμον οὐδὲν σημεῖον τοῦ τετάχθαι καλῶς· οὐδὲ γὰρ λήμ-
ματός τι τοῖς κόσμοις ὥσπερ τοῖς ἐφόροις, πόρρω γ' ἀποι-
1272 B 13 κοῦσιν ἐν νήσῳ τῶν διαφθερούντων. ἣν δὲ ποιοῦνται τῆς
ἁμαρτίας ταύτης ἰατρείαν, ἄτοπος καὶ οὐ πολιτικὴ ἀλλὰ
δυναστευτική· πολλάκις γὰρ ἐκβάλλουσι συστάντες τινὲς
τοὺς κόσμους ἢ τῶν συναρχόντων αὐτῶν ἢ τῶν ἰδιωτῶν,
ἔξεστι δὲ καὶ μεταξὺ τοῖς κόσμοις ἀπειπεῖν τὴν ἀρχήν.
ταῦτα δὲ[b] πάντα βέλτιον γίνεσθαι κατὰ νόμον ἢ κατ'
14 ἀνθρώπων βούλησιν· οὐ γὰρ ἀσφαλὴς ὁ κανών. πάντων
δὲ φαυλότατον τὸ τῆς ἀκοσμίας τῶν δυνατῶν, ἣν καθιστᾶσι

[a] γινομένων Bekker. [b] δή Bekker.

βούλεται μένειν] This supports the view given above of the construction of Ch. IX. § 22.

κεκοσμηκότων] Their office then was not for life.

11 περὶ ὧν] sc. τῶν γερόντων.

γινομένων] will make sense, but I am in favour of substituting τῶν γερόντων.

τὸ γὰρ ἀνυπεύθυνον, κ.τ.λ.] This shews that the relative at the beginning of the section refers to τοὺς γέροντας of the preceding one. These are prerogatives of the Spartan Gerusia.

μεῖζον γέρας] 'Is a privilege greater than they have a fair claim to.'

12 ἡσυχάζειν] opposed to βούλεται μένειν. In Crete the people submits to, in Sparta it positively favours, the existing order.

οὐδὲ γὰρ λήμματος] And as they have no opportunity of getting money, their office is no temptation.

13 τῆς ἁμαρτίας ταύτης] Their remedy for this error with reference to the powers and choice of the Cosmi.

οὐ πολιτική] 'not such as a proper πολιτεία allows, but rather one that would suit a δυναστεία,' the closest and worst form of oligarchy. VI. (IV.) v. 2.

τῶν συναρχόντων, κ.τ.λ.] depend of course on τινές.

μεταξύ] 'in the midst of their office.'

ἀπειπεῖν] 'to renounce.'

ταῦτα δή] I do not see the force of δή. I should prefer δέ.

14 ἀκοσμία] 'The absence of Cosmi.' The interregnum brought about by the powerful, similar to the Roman interregnum, by which the Patricians sought to elude the necessity of concessions.

Crete.

πολλάκις ὅταν μὴ δίκας βούλωνται δοῦναι· ᾗ καὶ δῆλον ὡς ἔχει τι πολιτείας ἡ τάξις, ἀλλ' οὐ πολιτεία ἐστὶν ἀλλὰ δυναστεία μᾶλλον. εἰώθασι δὲ διαλαμβάνοντες τὸν δῆμον καὶ τοὺς φίλους μοναρχίαν ποιεῖν καὶ στασιάζειν καὶ μάχεσθαι πρὸς ἀλλήλους. καίτοι τί διαφέρει τὸ τοιοῦτον ἢ 15
διά τινος χρόνου μηκέτι πόλιν εἶναι τὴν τοιαύτην, ἀλλὰ λύεσθαι τὴν πολιτικὴν κοινωνίαν; ἔστι δ' ἐπικίνδυνος οὕτως ἔχουσα πόλις τῶν βουλομένων ἐπιτίθεσθαι καὶ δυναμένων. ἀλλὰ καθάπερ εἴρηται, σώζεται διὰ τὸν τόπον· ξενηλασίας γὰρ τὸ πόρρω πεποίηκεν. διὸ καὶ τὸ τῶν περιοίκων μένει 16
τοῖς Κρησίν, οἱ δ' εἵλωτες ἀφίστανται πολλάκις· οὔτε γὰρ ἐξωτερικῆς ἀρχῆς κοινωνοῦσιν οἱ Κρῆτες, νεωστί τε πόλεμος ξενικὸς διαβέβηκεν εἰς τὴν νῆσον, ὃς πεποίηκε φανερὸν τὴν ἀσθένειαν τῶν ἐκεῖ νόμων. Περὶ μὲν οὖν ταύτης εἰρήσθω τοσαῦθ' ἡμῖν τῆς πολιτείας.

Πολιτεύεσθαι δὲ δοκοῦσι καὶ Καρχηδόνιοι καλῶς καὶ 11

Carthage.

ᾗ καὶ δῆλον] 'And this makes it clear if any thing were wanted, that though the Cretan order of things may have some points which seem to mark it as a legitimate constitution, it is not one in reality, but rather an oligarchy.'

διαλαμβάνοντες] So below, VII. (VI.) v. 10, where the word occurs in a somewhat different sense. Here it is 'dividing so as to form parties.'

15 τῶν βουλομένων, κ.τ.λ.] 'granting that those who wish to attack it have it also in their power to do so.'

ξενηλασίας] plural. Comp. Thuc. II. 39, ξενηλασίαις. For the effect produced at Sparta by their institution of Xenelasy,—the prohibiting the residence of foreigners—is produced at Crete by the isolation their insular position brings with it. 'Their distance is equivalent to xenelasy.'

16 διὸ καί] 'on this ground also.' Comp. Ch. IX. 3.

ἐξωτερικῆς ἀρχῆς] 'external dominion.' In the historical period Crete stands perfectly isolated.

πόλεμος ξενικός] The date is said to be B. C. 344. Phalæcus, the Phocian leader, crossed into Crete. Thirlwall, V. 368. Grote, XI. 582, 599. Pausan. *Phoc.* II. 5. ξενικός probably means 'a war conducted with mercenaries.' Such were the 8000 men with whom Phalæcus retired. μοιρᾷ τοῦ ξενικοῦ, says Pausanias. Diod. Sic. XVI. 62, 63, also speaks of μισθοφόρους. From the accounts the Cretans seem to have had no power to resist in themselves, but at once to have sought aid from Sparta. This justifies the language of Aristotle here.

XI. Before entering on the details of this chapter on Carthage, I quote Mr Grote's judgment on the historical value of the materials we possess: "These statements, though coming from valuable authors, convey so little information, and are withal so difficult to reconcile, that both the structure

Sparta. τοῖς. ἐπιεικῶν μὲν γὰρ ὄντων καὶ πεπαιδευμένων ἱκανῶς
25 πρὸς ἀνδραγαθίαν τάχ' ἂν εἴπειέ τις συμφέρειν τῇ πόλει.
καίτοι τό γε διὰ βίου κυρίους εἶναι κρίσεων μεγάλων ἀμφισ-
βητήσιμον· ἔστι γάρ, ὥσπερ καὶ σώματος, καὶ διανοίας
1271 γῆρας. τὸν τρόπον δὲ τοῦτον πεπαιδευμένων ὥστε καὶ τὸν
νομοθέτην αὐτὸν ἀπιστεῖν ὡς οὐκ ἀγαθοῖς ἀνδράσιν, οὐκ
26 ἀσφαλές. φαίνονται δὲ καὶ καταδωροδοκούμενοι καὶ κατα-
χαριζόμενοι πολλὰ τῶν κοινῶν οἱ κεκοινωνηκότες τῆς ἀρχῆς
ταύτης. διόπερ βέλτιον αὐτοὺς μὴ ἀνευθύνους εἶναι· νῦν δ'
εἰσίν. δόξειε δ' ἂν ἡ τῶν ἐφόρων ἀρχὴ πάσας εὐθύνειν τὰς
ἀρχάς· τοῦτο δὲ τῇ ἐφορείᾳ μέγα λίαν τὸ δῶρον, καὶ τὸν
27 τρόπον οὐ τοῦτον λέγομεν διδόναι δεῖν τὰς εὐθύνας. ἔτι δὲ
καὶ τὴν αἵρεσιν ἣν ποιοῦνται τῶν γερόντων, κατά τε τὴν
κρίσιν ἐστὶ παιδαριώδης, καὶ τὸ αὐτὸν αἰτεῖσθαι τὸν ἀξιω-
θησόμενον τῆς ἀρχῆς οὐκ ὀρθῶς ἔχει· δεῖ γὰρ καὶ βουλόμε-
28 νον καὶ μὴ βουλόμενον ἄρχειν τὸν ἄξιον τῆς ἀρχῆς. νῦν δ'
ὅπερ καὶ περὶ τὴν ἄλλην πολιτείαν ὁ νομοθέτης φαίνεται
ποιῶν· φιλοτίμους γὰρ κατασκευάζων τοὺς πολίτας τούτοις
κέχρηται πρὸς τὴν αἵρεσιν τῶν γερόντων· οὐδεὶς γὰρ ἂν
ἄρχειν αἰτήσαιτο μὴ φιλότιμος ὤν· καίτοι τῶν γ' ἀδικημά-
των ἑκουσίων τὰ πλεῖστα συμβαίνει σχεδὸν διὰ φιλοτιμίαν
29 καὶ διὰ φιλοχρηματίαν τοῖς ἀνθρώποις. Περὶ δὲ βασιλείας,
εἰ μὲν μὴ βέλτιόν ἐστιν ὑπάρχειν ταῖς πόλεσιν ἢ βέλτιον,

25 *καίτοι*] 'and yet even then it would be questionable policy.' Grote, II. 475.

τὸν τρόπον δὲ τοῦτον, κ.τ.λ.] 'But when so educated that even their lawgiver himself distrusts them.'

26 Grote, v. 483, quotes this judgment as the basis for an inference as to the effect at Athens of the Elders sitting for life.

ἀνευθύνους] 'irresponsible,' 'without accountability.'

εὐθύνειν] 'check, or control.' Grote, II. 472.

27 *αὐτὸν αἰτεῖσθαι*] 'to canvass personally.'

28 *ὅπερ καί, κ.τ.λ.*] Compare below, § 37, *ἀποβέβηκε τοὐναντίον*. So here, the legislator has completely failed in attaining a correct view of what is required.

φιλοτίμους γάρ, κ.τ.λ.] 'For it is from his wish to make his citizens ambitious that he adopts these means in the election of the Senate.' *τούτοις*, not *τοὺς πολίτας*, but the sanction given to personal canvassing.

οὐδεὶς γάρ] refers to the *κατασκευάζων*. I attribute this object to him, 'for evidently no one would ask for office unless he were ambitious.'

29 *εἰ μὲν μὴ βέλτιόν ἐστιν*] The

Sparta.

ἄλλος ἔστω λόγος. ἀλλὰ μὴν βέλτιόν γε μὴ καθάπερ νῦν,
ἀλλὰ κατὰ τὸν αὑτοῦ βίον ἕκαστον κρίνεσθαι τῶν βασιλέων.
ὅτι δ' ὁ νομοθέτης οὐδ' αὐτὸς οἴεται δύνασθαι ποιεῖν καλοὺς 30
κἀγαθούς, δῆλον· ἀπιστεῖ γοῦν ὡς οὐκ οὖσιν ἱκανῶς ἀγαθοῖς
ἀνδράσιν· διόπερ ἐξέπεμπον συμπρεσβευτὰς τοὺς ἐχθρούς,
καὶ σωτηρίαν ἐνόμιζον τῇ πόλει εἶναι τὸ στασιάζειν τοὺς
βασιλεῖς. Οὐ καλῶς δ' οὐδὲ περὶ τὰ συσσίτια τὰ καλούμενα
φιδίτια νενομοθέτηται τῷ καταστήσαντι πρῶτον. ἔδει γὰρ 31
ἀπὸ κοινοῦ μᾶλλον εἶναι τὴν σύνοδον, καθάπερ ἐν Κρήτῃ·
παρὰ δὲ τοῖς Λάκωσιν ἕκαστον δεῖ φέρειν, καὶ σφόδρα
πενήτων ἐνίων ὄντων καὶ τοῦτο τὸ ἀνάλωμα οὐ δυναμένων
δαπανᾶν, ὥστε συμβαίνειν τοὐναντίον τῷ νομοθέτῃ τῆς προ-
αιρέσεως. βούλεται μὲν γὰρ δημοκρατικὸν εἶναι τὸ κατα- 32
σκεύασμα τῶν συσσιτίων, γίνεται δ' ἥκιστα δημοκρατικὸν
οὕτω νενομοθετημένον· μετέχειν μὲν γὰρ οὐ ῥᾴδιον τοῖς
λίαν πένησιν, ὅρος δὲ τῆς πολιτείας οὗτός ἐστιν αὐτοῖς ὁ
πάτριος, τὸν μὴ δυνάμενον τοῦτο τὸ τέλος φέρειν μὴ μετέ-
χειν αὐτῆς. Τῷ δὲ περὶ τοὺς ναυάρχους νόμῳ καὶ ἕτεροί 33
τινες ἐπιτετιμήκασιν, ὀρθῶς ἐπιτιμῶντες· στάσεως γὰρ γί-
νεται αἴτιος. ἐπὶ γὰρ τοῖς βασιλεῦσιν οὖσι στρατηγοῖς

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order should rather be *εἰ μὲν βέλτιόν ἐστι μή*.

ἄλλος λόγος] Below, III. xiv. and foll.

κατὰ τὸν αὑτοῦ βίον κρίνεσθαι] 'be selected with reference to his own life and conduct.'

30 *ἀπιστεῖ γοῦν*] Is not this a later stage of feeling, and scarcely to be supposed existing in the mind of Lycurgus?

ἐξέπεμπον] 'They were in the habit of sending out.' Instances will occur to every one. Grote, II. 469.

στασιάζειν] On the perpetual dissensions of the Spartan kings, see Grote, II. 464.

31 *σύνοδον*] This word seems here to mean not so much a 'meeting' as a 'contribution.' The passage quoted from L. and S., Herodotus, I. 64, *χρημάτων συνόδοισι*, gives the nearest approach to its meaning here.

δαπανᾶν τὸ ἀνάλωμα] 'To meet this expense.'

32 *ὅρος δέ, κ.τ.λ.*] 'The right of citizenship has this limit fixed.' From this arose the body called *οἱ ὑπομείονες*, the Inferiors, Spartans disfranchised, but with the power of recovering their franchise. Grote, II. 482, and 525, not.

33 *ἕτεροί τινες*] Who are meant?

στάσεως γὰρ γίνεται αἴτιος] This is a statement of which we have hardly adequate justification. Mr Grote, IX. 327, thinks it founded on the case of Lysander. Comp. also p. 376, where the king and admiral are united in Agesilaus.

Sparta. ἀϊδίοις[a] ἡ ναυαρχία σχεδὸν ἑτέρα βασιλεία καθέστηκεν. Καὶ
34 ὡδὶ δὲ τῇ ὑποθέσει τοῦ νομοθέτου ἐπιτιμήσειεν ἄν τις, ὅπερ
1271 B καὶ Πλάτων ἐν τοῖς νόμοις ἐπιτετίμηκεν· πρὸς γὰρ μέρος
ἀρετῆς ἡ πᾶσα σύνταξις τῶν νόμων ἐστί, τὴν πολεμικήν·
αὕτη γὰρ χρησίμη πρὸς τὸ κρατεῖν. τοιγαροῦν ἐσώζοντο
μὲν πολεμοῦντες, ἀπώλλυντο δὲ ἄρξαντες διὰ τὸ μὴ ἐπί-
στασθαι σχολάζειν μηδὲ ἠσκηκέναι μηδεμίαν ἄσκησιν ἑτέραν
35 κυριωτέραν τῆς πολεμικῆς. τούτου δὲ ἁμάρτημα οὐκ ἔλατ-
τον· νομίζουσι μὲν γὰρ γίνεσθαι τἀγαθὰ τὰ περιμάχητα δι'
ἀρετῆς μᾶλλον ἢ κακίας· καὶ τοῦτο μὲν καλῶς, ὅτι μέντοι
36 ταῦτα κρείττω τῆς ἀρετῆς ὑπολαμβάνουσιν, οὐ καλῶς. Φαύ-
λως δ' ἔχει καὶ περὶ τὰ κοινὰ χρήματα τοῖς Σπαρτιάταις.
οὔτε γὰρ ἐν τῷ κοινῷ τῆς πόλεώς ἐστιν οὐδὲν πολέμους με-
γάλους ἀναγκαζομένοις πολεμεῖν, εἰσφέρουσί τε κακῶς· διὰ
γὰρ τὸ τῶν Σπαρτιατῶν εἶναι τὴν πλείστην γῆν οὐκ ἐξετά-
37 ζουσιν ἀλλήλων τὰς εἰσφοράς. ἀποβέβηκέ τε τοὐναντίον
τῷ νομοθέτῃ τοῦ συμφέροντος· τὴν μὲν γὰρ πόλιν πεποίηκεν
ἀχρήματον, τοὺς δ' ἰδιώτας φιλοχρημάτους. Περὶ μὲν οὖν

[a] ἀΐδιος Bekker.

ἀΐδιος] ἀϊδίοις seems the true reading, and the weight of authority is in favour of it. Vet. Tr., Stahr., Schn., and others, adopt it. In fact, Bekker's reading gives a sense contrary to very plain statements. Xenophon, *Hell.* I. vi. 4. and II. i. 7.

34 τῇ ὑποθέσει] 'The prevailing idea.' Compare the language of Brasidas, Thuc. IV. 126. Plato, *Legg.* I. 628. E. foll.

35 τούτου] This mistake of directing all their energies towards excellence in war.

τὰ περιμάχητα ἀγαθά] *Eth.* IX. viii. 4, 9, p. 1168. B. 19; 1169. 21, the same expression occurs.

36 τὰ κοινὰ χρήματα] Compare the language of King Archidamus, Thuc. I. 80; also Grote, IX. 322, 323, for the two periods at which the language was true.

εἰσφέρουσι κακῶς] On this see Grote, II. 493, and his note. τὴν πλείστην γῆν, "the country eastward of Taygetus, since the foundation of Messene by Epaminondas had been consummated."

37 τοῦ συμφέροντος] 'of what is really the interest of the state.'

φιλοχρημάτους] For this tendency, with instances of it before Lysander, and the stimulus applied by Lysander, see Grote, IX. 321, 2.

It seemed needless in the case of Sparta to do more than refer to Mr Grote. Any one who wishes to go further will find all necessary references there given. Nor is it necessary to dwell on the unfavourable judgment of Aristotle on the Spartan institutions. They are not likely to be overvalued

τῆς Λακεδαιμονίων πολιτείας ἐπὶ τοσοῦτον εἰρήσθω· ταῦτα Sparta.
γάρ ἐστιν ἃ μάλιστ' ἄν τις ἐπιτιμήσειεν.

Ἡ δὲ Κρητικὴ πολιτεία πάρεγγυς μέν ἐστι ταύτης,
ἔχει δὲ μικρὰ μὲν οὐ χεῖρον, τὸ δὲ πλεῖον ἧττον γλαφυρῶς. Crete.
καὶ γὰρ ἔοικε καὶ λέγεται δὲ τὰ πλεῖστα μεμιμῆσθαι τὴν
Κρητικὴν πολιτείαν ἡ τῶν Λακώνων, τὰ δὲ πλεῖστα τῶν
ἀρχαίων ἧττον διήρθρωται τῶν νεωτέρων. φασὶ γὰρ τὸν 2
Λυκοῦργον, ὅτε τὴν ἐπιτροπείαν τὴν Χαρίλλου τοῦ βασι-
λέως καταλιπὼν ἀπεδήμησεν, τότε τὸν πλεῖστον διατρῖψαι
χρόνον περὶ τὴν Κρήτην διὰ τὴν συγγένειαν· ἄποικοι γὰρ
οἱ Λύκτιοι τῶν Λακώνων ἦσαν, κατέλαβον δ' οἱ πρὸς τὴν
ἀποικίαν ἐλθόντες τὴν τάξιν τῶν νόμων ὑπάρχουσαν ἐν τοῖς

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now. Aristotle's long criticism was partly due to the prominent position Sparta had held in earlier Greek history, partly also to the fact that Plato, in his *Laws*, had criticised them. So that the chapter of Aristotle is a continuation of the criticism of that work given in ch. VI. That had touched the speculative or ideal part of Plato's work, this touches one point in the practical. For the *Laws* are a discussion between an Athenian, Lacedæmonian, and Cretan, of their respective constitutions, and on the principles on which a new state, if founded, should be based.

X. 1 Unlike Sparta, there is in the case of Crete no historical importance to justify much attention to it. A fragmentary sketch is all that is now possible. And it is to be remembered that Crete was not one state but an aggregate of states, so far as we know. Hoeck seems to think that Lyctos (which C. F. Hermann speaks of as "considered a daughter state of Lacedæmon") was the one most present to the mind of Aristotle. I pass to the consideration of the text of the chapter, referring any who would inquire further, to the article on Crete in Smith's *Geogr. Dict.*, where the sources of information are indicated.

πάρεγγυς μέν, κ.τ.λ.] 'Though it borders very closely on the Lacedæmonian, and though it is in some few points quite as well arranged, yet for the most part it is less finished.'

καὶ γὰρ ἔοικε, κ.τ.λ.] Scarcely any recent writers accept the view contained in this sentence. Comp. the article above quoted, p. 704, a.

διήρθρωται] *Eth.* I. vii. 17. διαρθρῶσαι, 'are less articulate, distinct.' Comp. Bonitz, *ad Metaph.* 986. B. 5: "διαρθροῦν est rem aliquam quasi per membra et artus distinguere et certum in ordinem redigere, ut unius corporis referant similitudinem."

2 On the various accounts of Lycurgus, comp. Grote, II. 452.

ἐπιτροπείαν] 'the guardianship.'

On Charillus, or Charilaus, more will be said later, VIII. (V.) XII. 12.

κατέλαβον ὑπάρχουσαν] 'found existing.' This surely is the fair and natural way of translating it, and, if allowed, points to the previous existence of Dorian institutions in Crete.

[illegible] τὸν αὐτὸν τρόπον [illegible] Μίνω πρώτου [illegible] καὶ πρὸς τὴν [illegible] καὶ κεῖσθαι καλῶς· πάσῃ [illegible] τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἱδρυμένων [illegible] τῇ μὲν τῆς Πελοποννήσου [illegible] τῆς Ἀσίας τοῦ περὶ Τριόπιον [illegible] τῆς θαλάττης ἀρχὴν κατέσχεν [illegible] ἐχειρώσατο τὰς δ' [illegible] ἐτελεύτησεν [illegible] ἡ Κρητικὴ [illegible] τε γὰρ τοῖς μὲν [illegible] καὶ συσσίτια παρ' [illegible] οἱ Λάκωνες [illegible] Κρῆτες, ᾗ καὶ δῆλον [illegible] τάξις. οἱ [illegible] τῇ Κρήτῃ [illegible] πέντε τὸν ἀριθμὸν [illegible] τοῖς γέρουσιν, οὓς [illegible] βασιλεία δὲ πρότερον [illegible] καὶ τὴν ἡγεμονίαν οἱ

[illegible] here is the more technical one of [illegible] dependent population, lower in position than the Laconian periœci.

[illegible] δέ, κ.τ.λ.] Not only did society in Crete as at Sparta rest on the basis of a large serf population, but also there is a correspondence between the two states distinctly traceable, when you come to consider the relations of the citizens, the civil society in each state.

[illegible] τοῖς γέρουσιν] Does this necessarily imply that they were equal in number?

[illegible]] That the Cosmi should [illegible] this power would be the natural course when the kingly power had [illegible]

Crete.

κόσμοι τὴν κατὰ πόλεμον ἔχουσιν. ἐκκλησίας δὲ μετέ-
χουσι πάντες· κυρία δ' οὐδενός ἐστιν ἀλλ' ἢ συνεπιψηφίσαι 7
τὰ δόξαντα τοῖς γέρουσι καὶ τοῖς κόσμοις. Τὰ μὲν οὖν
τῶν συσσιτίων ἔχει βέλτιον τοῖς Κρησὶν ἢ τοῖς Λάκωσιν.
ἐν μὲν γὰρ Λακεδαίμονι κατὰ κεφαλὴν ἕκαστος εἰσφέρει
τὸ τεταγμένον· εἰ δὲ μή, μετέχειν νόμος κωλύει τῆς πολι-
τείας, καθάπερ εἴρηται καὶ πρότερον. ἐν δὲ Κρήτῃ κοινο- 8
τέρως· ἀπὸ πάντων γὰρ τῶν γινομένων καρπῶν τε καὶ βο-
σκημάτων καὶ ἐκ τῶν δημοσίων καὶ φόρων οὓς φέρουσιν οἱ
περίοικοι τέτακται μέρος τὸ μὲν πρὸς τοὺς θεοὺς καὶ τὰς
κοινὰς λειτουργίας, τὸ δὲ τοῖς συσσιτίοις, ὥστ' ἐκ κοινοῦ
τρέφεσθαι πάντας, καὶ γυναῖκας καὶ παῖδας καὶ ἄνδρας.
πρὸς δὲ τὴν ὀλιγοσιτίαν ὡς ὠφέλιμον πολλὰ πεφιλοσό- 9
φηκεν ὁ νομοθέτης, καὶ πρὸς τὴν διάζευξιν τῶν γυναι-
κῶν, ἵνα μὴ πολυτεκνῶσι, τὴν πρὸς τοὺς ἄρρενας ποιή-
σας ὁμιλίαν, περὶ ἧς εἰ φαύλως ἢ μὴ φαύλως, ἕτερος ἔσται
τοῦ διασκέψασθαι καιρός. ὅτι δὲ τὰ περὶ τὰ συσσίτια
βέλτιον τέτακται τοῖς Κρησὶν ἢ τοῖς Λάκωσι, φανερόν.
τὰ δὲ περὶ τοὺς κόσμους ἔτι χεῖρον τῶν ἐφόρων. ὃ μὲν 10
γὰρ ἔχει κακὸν τὸ τῶν ἐφόρων ἀρχεῖον, ὑπάρχει καὶ τούτων·
γίνονται γὰρ οἱ τυχόντες· ὃ δ' ἐκεῖ συμφέρει πρὸς τὴν πο-
λιτείαν, ἐνταῦθ' οὐκ ἔστιν. ἐκεῖ μὲν γάρ, διὰ τὸ τὴν αἱρε-

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7 συνεπιψηφίσαι] 'to join in ratifying.' Compare XI. 6. A simple assent alone was allowed them.

πρότερον] Ch. IX. 32.

8 κοινοτέρως] 'on fairer terms.'

ἀπὸ πάντων, κ.τ.λ.] If Bekker's reading is kept, what sense are we to attach to the words καὶ ἐκ τῶν δημοσίων? Are we with Hoeck to interpret it of "the Dorian common land, the state domains," or with Stahr, "of the public revenues," "reditus publici," Schneider? We know so little of the facts that it is difficult to determine which is the right interpretation. I have felt inclined to change the text and read: ἀπὸ πάντων γὰρ τῶν γινομένων καρπῶν τε καὶ βοσκημάτων δημοσίων καὶ ἐκ τῶν φόρων οὓς φέρουσιν οἱ περίοικοι. This would point to two sources from which the public tables were maintained, the produce of the public lands whether tillage or pasture, and the tribute or rents paid by the subject population. It seems to me the easiest and simplest way, but it is not necessary.

9 πρὸς τὴν ὀλιγοσιτίαν] 'To secure a sparing diet the lawgiver has taken many wise measures.' διάζευξιν, 'separation.'

10 τὸ ἀρχεῖον] 'The board.'

ἐκεῖ] at Lacedæmon.

Crete.

σιν ἐκ πάντων εἶναι, μετέχων ὁ δῆμος τῆς μεγίστης ἀρχῆς
βούλεται μένειν τὴν πολιτείαν· ἐνταῦθα δ' οὐκ ἐξ ἁπάντων
αἱροῦνται τοὺς κόσμους ἀλλ' ἐκ τινῶν γενῶν, καὶ τοὺς γέρον-
11 τας ἐκ τῶν κεκοσμηκότων. περὶ ὧν τοὺς αὐτοὺς ἄν τις
εἴπειε λόγους καὶ περὶ τῶν ἐν Λακεδαίμονι γερόντων[a] τὸ
γὰρ ἀνυπεύθυνον καὶ τὸ διὰ βίου μεῖζόν ἐστι γέρας τῆς
ἀξίας αὐτοῖς, καὶ τὸ μὴ κατὰ γράμματα ἄρχειν ἀλλ' αὐτο-
12 γνώμονας ἐπισφαλές. τὸ δ' ἡσυχάζειν μὴ μετέχοντα τὸν
δῆμον οὐδὲν σημεῖον τοῦ τετάχθαι καλῶς· οὐδὲ γὰρ λήμ-
ματός τι τοῖς κόσμοις ὥσπερ τοῖς ἐφόροις, πόρρω γ' ἀποι-
1272 B 13 κοῦσιν ἐν νήσῳ τῶν διαφθερούντων. ἣν δὲ ποιοῦνται τῆς
ἁμαρτίας ταύτης ἰατρείαν, ἄτοπος καὶ οὐ πολιτικὴ ἀλλὰ
δυναστευτική· πολλάκις γὰρ ἐκβάλλουσι συστάντες τινὲς
τοὺς κόσμους ἢ τῶν συναρχόντων αὐτῶν ἢ τῶν ἰδιωτῶν,
ἔξεστι δὲ καὶ μεταξὺ τοῖς κόσμοις ἀπειπεῖν τὴν ἀρχήν.
ταῦτα δὲ[b] πάντα βέλτιον γίνεσθαι κατὰ νόμον ἢ κατ'
14 ἀνθρώπων βούλησιν· οὐ γὰρ ἀσφαλὴς ὁ κανών. πάντων
δὲ φαυλότατον τὸ τῆς ἀκοσμίας τῶν δυνατῶν, ἣν καθιστᾶσι

[a] γινομένων Bekker. [b] δὴ Bekker.

βούλεται μένειν] This supports the view given above of the construction of Ch. IX. § 22.

κεκοσμηκότων] Their office then was not for life.

11 *περὶ ὧν*] sc. *τῶν γερόντων*.

γινομένων] will make sense, but I am in favour of substituting *τῶν γερόντων*.

τὸ γὰρ ἀνυπεύθυνον, κ.τ.λ.] This shews that the relative at the beginning of the section refers to *τοὺς γέροντας* of the preceding one. These are prerogatives of the Spartan Gerusia.

μεῖζον γέρας] 'Is a privilege greater than they have a fair claim to.'

12 *ἡσυχάζειν*] opposed to *βούλεται μένειν*. In Crete the people submits to, in Sparta it positively favours, the existing order.

οὐδὲ γὰρ λήμματος] And as they have no opportunity of getting money, their office is no temptation.

13 *τῆς ἁμαρτίας ταύτης*] Their remedy for this error with reference to the powers and choice of the Cosmi.

οὐ πολιτική] 'not such as a proper *πολιτεία* allows, but rather one that would suit a *δυναστεία*,' the closest and worst form of oligarchy. VI. (IV.) v. 2.

τῶν συναρχόντων, κ.τ.λ.] depend of course on *τινές*.

μεταξύ] 'in the midst of their office.'

ἀπειπεῖν] 'to renounce.'

ταῦτα δή] I do not see the force of *δή*. I should prefer *δέ*.

14 *ἀκοσμία*] 'The absence of Cosmi.' The interregnum brought about by the powerful, similar to the Roman interregnum, by which the Patricians sought to elude the necessity of concessions.

Crete.

πολλάκις ὅταν μὴ δίκας βούλωνται δοῦναι· ᾗ καὶ δῆλον ὡς ἔχει τι πολιτείας ἡ τάξις, ἀλλ' οὐ πολιτεία ἐστὶν ἀλλὰ δυναστεία μᾶλλον. εἰώθασι δὲ διαλαμβάνοντες τὸν δῆμον καὶ τοὺς φίλους μοναρχίαν ποιεῖν καὶ στασιάζειν καὶ μάχεσθαι πρὸς ἀλλήλους. καίτοι τί διαφέρει τὸ τοιοῦτον ἢ 15
διά τινος χρόνου μηκέτι πόλιν εἶναι τὴν τοιαύτην, ἀλλὰ λύεσθαι τὴν πολιτικὴν κοινωνίαν; ἔστι δ' ἐπικίνδυνος οὕτως ἔχουσα πόλις τῶν βουλομένων ἐπιτίθεσθαι καὶ δυναμένων. ἀλλὰ καθάπερ εἴρηται, σώζεται διὰ τὸν τόπον· ξενηλασίας γὰρ τὸ πόρρω πεποίηκεν. διὸ καὶ τὸ τῶν περιοίκων μένει 16
τοῖς Κρησίν, οἱ δ' εἵλωτες ἀφίστανται πολλάκις· οὔτε γὰρ ἐξωτερικῆς ἀρχῆς κοινωνοῦσιν οἱ Κρῆτες, νεωστί τε πόλεμος ξενικὸς διαβέβηκεν εἰς τὴν νῆσον, ὃς πεποίηκε φανερὸν τὴν ἀσθένειαν τῶν ἐκεῖ νόμων. Περὶ μὲν οὖν ταύτης εἰρήσθω τοσαῦθ' ἡμῖν τῆς πολιτείας.

Πολιτεύεσθαι δὲ δοκοῦσι καὶ Καρχηδόνιοι καλῶς καὶ 11

Carthage.

ᾗ καὶ δῆλον] 'And this makes it clear if any thing were wanted, that though the Cretan order of things may have some points which seem to mark it as a legitimate constitution, it is not one in reality, but rather an oligarchy.'

διαλαμβάνοντες] So below, VII. (VI.) v. 10, where the word occurs in a somewhat different sense. Here it is 'dividing so as to form parties.'

15 τῶν βουλομένων, κ.τ.λ.] 'granting that those who wish to attack it have it also in their power to do so.'

ξενηλασίας] plural. Comp. Thuc. II. 39, ξενηλασίαις. For the effect produced at Sparta by their institution of Xenelasy,—the prohibiting the residence of foreigners—is produced at Crete by the isolation their insular position brings with it. 'Their distance is equivalent to xenelasy.'

16 διὸ καί] 'on this ground also.' Comp. Ch. IX. 3.

ἐξωτερικῆς ἀρχῆς] 'external dominion.' In the historical period Crete stands perfectly isolated.

πόλεμος ξενικός] The date is said to be B. C. 344. Phalæcus, the Phocian leader, crossed into Crete. Thirlwall, v. 368. Grote, XI. 582, 599. Pausan. *Phoc.* II. 5. ξενικός probably means 'a war conducted with mercenaries.' Such were the 8000 men with whom Phalæcus retired. μοιρᾷ τοῦ ξενικοῦ, says Pausanias. Diod. Sic. XVI. 62, 63, also speaks of μισθοφόρους. From the accounts the Cretans seem to have had no power to resist in themselves, but at once to have sought aid from Sparta. This justifies the language of Aristotle here.

XI. Before entering on the details of this chapter on Carthage, I quote Mr Grote's judgment on the historical value of the materials we possess: "These statements, though coming from valuable authors, convey so little information, and are withal so difficult to reconcile, that both the structure

Carthage. πολλὰ περιττῶς πρὸς τοὺς ἄλλους, μάλιστα δ' ἔνια παραπλησίως τοῖς Λάκωσιν. αὗται γὰρ αἱ πολιτεῖαι τρεῖς ἀλλήλαις τε σύνεγγύς πώς εἰσι καὶ τῶν ἄλλων πολὺ διαφέρουσιν, ἥ τε Κρητικὴ καὶ ἡ Λακωνικὴ καὶ τρίτη τούτων ἡ Καρχηδονίων, καὶ πολλὰ τῶν τεταγμένων ἔχει παρ' αὐτοῖς
2 καλῶς. σημεῖον δὲ πολιτείας συντεταγμένης τὸ τὸν δῆμον ἔχουσαν διαμένειν ἐν τῇ τάξει τῆς πολιτείας, καὶ μήτε στάσιν, ὅ τι καὶ ἄξιον εἰπεῖν, γεγενῆσθαι μήτε τύραννον.
3 ἔχει δὲ παραπλήσια τῇ Λακωνικῇ πολιτείᾳ τὰ μὲν συσσίτια τῶν ἑταιριῶν τοῖς φιδιτίοις, τὴν δὲ τῶν ἑκατὸν καὶ τεττάρων ἀρχὴν τοῖς ἐφόροις (πλὴν οὐ χεῖρον οἱ μὲν ἐκ τῶν τυχόντων εἰσί, ταύτην δ' αἱροῦνται τὴν ἀρχὴν ἀριστίνδην), τοὺς δὲ βασιλεῖς καὶ τὴν γερουσίαν ἀνάλογον τοῖς ἐκεῖ
4 βασιλεῦσι καὶ γέρουσιν. καὶ βέλτιον δὲ τοὺς βασιλεῖς μήτε κατὰ τὸ αὐτὸ εἶναι γένος, μηδὲ τοῦτο τὸ τυχόν, εἶτα[a] διαφέρον ἐκ τούτων αἱρετοὺς μᾶλλον ἢ καθ' ἡλικίαν· μεγά-

[a] εἴτε Bekker.

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and working of the political machine at Carthage may be said to be unknown." He adds in a note: "Heeren and Kluge have discussed all these passages with ability. But their materials do not enable them to reach any certainty."

1 περιττῶς] 'remarkably,' deviating widely from the more usual type.

2 συντεταγμένης] Stress must be laid on the word 'ordered' in the sense of well ordered; 'disciplined' with us has this force.

τὸν δῆμον] The article seems not required; if kept the translation is: 'we find an argument in favour of the skilful arrangements of Carthage in the fact that whilst it keeps its democratical element it yet preserves unchanged the system of its constitution.'

ὅτι καὶ ἄξιον εἰπεῖν] 'worth speaking of.'

3 τὰ συσσίτια τῶν ἑταιριῶν] Mövers, *Geschichte der Phönizer*, II. 492, thinks these were γένη, houses of the aristocracy, political divisions, not mere clubs, but much more closely analogous to Spartan and Cretan syssitia. Grote, x. 551, speaks of "collective banquets of the curiæ, or the political associations." But he thinks the comparison not a happy one.

πλὴν οὐ χεῖρον, κ.τ.λ.] 'with this advantage however on the part of Carthage,' &c.

4 εἴτε διαφέρον] I prefer reading εἶτα; 'then there is a difference, and a difference which is a superiority, in the having them elected from these families rather than hereditary.' Grote, IX. 830, note, considers this Carthaginian system substantially the one wished by Lysander at Sparta; "not confined to members of the same family or Gens, but chosen out of the principal families or Gentes." The change of εἶτα for εἴτε is advocated by Nickes, *de Aristotelis Politicorum libris*, p. 54.

λων γὰρ κύριοι καθεστῶτες, ἂν εὐτελεῖς ὦσι, μεγάλα βλάπ- Carthage.
τουσι καὶ ἔβλαψαν ἤδη τὴν πόλιν τὴν τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων. 1273
Τὰ μὲν οὖν πλεῖστα τῶν ἐπιτιμηθέντων ἂν διὰ τὰς παρεκ- 5
βάσεις κοινὰ τυγχάνει πάσαις ὄντα ταῖς εἰρημέναις πολι-
τείαις· τῶν δὲ πρὸς τὴν ὑπόθεσιν τῆς ἀριστοκρατίας καὶ
τῆς πολιτείας τὰ μὲν εἰς δῆμον ἐκκλίνει μᾶλλον, τὰ δ' εἰς
ὀλιγαρχίαν. τοῦ μὲν γὰρ τὸ μὲν προσάγειν τὸ δὲ μὴ
προσάγειν πρὸς τὸν δῆμον οἱ βασιλεῖς κύριοι μετὰ τῶν
γερόντων, ἂν ὁμογνωμονῶσι πάντες· εἰ δὲ μή, καὶ τούτων ὁ
δῆμος. ἃ δ' ἂν εἰσφέρωσιν οὗτοι, οὐ διακοῦσαι μόνον ἀπο- 6
διδόασι τῷ δήμῳ τὰ δόξαντα τοῖς ἄρχουσιν, ἀλλὰ κύριοι
κρίνειν εἰσὶ καὶ τῷ βουλομένῳ τοῖς εἰσφερομένοις ἀντειπεῖν
ἔξεστιν, ὅπερ ἐν ταῖς ἑτέραις πολιτείαις οὐκ ἔστιν. τὸ δὲ 7
τὰς πενταρχίας κυρίας οὔσας πολλῶν καὶ μεγάλων ὑφ' αὑ-
τῶν αἱρετὰς εἶναι, καὶ τὴν τῶν ἑκατὸν ταύτας αἱρεῖσθαι τὴν
μεγίστην ἀρχήν, ἔτι δὲ ταύτας πλείονα ἄρχειν χρόνον τῶν
ἄλλων (καὶ γὰρ ἐξεληλυθότες ἄρχουσι καὶ μέλλοντες) ὀλι-
γαρχικόν, τὸ δ' ἀμίσθους καὶ μὴ κληρωτὰς ἀριστοκρατικὸν

Ann. I. *porro illud differt* (et ita quidem, *item ut præstet*) &c. Stahr reads εἶτε with Bekker, but interprets it "und hier ist es besser."

εὐτελεῖς] 'ordinary.' *Rhet.* II. 15, 3. p. 1390. B. 24.

5 'The greatest part of the objections that would naturally be raised against Carthage on account of its deviations from the best form of government, are common to it with all the constitutions we have mentioned. Those, on the other hand, which would be urged on the ground of its not fulfilling its own idea of an aristocracy or a Politeia, fall under two heads. Some of them point to its leaning too much towards democracy, others to its leaning too much towards oligarchy.' After τῶν δὲ I supply ἐπιτιμηθέντων ἄν. I consider ἀριστοκρατίας not as his ideal state, but in the more practical sense of aristocracy, as in § 8.

τοῦ μὲν γάρ, κ.τ.λ.] "The Kings and Gerontes, if agreed, need not bring a matter before the people, if not agreed they must. In this latter case, the matters so brought before it were entirely within the competence of the people to discuss as well as to decide." Grote, X. 551.

τούτων] sc. τῶν προσαγομένων.

6 ταῖς ἑτέραις] 'The two others,' Sparta and Crete.

7 ταύτας] sc. τὰς πενταρχίας, 'that the pentarchies should choose the supreme authority, that of the Hundred.'

καὶ γὰρ ἐξεληλυθότες, κ.τ.λ.] "inasmuch as they exercised an authority both before and after their regular term of magistracy." Arnold, *Rom. Hist.* Vol. II. 550.

Carthage.

θετέον, καὶ εἴ τι τοιοῦτον ἕτερον· καὶ τὸ τὰς δίκας ὑπὸ τῶν ἀρχείων δικάζεσθαι πάσας, καὶ μὴ ἄλλας ὑπ' ἄλλων, καθά-
8 περ ἐν Λακεδαίμονι. Παρεκβαίνει δὲ τῆς ἀριστοκρατίας ἡ τάξις τῶν Καρχηδονίων μάλιστα πρὸς τὴν ὀλιγαρχίαν κατά τινα διάνοιαν ἣ συνδοκεῖ τοῖς πολλοῖς· οὐ γὰρ μόνον ἀριστίνδην ἀλλὰ καὶ πλουτίνδην οἴονται δεῖν αἱρεῖσθαι τοὺς ἄρχοντας· ἀδύνατον γὰρ τὸν ἀποροῦντα καλῶς ἄρχειν καὶ
9 σχολάζειν. εἴπερ οὖν τὸ μὲν αἱρεῖσθαι πλουτίνδην ὀλιγαρχικόν, τὸ δὲ κατ' ἀρετὴν ἀριστοκρατικόν, αὕτη τις ἂν εἴη τάξις τρίτη, καθ' ἥνπερ συντέτακται καὶ τοῖς Καρχηδονίοις τὰ περὶ τὴν πολιτείαν· αἱροῦνται γὰρ εἰς δύο ταῦτα βλέποντες, καὶ μάλιστα τὰς μεγίστας, τούς τε βασιλεῖς καὶ
10 τοὺς στρατηγούς. δεῖ δὲ νομίζειν ἁμάρτημα νομοθέτου τὴν παρέκβασιν εἶναι τῆς ἀριστοκρατίας ταύτην· ἐξ ἀρχῆς γὰρ τοῦθ' ὁρᾶν ἐστὶ τῶν ἀναγκαιοτάτων, ὅπως οἱ βέλτιστοι δύνωνται σχολάζειν καὶ μηδὲν ἀσχημονεῖν, μὴ μόνον ἄρχοντες ἀλλὰ μηδ' ἰδιωτεύοντες. εἰ δὲ δεῖ βλέπειν καὶ πρὸς εὐπορίαν χάριν σχολῆς, φαῦλον τὸ τὰς μεγίστας ὠνητὰς εἶναι τῶν
11 ἀρχῶν, τήν τε βασιλείαν καὶ τὴν στρατηγίαν. ἔντιμον γὰρ ὁ νόμος οὗτος ποιεῖ τὸν πλοῦτον μᾶλλον τῆς ἀρετῆς, καὶ

ὑπὸ τῶν ἀρχείων] 'by the boards of magistrates.' This passage is discussed by Arnold, *Rom. Hist.* II. 553, note 10. But I do not see that his suggestion clears up the difficulty. The passage in the third book, Ch. I. 10, 11, only draws attention to the point the two governments have in common, the exclusion of the popular element from the administration of justice, leaving quite room for the difference indicated in the text. The καθάπερ ἐν Λακεδαίμονι must, I think, refer to the ἄλλας ὑπ' ἄλλων. There remains the question, why one practice should be more aristocratical than the other.

8 παρεκβαίνει δέ, κ.τ.λ.] 'The most decided deviation in the constitution of Carthage from aristocracy towards oligarchy, is in the adoption of a view, which gains the assent of most men.'

9 συντέτακται καί] It would seem better to read καὶ συντέτακται: where it stands, the καί is not wanted.

τοὺς βασιλεῖς καὶ τοὺς στρατηγούς] These then were distinct. The suffetes were not the commanders in war, the captains-general.

10 μηδὲν ἀσχημονεῖν] 'not lower themselves in any way.'

ὠνητάς] "whether this is to be understood of paying money to obtain votes, or, as is much more probable, that the fees or expenses of entering on an office were purposely made very heavy, to render it inaccessible to any but the rich." Arnold, *Rom. Hist.* II. 548, 9.

τὴν πόλιν ὅλην φιλοχρήματον. ὅτι δ' ἂν ὑπολάβῃ τίμιον Carthage.
εἶναι τὸ κύριον, ἀνάγκη καὶ τὴν τῶν ἄλλων πολιτῶν δόξαν
ἀκολουθεῖν τούτοις. ὅπου δὲ μὴ μάλιστα ἀρετὴ τιμᾶται, 1273 B
ταύτην οὐχ οἷόν τ' εἶναι βεβαίως ἀριστοκρατικὴν πολιτείαν.
ἐθίζεσθαι δ' εὔλογον κερδαίνειν τοὺς ὠνουμένους, ὅταν δαπα- 12
νήσαντες ἄρχωσιν· ἄτοπον γὰρ εἰ πένης μὲν ὢν ἐπιεικὴς δὲ
βουλήσεται κερδαίνειν, φαυλότερος δ' ὢν οὐ βουλήσεται
δαπανήσας. διὸ δεῖ τοὺς δυναμένους ἀρισταρχεῖν, τούτους
ἄρχειν. βέλτιον δ', εἰ καὶ προεῖτο τὴν ἀπορίαν τῶν ἐπι-
εικῶν ὁ νομοθέτης, ἀλλ' ἀρχόντων γε ἐπιμελεῖσθαι τῆς
σχολῆς. φαῦλον δ' ἂν δόξειεν εἶναι καὶ τὸ πλείους ἀρχὰς 13
τὸν αὐτὸν ἄρχειν· ὅπερ εὐδοκιμεῖ παρὰ τοῖς Καρχηδονίοις.
ἓν γὰρ ὑφ' ἑνὸς ἔργον ἄριστ' ἀποτελεῖται. δεῖ δ' ὅπως
γίνηται τοῦθ' ὁρᾶν τὸν νομοθέτην, καὶ μὴ προστάττειν τὸν
αὐτὸν αὐλεῖν καὶ σκυτοτομεῖν. ὥσθ' ὅπου μὴ μικρὰ πόλις, 14
πολιτικώτερον πλείονας μετέχειν τῶν ἀρχῶν, καὶ δημοτικώ-
τερον· κοινότερόν τε γάρ, καθάπερ εἴπομεν, καὶ κάλλιον
ἕκαστον ἀποτελεῖται τῶν αὐτῶν καὶ θᾶττον. δῆλον δὲ
τοῦτο ἐπὶ τῶν πολεμικῶν καὶ τῶν ναυτικῶν· ἐν τούτοις γὰρ
ἀμφοτέροις διὰ πάντων ὡς εἰπεῖν διελήλυθε τὸ ἄρχειν καὶ
τὸ ἄρχεσθαι. Ὀλιγαρχικῆς δ' οὔσης τῆς πολιτείας ἄριστα 15
ἐκφεύγουσι τῷ πλουτεῖν, ἀεί τι τοῦ δήμου μέρος ἐκπέμπον-

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11 τὸ κύριον] 'The government.' This view of Aristotle that the government can absolutely direct opinion, is a remarkable one. It does not seem to hold good of modern times, when, with rare exceptions, governments are behind opinion, if, fortunately, not directly adverse to it. It is a view, however, which was naturally held by those who, like the political philosophers of antiquity and even of later times, held that governments could be arbitrarily imposed on a people, not that they were the expressions, or should be, of the people.

12 ἐθίζεσθαι, κ.τ.λ.] Compare in Michelet, *Hist. de France*, Vol. IV. 265, a quotation from the pamphlet of Clémengis: "Que si, dit-il, on leur rappelle le précepte de l'Evangile, *Donnez gratuitement, ainsi que vous avez reçu*, ils répondent sans sourciller: 'Nous n'avons pas reçu gratis, nous avons acheté, nous pouvons revendre.'"

εἰ προεῖτο, κ.τ.λ.] 'If he gave up the question of the wealth or poverty of his governing classes.'

13 φαῦλον δέ] Arnold, *Rom. Hist.* II. 550, 1.

ἓν γὰρ ὑφ' ἑνός] Comp. I. XI. 3.

14 πολιτικώτερον] 'It is more in accordance with sound policy.'

διὰ πάντων ὡς εἰπεῖν] Compare Thuc. V. 66, σχεδὸν γάρ τι πᾶν πλὴν ὀλίγου τὸ στρατόπεδον τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων ἄρχοντες ἀρχόντων εἰσί.

15 ἐκφεύγουσι] 'They escape the evils incident to an oligarchy.'

Carthage. τες ἐπὶ τὰς πόλεις. τούτῳ γὰρ ἰῶνται καὶ ποιοῦσι μόνιμον τὴν πολιτείαν. ἀλλὰ τουτί ἐστι τύχης ἔργον, δεῖ δὲ ἀστα-
16 σιάστους εἶναι διὰ τὸν νομοθέτην. νῦν δ', ἂν ἀτυχία γένηταί τις καὶ τὸ πλῆθος ἀποστῇ τῶν ἀρχομένων, οὐδέν ἐστι φάρμακον διὰ τῶν νόμων τῆς ἡσυχίας. Περὶ μὲν οὖν τῆς Λακεδαιμονίων πολιτείας καὶ Κρητικῆς καὶ τῆς Καρχηδονίων, αἵπερ δικαίως εὐδοκιμοῦσι, τοῦτον ἔχει τὸν τρόπον.

12 Τῶν δὲ ἀποφηναμένων τι περὶ πολιτείας ἔνιοι μὲν οὐκ ἐκοινώνησαν πράξεων πολιτικῶν οὐδ' ὡντινωνοῦν, ἀλλὰ διετέλεσαν ἰδιωτεύοντες τὸν βίον· περὶ ὧν εἴ τι ἀξιόλογον, εἴρηται σχεδὸν περὶ πάντων· ἔνιοι δὲ νομοθέται γεγόνασιν οἱ μὲν ταῖς οἰκείαις πόλεσιν, οἱ δὲ καὶ τῶν ὀθνείων τισί, πολιτευθέντες αὐτοί· καὶ τούτων οἱ μὲν νόμων ἐγένοντο δημιουργοὶ μόνον, οἱ δὲ καὶ πολιτείας, οἷον καὶ Λυκοῦργος καὶ Σόλων· οὗτοι γὰρ καὶ νόμους καὶ πολιτείας κατέστησαν.
2 Περὶ μὲν οὖν τῆς Λακεδαιμονίων εἴρηται, Σόλωνα δ' ἔνιοι
Athens. μὲν οἴονται νομοθέτην γενέσθαι σπουδαῖον· ὀλιγαρχίαν τε γὰρ καταλῦσαι λίαν ἄκρατον οὖσαν, καὶ δουλεύοντα τὸν

ἐπὶ τὰς πόλεις] Comp. VII. (VI.) v. 9, [illegible]. Arn. n. 514, where the different views on the subject are given. Grote Vol. x. 545. "This provision for poor citizens as [illegible] (mainly analogous to the Roman colonies) was a standing feature in the Carthaginian political system, serving the double purpose of relieving discontent among their own population at home, and of keeping watch over their dependencies abroad."

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

fairs, but were in a private station throughout life.'

νόμων δημιουργοί] 'framers of laws.'

2 ὀλιγαρχίαν τε γάρ, κ.τ.λ.] This is the language not of Aristotle, but of those who support Solon.

ἄκρατον] 'untempered.'

The grounds on which Solon was spoken of by some as having first constituted the Areopagus, are given, Grote iii. 98. In p. 167 of the same volume Mr Grote has a note on this whole passage about Solon. In it he maintains that Aristotle's own judgment does not begin till § 5 φαίνεται δὲ κ.τ.λ. I cannot but think that the passage should be more broken up. In § 2 we have the view favourable to Solon. In the first sentence of § 3 we have a criticism of Aristotle on that view. Then from [illegible] we have [illegible] the opposite view, unfavourable to Solon. And this again

δῆμον παῦσαι, καὶ δημοκρατίαν καταστῆσαι τὴν πάτριον, μίξαντα καλῶς τὴν πολιτείαν· εἶναι γὰρ τὴν μὲν ἐν Ἀρείῳ πάγῳ βουλὴν ὀλιγαρχικόν, τὸ δὲ τὰς ἀρχὰς αἱρετὰς ἀριστοκρατικόν, τὰ δὲ δικαστήρια δημοτικόν. ἔοικε δὲ Σόλων ἐκεῖνα μὲν ὑπάρχοντα πρότερον οὐ καταλῦσαι, τήν τε βουλὴν καὶ τὴν τῶν ἀρχῶν αἵρεσιν, τὸν δὲ δῆμον καταστῆσαι, τὰ δικαστήρια ποιήσας ἐκ πάντων. διὸ καὶ μέμφονταί τινες αὐτῷ· λῦσαι γὰρ θάτερον, κύριον ποιήσαντα τὸ δικαστήριον πάντων, κληρωτὸν ὄν. ἐπεὶ γὰρ τοῦτ' ἴσχυεν, ὥσπερ τυράννῳ τῷ δήμῳ χαριζόμενοι τὴν πολιτείαν εἰς τὴν νῦν δημοκρατίαν κατέστησαν, καὶ τὴν μὲν ἐν Ἀρείῳ πάγῳ βουλὴν Ἐφιάλτης ἐκόλουσε καὶ Περικλῆς, τὰ δὲ δικαστήρια

Solon.

1274

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is followed by a criticism of Aristotle's, just as the other had been.

3 τὰ δικαστήρια ποιήσας ἐκ πάντων] If the arrangement of the passage just given is correct, it would follow that Aristotle allowed Solon's claim to the origination of the dikasteries. On this more below.

λῦσαι γὰρ θάτερον] 'The other element in the state,' the ἐκεῖνα of the previous sentence.

4 τὴν νῦν δημοκρατίαν] 'The democracy of our days,' in no favourable sense. The language of strong conservatives enumerating with disgust the various changes by which the present odious state of things had been brought about.

ἐκόλουσε] 'cut down the powers of.'

τὰ δὲ δικαστήρια μισθοφόρα κατέστησεν] The opinion I have expressed above, that Aristotle allowed Solon's claims to the origination of the dikasteries, I give with very great hesitation, for it differs from that of Mr. Grote. But I cannot but think that Aristotle (if the chapter be really Aristotle's, of which I have strong doubts, in any case, that the writer of the chapter) thought the institution of the δικαστήρια older than Pericles, and changed by him so far, that the members of them received pay thenceforward. That the writer was wrong in this supposition, I am quite ready to allow, for I accept fully Mr Grote's view of the series of constitutional changes at Athens. But from the whole arrangement of the passage, as given in the note on § 2, I think it is clear that this was the writer's view. Minute accuracy does not seem to have been his object, if one is to judge by the language in § 6; and I cannot but doubt Aristotle's using, as applied to Pericles, the language of δημαγωγοὺς φαύλους. This I rest not merely on general grounds, but on a passage in the *Ethics*, VI. v. 5. p. 1140, B. 8, where Pericles is quoted as the best known instance of the φρόνιμος or wise man. And over and above all points of detail, I find it difficult to see why Aristotle, intimately acquainted as he was with the Athenian constitution master of it by the most careful study (this is seen by his fragments), should have abstained from an elaborate criticism on it, and yet thought it worth while to throw in these few incomplete, and, in one point at least, inaccurate remarks. Still we can only

Solon.

μισθοφόρα κατέστησε Περικλῆς, καὶ τοῦτον δὴ τὸν τρόπον
ἕκαστος τῶν δημαγωγῶν προήγαγεν αὔξων εἰς τὴν νῦν δημο-
5 κρατίαν. φαίνεται δ' οὐ κατὰ τὴν Σόλωνος γενέσθαι τοῦτο
προαίρεσιν, ἀλλὰ μᾶλλον ἀπὸ συμπτώματος· τῆς ναυαρ-
χίας γὰρ ἐν τοῖς Μηδικοῖς ὁ δῆμος αἴτιος γενόμενος ἐφρο-
νηματίσθη, καὶ δημαγωγοὺς ἔλαβε φαύλους ἀντιπολιτευομέ-
νων τῶν ἐπιεικῶν, ἐπεὶ Σόλων γε ἔοικε τὴν ἀναγκαιοτάτην
ἀποδιδόναι τῷ δήμῳ δύναμιν, τὸ τὰς ἀρχὰς αἱρεῖσθαι καὶ
εὐθύνειν· μηδὲ γὰρ τούτου κύριος ὢν ὁ δῆμος δοῦλος ἂν εἴη
6 καὶ πολέμιος. τὰς δ' ἀρχὰς ἐκ τῶν γνωρίμων καὶ τῶν εὐ-
πόρων κατέστησε πάσας, ἐκ τῶν πεντακοσιομεδίμνων καὶ
ζευγιτῶν καὶ τρίτου τέλους τῆς καλουμένης ἱππάδος· τὸ δὲ
τέταρτον θητικόν, οἷς οὐδεμιᾶς ἀρχῆς μετῆν. Νομοθέται δ'
ἐγένοντο Ζάλευκός τε Λοκροῖς τοῖς ἐπιζεφυρίοις, καὶ Χα-
ρώνδας ὁ Καταναῖος τοῖς αὑτοῦ πολίταις καὶ ταῖς ἄλλαις
ταῖς Χαλκιδικαῖς πόλεσι ταῖς περὶ Ἰταλίαν καὶ Σικελίαν.
7 πειρῶνται δέ τινες καὶ συνάγειν ὡς Ὀνομακρίτου μὲν γενο-
μένου πρώτου δεινοῦ περὶ νομοθεσίαν, γυμνασθῆναι δ' αὐτὸν
ἐν Κρήτῃ Λοκρὸν ὄντα καὶ ἐπιδημοῦντα κατὰ τέχνην μαν-
τικήν· τούτου δὲ γενέσθαι Θάλητα ἑταῖρον, Θάλητος δ'
ἀκροατὴν Λυκοῦργον καὶ Ζάλευκον, Ζαλεύκου δὲ Χαρώνδαν.

Various Lawgivers.

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state doubts, and not solve them. The arguments in favour of the chapter are given, Nickes, 55, Ann. 2; Spengel, 11, note 13, who is very strong in his attack on Göttling for rejecting it. Mr Grote also does not hint the slightest doubt of its genuineness. Spengel's argument drawn from τὴν νῦν δημοκρατίαν seems to me to fail, if that part is allowed to be, as I think it should be, the language of an objector.

5 ἀπὸ συμπτώματος] 'from an accidental coincidence of circumstances.'

τὴν ἀναγκαιοτάτην] "as much power as was strictly needful, and no more." Grote, III. 168.

6 καὶ τρίτου τέλους, κ.τ.λ.] Spengel proposes to read καὶ τοῦ. Even with this change, the order of the classes is incorrectly given, "anderes," he says, "est bei dem Zustande unseres Textes unbedenklich als corrupt anzunehmen wie die Worte τὰς δ' ἀρχάς, κ.τ.λ. wo wahrscheinlich καὶ τοῦ stand; sind doch in diesem Kapitel weit ärgere Fehler."

θητικόν] on the distinction between the Thetic census and the Thetes, comp. Grote, III. 158.

For Zaleucus and Charondas, comp. Grote, III. 505; IV. 560–2.

7 συνάγειν] 'To form a catena.'

Ὀνομακρίτου] From Smith, *Biogr. Dict.*, this would seem the only mention of this personage.

ἐπιδημοῦντα κατὰ τέχνην μαντικήν] 'Staying there for the purpose of acquiring the prophetic art.'

Various Lawgivers.

ἀλλὰ ταῦτα μὲν λέγουσιν ἀσκεπτότερον τῷ χρόνῳ λέγοντες. Ἐγένετο δὲ καὶ Φιλόλαος ὁ Κορίνθιος νομοθέτης Θηβαίοις. 8 ἦν δ' ὁ Φιλόλαος τὸ μὲν γένος τῶν Βακχιαδῶν, ἐραστὴς δὲ γενόμενος Διοκλέους τοῦ νικήσαντος Ὀλυμπίασιν, ὡς ἐκεῖνος τὴν πόλιν ἔλιπε διαμισήσας τὸν ἔρωτα τὸν τῆς μητρὸς Ἀλκυόνης, ἀπῆλθεν εἰς Θήβας, κἀκεῖ τὸν βίον ἐτελεύτησαν ἀμφότεροι. καὶ νῦν ἔτι δεικνύουσι τοὺς τάφους 9 αὐτῶν ἀλλήλοις μὲν εὐσυνόπτους ὄντας, πρὸς δὲ τὴν τῶν Κορινθίων χώραν τοῦ μὲν συνόπτου τοῦ δ' οὐ συνόπτου· μυθολογοῦσι γὰρ αὐτοὺς οὕτω τάξασθαι τὴν ταφήν, τὸν μὲν Διοκλέα διὰ τὴν ἀπέχθειαν τοῦ πάθους, ὅπως μὴ ἄποπτος ἔσται ἡ Κορινθία ἀπὸ τοῦ χώματος, τὸν δὲ Φιλόλαον, ὅπως ἄποπτος. ᾤκησαν μὲν οὖν διὰ τὴν τοιαύτην αἰτίαν 10 1274 B παρὰ τοῖς Θηβαίοις, νομοθέτης δ' αὐτοῖς ἐγένετο Φιλόλαος περί τ' ἄλλων τινῶν καὶ περὶ τῆς παιδοποιίας, οὓς καλοῦσιν ἐκεῖνοι νόμους θετικούς· καὶ τοῦτ' ἐστὶν ἰδίως ὑπ' ἐκείνου νενομοθετημένον, ὅπως ὁ ἀριθμὸς σώζηται τῶν κλήρων. Χαρώνδου δ' ἴδιον μὲν οὐδέν ἐστι πλὴν αἱ δίκαι τῶν ψευδο- 11 μαρτυριῶν (πρῶτος γὰρ ἐποίησε τὴν ἐπίσκηψιν), τῇ δ' ἀκριβείᾳ τῶν νόμων ἐστὶ γλαφυρώτερος καὶ τῶν νῦν νομοθετῶν. Φαλέου δ' ἴδιον ἡ τῶν οὐσιῶν ἀνομάλωσις, Πλάτω- 12

8 ἀσκεπτότερον τῷ χρόνῳ] 'without due regard to chronology.' After λέγοντες I put a full stop, so connecting the remark entirely with what precedes it.

Βακχιαδῶν] The Bacchiad oligarchy was subverted by Cypselus about B.C. 655. Grote, III. 53–55. On Philolaus and his history, comp. Grote, II. 394 foll., who places him between B.C. 728 and 700.

9 εὐσυνόπτους] 'easily seen.'

διὰ τὴν ἀπέχθειαν τοῦ πάθους] 'from his "hatred and horror" of the passion.'

10 νόμους θετικούς] 'laws respecting the adoption of children.' Comp. Herod. VI. 57, ἤν τις θετὸν παῖδα ποιέεσθαι ἐθέλῃ.

ὁ ἀριθμός, κ.τ.λ.] 'That the original number of lots of land might be preserved.' Comp. Grote, II. 525, note 2, where the passage is quoted as shewing that Aristotle did not suppose Lycurgus to have intended this.

11 τὴν ἐπίσκηψιν] "the solemn indictment against perjured witnesses before justice." Grote, IV. 561. Plato, *de Legg.* XI. 937, B. Demosthenes, *Or.* 47, p. 1139.

τῇ δ' ἀκριβείᾳ, κ.τ.λ.] 'In the exactness of his laws he is more finished even than lawgivers of the present day.' γλαφυρῶς, II. x. 1.

12 Φαλέου] Mr Grote acquiesces, II. 395, note, in the substitution of this name for that of Philolaus, on the condition of ἀνομάλωσις meaning "a

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νος δ' ἥ τε τῶν γυναικῶν καὶ παίδων καὶ τῆς οὐσίας κοινότης καὶ τὰ συσσίτια τῶν γυναικῶν, ἔτι δ' ὁ περὶ τὴν μέθην νόμος, τὸ τοὺς νήφοντας συμποσιαρχεῖν, καὶ τὴν ἐν τοῖς πολεμικοῖς ἄσκησιν ὅπως ἀμφιδέξιοι γίνωνται κατὰ τὴν μελέτην, ὡς δέον μὴ τὴν μὲν χρήσιμον εἶναι τοῖν χεροῖν τὴν
13 δὲ ἄχρηστον. Δράκοντος δὲ νόμοι μέν εἰσι, πολιτείᾳ δ' ὑπαρχούσῃ τοὺς νόμους ἔθηκεν· ἴδιον δ' ἐν τοῖς νόμοις οὐδέν ἐστιν ὅ τι καὶ μνείας ἄξιον, πλὴν ἡ χαλεπότης διὰ τὸ τῆς ζημίας μέγεθος. ἐγένετο δὲ καὶ Πιττακὸς νόμων δημιουργὸς ἀλλ' οὐ πολιτείας· νόμος δ' ἴδιος αὐτοῦ τὸ τοὺς μεθύοντας, ἂν τυπτήσωσι, πλείω ζημίαν ἀποτίνειν τῶν νηφόντων· διὰ γὰρ τὸ πλείους ὑβρίζειν μεθύοντας ἢ νήφοντας οὐ πρὸς τὴν συγγνώμην ἀπέβλεψεν, ὅτι δεῖ μεθύουσιν ἔχειν μᾶλλον,
14 ἀλλὰ πρὸς τὸ συμφέρον. ἐγένετο δὲ καὶ Ἀνδροδάμας Ῥηγῖνος νομοθέτης Χαλκιδεῦσι τοῖς ἐπὶ Θρᾴκης, οὗ περί τε τὰ φονικὰ καὶ τὰς ἐπικλήρους ἐστίν· οὐ μὴν ἀλλ' ἴδιόν γε οὐδὲν αὐτοῦ λέγειν ἔχοι τις ἄν. Τὰ μὲν οὖν περὶ τὰς πολιτείας, τάς τε κυρίας καὶ τὰς ὑπό τινων εἰρημένας, ἔστω τεθεωρημένα τὸν τρόπον τοῦτον.

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fresh equalization." The simple sense of 'equalization' seems the best, and is warranted by a passage in the *Rhetoric*, III. XI. 5. pp. 1412, 16, καὶ τὸ ἀνωμαλίσθαι τὰς πόλεις ἐν πολὺ διέχουσι ταὐτό, ἐν ἐπιφανείᾳ καὶ δυνάμεσι τὸ ἴσον.

κοινότης] occurs before, II. VII. I.

ὁ περὶ τὴν μέθην, κ.τ.λ.] This and the other point of detail are here mentioned for the first time. The first is given *de Legg.* I. 640, D. οὐκοῦν νήφοντά τε καὶ σοφὸν ἄρχοντα μεθυόντων δεῖ καθιστάναι. The second, ibid. VII. 794, D. &c.

13 On Draco's legislation, Grote, III. 100 fol., "not more rigorous than the sentiments of the age." He is the first strictly νόμων δημιουργός.

ὅτι καὶ μνείας ἄξιον] Comp. XI. 2, ὅτι καὶ ἄξιον εἰπεῖν.

Pittacus. Grote, III. 268. The particular law here quoted is mentioned again, though without its author's name, *Eth.* III. vii. 8. p. 1113, b. 31, and *Rhet.* II. 25, 7, p. 1402, b. 11, where Pittacus is mentioned. This last passage makes the suggestion of Muretus, that for ἂν τυπτήσωσι, we should read ἄν τι πταίωσι, very plausible. Mur. *Var. Lect.* XIV. 21.

14 Androdamas of Rhegium seems quite unknown.

τὰς κυρίας] "existantes," St Hil.: "wirklich bestehenden," Stahr.: 'actually in force.'

BOOK III. SUMMARY.

WITH this third book begins a new division of the work. His predecessors in political science, whether theoretic enquirers, or statesmen who had put their ideas in practice, have been reviewed and criticised. The results of that criticism have been partly negative, that is, have proved that there is yet work left for the political philosopher—partly positive, for the rejection of erroneous theories on the extent of association required by union in a state, necessarily marks out the due limits of that association. Whilst vindicating the family and private property against the theories of Plato, whilst supporting inequality against the theory of Phaleas, Aristotle is strengthening the assumption of the 1st book, that the family and property are the necessary conditions of the state, and that there are and ever will be differences among men. Still the constructive part of his work has not yet been entered upon. He too, like some of his predecessors, must sketch out an ideal state, a type to which others may approach, and by their deviation from which others may be judged. This is done in the three following books. But unfortunately it either was never fully done, or has not survived to our times. The work, as it stands, is broken off in the midst of his theory of education; and on many of the most important questions, some suggested in his own words, some suggested naturally by the subject, we are left without Aristotle's answers.

The opening chapters of this third book itself are devoted to the solution of some simple and fundamental questions.

1st. The question, What is the State? receives as its first answer: a given number of citizens. This answer raises the question, Who is the citizen? answered in Ch. I. Some more popular notions on the subject in Ch. II. lead him to the question, In what consists the identity of a State? This is made to depend on the identity of its constitution (Ch. III.).

2ndly. As constitutions differ, the requirements of the citizen will differ also. The good citizen will always be so called with reference to the constitution of which he is a member. If that be imperfect, he, if perfect as a citizen, will be faulty as a man. In

Aristotle's language the question takes this shape: Is the excellence of the man identical with that of the good citizen? The answer must be negative except in the ideal state, and even in that ideal state strict theory compels us to say that it is only in its magistrates that we find the two absolutely coincident. But as in that state the citizens are in turn citizens and magistrates, in all alike the two will coincide, but it will be a question of time, it will be only, that is, when in power, that there will be scope for the full exercise of perfect virtue. These alternations of perfect and imperfect excellence are the necessary consequences of the conditions of Aristotle's ideal state, which is formed of a number of citizens equally good, who must therefore be in turn rulers and ruled (Ch. IV.).

3rdly. In such a state the qualifications of the citizens must be high, and for the attainment of these long training and high education are indispensable. But these require leisure. The class then to which leisure is denied by its circumstances must be excluded. This is the ground for his answer to the question, Are the artizans, *βάναυσοι*, citizens? They cannot be in the ideal state, such as Aristotle conceived it (Ch. V.).

So far by way of preamble. The general test of a good government, varieties being granted, is, that it is for the good of the governed, not that of the governing body (Ch. VI.). That body may be one man or more than one. If more than one, it may be a small minority of the whole or a large majority. In other words, it may be a monarch—an aristocracy—or a politeia. Such are the divisions of governments, based on the principle of the number of the governing body, when the end aimed at by the government is the right one. But make the interest of the governing body its paramount consideration, and still adhere to the same principle of division, and your names change; and the new names are tyranny—oligarchy—democracy. These three are called deviations from the right forms. The members of the two series are looked on as theoretically on a level, but practically in both there is a difference in Aristotle's view, a difference even more strongly marked in the last than in the first (Ch. VII.). Oligarchy and democracy are examined at somewhat greater length. The characteristic of the first is found in wealth—that of the second in poverty. Accidentally wealth resides in the few—poverty in the many (Ch. VIII.).

All governments are based on some claim of right. The true ground of discussion, when examining the several claims, is this: You who claim more, do you contribute more, not as rich men, nor as artists, but as citizens? If so, your claim is just; if not, your claim is unjust (Ch. IX.).

Where shall the sovereign power reside? Shall it be in the many or the few? This is discussed with a leaning to the many (Ch. X. XI.).

The state is based on justice, and justice is equality. The question is: Equality in what? A series of difficulties are started, and the most definite result is this: that legislation involves the idea that those legislated for are equal in race and in powers. If the fair limits of this equality are overstepped, those who overstep it are practically liable to ostracism, theoretically they are the natural governors of their state (Ch. XII. XIII.).

The remainder of the book is on Monarchy, the various forms of the government of one; and is mainly descriptive, partly speculative. (Compare Mr Cornewall Lewis, *On Methods of Observation and Reasoning on Politics*, Vol. I. ch. III.) Five forms are given: the Spartan—barbaric—æsymnete, or elective—heroic—absolute, either tyranny or ideal monarchy (Chaps. XIV. XVI.). Hereditary monarchy is not favoured; nor, speaking generally, monarchy: but the judgment on it must depend on the state in which we find it existing (Ch. XVII.). He adopts as his own ideal state evidently not monarchy, but the second form, aristocracy in its ideal sense, the government of a certain number, which number under the conditions of human nature can hardly be very large, of citizens well qualified by moral discipline and intellectual training for a wise exercise of the functions they are called on to discharge.

The opening of the book at once carries us back to the end of the first book: *ὥστ' ἐπεὶ περὶ μὲν τούτων (τῆς οἰκονομίας) διώρισται, περὶ δὲ τῶν λοιπῶν ἐν ἄλλοις λεκτέον, ἀφέντες ὡς τέλος ἔχοντας τοὺς νῦν λόγους, ἄλλην ἀρχὴν ποιησάμενοι λέγωμεν, καὶ πρῶτον ἐπισκεψώμεθα περὶ τῶν ἀποφηναμένων περὶ τῆς πολιτείας τῆς ἀρίστης.* (Book II.) Compare also I. III. 1.

ΠΟΛΙΤΙΚΩΝ Γ.

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ΤΩ͂Ι περὶ πολιτείας ἐπισκοποῦντι, καὶ τίς ἑκάστη καὶ ποία τις, σχεδὸν πρώτη σκέψις περὶ πόλεως ἰδεῖν, τί ποτ' ἐστὶν ἡ πόλις· νῦν γὰρ ἀμφισβητοῦσιν, οἱ μὲν φάσκοντες τὴν πόλιν πεπραχέναι τὴν πρᾶξιν, οἱ δ' οὐ τὴν πόλιν ἀλλὰ τὴν ὀλιγαρχίαν ἢ τὸν τύραννον. τοῦ δὲ πολιτικοῦ καὶ τοῦ νομοθέτου πᾶσαν ὁρῶμεν τὴν πραγματείαν οὖσαν περὶ πόλιν· ἡ δὲ πολιτεία τῶν τὴν πόλιν οἰκούντων
2 ἐστὶ τάξις τις. Ἐπεὶ δ' ἡ πόλις τῶν συγκειμένων, καθάπερ ἄλλο τι τῶν ὅλων μὲν συνεστώτων δ' ἐκ πολλῶν μορίων, δῆλον ὅτι πρότερον ὁ πολίτης ζητητέος· ἡ γὰρ πόλις πο-
1275 λιτῶν τι πλῆθός ἐστιν, ὥστε τίνα χρὴ καλεῖν πολίτην καὶ τίς ὁ πολίτης ἐστί, σκεπτέον. καὶ γὰρ ὁ πολίτης ἀμφισβητεῖται πολλάκις· οὐ γὰρ τὸν αὐτὸν ὁμολογοῦσι πάντες εἶναι πολίτην· ἔστι γάρ τις ὃς ἐν δημοκρατίᾳ πολίτης ὢν
3 ἐν ὀλιγαρχίᾳ πολλάκις οὐκ ἔστι πολίτης. τοὺς μὲν οὖν ἄλλως πως τυγχάνοντας ταύτης τῆς προσηγορίας, οἷον τοὺς ποιητοὺς πολίτας, ἀφετέον. ὁ δὲ πολίτης οὐ τῷ οἰκεῖν που πολίτης ἐστίν· καὶ γὰρ μέτοικοι καὶ δοῦλοι κοι-
4 νωνοῦσι τῆς οἰκήσεως. οὐδ' οἱ τῶν δικαίων μετέχοντες οὕτως ὥστε καὶ δίκην ὑπέχειν καὶ δικάζεσθαι (τοῦτο γὰρ

I. 1 *περὶ πολιτείας*] genitive singular, as opposed to *οἰκονομίας*. See note on I. XIII. 15.

νῦν γάρ, κ.τ.λ.] That the idea is not clear, is evident from the fact, that at present men are at issue, &c.

ἡ δὲ πολιτεία] The constitution is an arrangement of a state; a state is a whole made up of parts, those parts are citizens. Who then is the citizen? How shall he be defined?

2 Comp. I. 1. 3.

καὶ γάρ, κ.τ.λ.] 'For the idea of the citizen, like that of the state, is by no means clear.'

3 *ταύτης τῆς προσηγορίας*] 'This name of citizen.'

τῷ οἰκεῖν που] 'by the simple fact of residence in a given place.'

4 *οὕτως*] 'only so far.'

ὥστε καὶ δίκην, κ.τ.λ.] 'as to be parties in suits, defendants and plaintiffs.'

τοῦτο γὰρ ὑπάρχει, κ.τ.λ.] 'for this

ὑπάρχει καὶ τοῖς ἀπὸ συμβόλων κοινωνοῦσιν) καὶ γὰρ
ταῦτα τούτοις ὑπάρχει. πολλαχοῦ μὲν οὖν οὐδὲ τούτων
τελέως οἱ μέτοικοι μετέχουσιν, ἀλλὰ νέμειν ἀνάγκη προσ-
τάτην· διὸ ἀτελῶς πως μετέχουσι τῆς τοιαύτης κοινωνίας· 5
ἀλλὰ καθάπερ καὶ παῖδας τοὺς μήπω δι' ἡλικίαν ἐγγεγραμ-
μένους καὶ τοὺς γέροντας τοὺς ἀφειμένους, φατέον εἶναι
μέν πως πολίτας, οὐχ ἁπλῶς δὲ λίαν ἀλλὰ προστιθέντας
τοὺς μὲν ἀτελεῖς τοὺς δὲ παρηκμακότας ἤ τι τοιοῦτον ἕτε-
ρον· οὐδὲν γὰρ διαφέρει· δῆλον γὰρ τὸ λεγόμενον· ζητοῦ-
μεν γὰρ τὸν ἁπλῶς πολίτην καὶ μηδὲν ἔχοντα τοιοῦτον
ἔγκλημα διορθώσεως δεόμενον, ἐπεὶ καὶ περὶ τῶν ἀτίμων καὶ
φυγάδων ἔστι τὰ τοιαῦτα καὶ διαπορεῖν καὶ λύειν. Πολί- 6
της δ' ἁπλῶς οὐδενὶ τῶν ἄλλων ὁρίζεται μᾶλλον ἢ τῷ

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would apply to those who are associated by commercial treaties.' "In lawsuits between citizens of different states there existed, by virtue of a particular agreement, an appeal from one state to the other." These appeals were the δίκαι ἀπὸ συμβόλων, covenants or treaties for mutual protection, as opposed to the system of simple reprisals. Böckh, *Publ. Econ. of Athens*, I. 69.

καὶ γὰρ ταῦτα τούτοις ὑπάρχει] Schneider, with Vet. Int. and others, leave this out: Stahr retains it, but puts it in brackets as suspicious. St Hilaire retains it, but his translation scarcely meets the difficulty. I think it may be defended. In fact, though the passage is confused, I am inclined to look on it as hardly clear without these words. I should include in a parenthesis the words τοῦτο γάρ —— κοινωνοῦσιν. The τούτοις I should refer to μετοίκοις, the ταῦτα to τῶν δικαίων μετέχοντες, κ.τ.λ. 'Mere residence does not make a citizen; if it did, slaves and metics would be citizens. Nor again, does a certain community of rights, that, viz. of appearing in the courts of justice. Again the metics would be citizens if it did. Though it is true they do not always possess the right in its full integrity, they can only appear by representation.'

νέμειν προστάτην] Comp. Isocrates, *Or.* VIII. p. 170: τοὺς μετοίκους τοιούτους νομίζομεν, οἵους περ ἂν τοὺς προστάτας νέμωσιν, 'to provide themselves with a patron.'

5 ἐγγεγραμμένους] 'enrolled in the list of citizens,' εἰς τὸ ληξιαρχικὸν γραμματεῖον, the book in which the members of the demus were enrolled. Grote, IV. 178, note.

τοὺς ἀφειμένους] past the age of 60.

οὐχ ἁπλῶς δέ, κ.τ.λ.] 'But yet not quite without a qualification; we must add to the statement in the one case that they are not full citizens, in the other that they are past the age.'

ἔγκλημα] 'open to no objection of this kind requiring correction.'

ἀτίμων καὶ φυγάδων] These two are κατὰ πρόσθεσιν πολῖται, not ἁπλῶς.

6 πολίτης δέ, κ.τ.λ.] 'a citizen in the strict sense is defined by no one other thing so properly as by his sharing in the administration of justice and in the government.'

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μετέχειν κρίσεως καὶ ἀρχῆς. τῶν δ' ἀρχῶν αἱ μέν εἰσι διῃρημέναι κατὰ χρόνον, ὥστ' ἐνίας μὲν ὅλως δὶς τὸν αὐτὸν οὐκ ἔξεστιν ἄρχειν, ἢ διά τινων ὡρισμένων χρόνων· ὁ δ'
7 ἀόριστος, οἷον ὁ δικαστὴς καὶ ἐκκλησιαστής. τάχα μὲν οὖν ἂν φαίη τις οὐδ' ἄρχοντας εἶναι τοὺς τοιούτους, οὐδὲ μετέχειν διὰ ταῦτ' ἀρχῆς· καίτοι γελοῖον τοὺς κυριωτάτους ἀποστερεῖν ἀρχῆς. ἀλλὰ διαφερέτω μηδέν· περὶ ὀνόματος γὰρ ὁ λόγος· ἀνώνυμον γὰρ τὸ κοινὸν ἐπὶ δικαστοῦ καὶ ἐκκλησιαστοῦ, τί δεῖ ταῦτ' ἄμφω καλεῖν. ἔστω δὴ διορι-
8 σμοῦ χάριν ἀόριστος ἀρχή. τίθεμεν δὴ πολίτας τοὺς οὕτω μετέχοντας. ὁ μὲν οὖν μάλιστ' ἂν ἐφαρμόσας πολίτης ἐπὶ πάντας τοὺς λεγομένους πολίτας σχεδὸν τοιοῦτός ἐστιν. δεῖ δὲ μὴ λανθάνειν ὅτι τῶν πραγμάτων ἐν οἷς τὰ ὑποκείμενα διαφέρει τῷ εἴδει, καὶ τὸ μὲν αὐτῶν ἐστι πρῶτον τὸ δὲ δεύτερον τὸ δ' ἐχόμενον, ἢ τὸ παράπαν οὐδέν ἐστιν, ᾗ
9 τοιαῦτα, τὸ κοινόν, ἢ γλίσχρως. τὰς δὲ πολιτείας ὁρῶμεν εἴδει διαφερούσας ἀλλήλων, καὶ τὰς μὲν ὑστέρας τὰς δὲ
1275 B προτέρας οὔσας· τὰς γὰρ ἡμαρτημένας καὶ παρεκβεβηκυίας ἀναγκαῖον ὑστέρας εἶναι τῶν ἀναμαρτήτων· τὰς δὲ παρεκ-

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ὁ δ' ἀόριστος] The change to the masculine is abrupt, but caused by what follows. This makes it clear that by ἀρχῆς, he means legislative power, the power of the ἐκκλησιαστής.

7 **ἀνώνυμον γάρ**] 'for we have no name to express that which the two, the member of the judicial and the member of the legislative body, have in common. Let it be then, for distinction's sake, called "an indefinite magistracy." We consider then as citizens, those who in this sense are members of the association.' *μετέχοντας*, sc. *τῆς κοινωνίας*.

8 **ὁ μὲν οὖν, κ.τ.λ.**] 'The sense of the word citizen then, which would best suit all that are called citizens, may be said to be this.'

τῶν πραγμάτων, κ.τ.λ.] 'in the case of general names which stand for individuals differing in kind;' or, wherever the things that correspond to the name differ in kind,' ("die einzeln zum Grunde liegenden Theile der Art nach verschieden sind," Stahr,) 'and one sense is the primary, the other secondary, &c.: either there is absolutely no common element, or one which is very difficult to trace.' *γλισχρῶς*, 'scantily.' It is the case of analogous words, or equivocals. *ὁμώνυμα*, *Categ.* I. i. p. I. I.

9. **πολιτεία**] is the generic term, the various species differ very widely.

ὑστέρας] ambiguous, and if order of time is meant by the word, then the statement is not correct.

ἀναγκαῖον ἕτερον] If the whole differ, it cannot but be that the parts differ; the *πολίτης* is but part of the *πολιτεία*.

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βεβηκυίας πῶς λέγομεν, ὕστερον ἔσται φανερόν. ὥστε καὶ
τὸν πολίτην ἕτερον ἀναγκαῖον εἶναι τὸν καθ' ἑκάστην πολι-
τείαν. διόπερ ὁ λεχθεὶς ἐν μὲν δημοκρατίᾳ μάλιστ' ἐστὶ 10
πολίτης, ἐν δὲ ταῖς ἄλλαις ἐνδέχεται μέν, οὐ μὴν ἀναγκαῖον·
ἐνίαις γὰρ οὐκ ἔστι δῆμος, οὐδ' ἐκκλησίαν νομίζουσιν ἀλλὰ
συγκλήτους, καὶ τὰς δίκας δικάζουσι κατὰ μέρος, οἷον ἐν
Λακεδαίμονι τὰς τῶν συμβολαίων δικάζει τῶν ἐφόρων
ἄλλος ἄλλας, οἱ δὲ γέροντες τὰς φονικάς, ἑτέρα δ' ἴσως
ἀρχή τις ἑτέρας. τὸν αὐτὸν δὲ τρόπον καὶ περὶ Καρχη- 11
δόνα· πάσας γὰρ ἀρχαί τινες κρίνουσι τὰς δίκας. ἀλλ'
ἔχει γὰρ διόρθωσιν ὁ τοῦ πολίτου διορισμός. ἐν γὰρ ταῖς
ἄλλαις πολιτείαις οὐχ ὁ ἀόριστος ἄρχων ἐκκλησιαστής
ἐστι καὶ δικαστής, ἀλλ' ὁ κατὰ τὴν ἀρχὴν ὡρισμένος· τού-
των γὰρ ἢ πᾶσιν ἢ τισὶν ἀποδέδοται τὸ βουλεύεσθαι καὶ
δικάζειν ἢ περὶ πάντων ἢ περὶ τινῶν. τίς μὲν οὖν ἐστὶν ὁ 12
πολίτης, ἐκ τούτων φανερόν· ᾧ γὰρ ἐξουσία κοινωνεῖν ἀρχῆς
βουλευτικῆς ἢ κριτικῆς, πολίτην ἤδη λέγομεν εἶναι ταύτης
τῆς πόλεως, πόλιν δὲ τὸ τῶν τοιούτων πλῆθος ἱκανὸν πρὸς
αὐτάρκειαν ζωῆς, ὡς ἁπλῶς εἰπεῖν. ὁρίζονται δὲ[a] πρὸς τὴν 2

[a] δὴ Bekker.

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10 Διόπερ, κ.τ.λ.] 'looking at this distinction, we must remember that the above definition of the citizen will apply with most propriety in a democracy.' Stahr puts a full stop at πολίτης, I prefer altering that after ἀναγκαῖον.

δῆμος] 'democratical element.'

συγκλήτους] 'assemblies summoned as occasion required.' At Athens they would be extraordinary, as opposed to the regular assemblies. In the case supposed by Aristotle they are the only ones.

κατὰ μέρος] "verschiedene Behörden." Stahr. 'The administration of justice is conducted by different parts of the state,'

11 Καρχηδόνα] II. 11. 7. See note. The general object is the same, at Sparta and at Carthage; the administration of justice is entrusted to the few, the magistrates; not to the people, assembled in large numbers, as at Athens. The ἀρχαί τινες = ὑπὸ τῶν ἀρχείων.

ἀλλ' ἔχει γάρ, κ.τ.λ.] 'However the definition of the citizen admits of correction.'

ταῖς ἄλλαις] as opposed to ἐν δημοκρατίᾳ.

12 ᾧ γὰρ ἐξουσία] 'He who is admissible,' to whom the right of access to office is not closed.

ταύτης τῆς πόλεως] 'of the state in which he has this right.'

II. 1 ὁρίζονται δή] δέ should be read, 'Now for practical purposes the citizen is defined to be.' This is sup-

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χρῆσιν πολίτην τὸν ἐξ ἀμφοτέρων πολιτῶν καὶ μὴ θατέρου μόνον, οἷον πατρὸς ἢ μητρός· οἱ δὲ καὶ τοῦτ' ἐπὶ πλέον ζητοῦσιν, οἷον ἐπὶ πάππους δύο ἢ τρεῖς ἢ πλείους. οὕτω δὴ ὁριζομένων πολιτικῶς καὶ ταχέως, ἀποροῦσί τινες τὸν τρίτον ἐκεῖνον ἢ τέταρτον, πῶς ἔσται πολίτης. Γοργίας μὲν οὖν ὁ Λεοντῖνος, τὰ μὲν ἴσως ἀπορῶν τὰ δ' εἰρωνευόμενος, ἔφη, καθάπερ ὅλμους εἶναι τοὺς ὑπὸ τῶν ὁλμοποιῶν πεποιημένους, οὕτω καὶ Λαρισσαίους τοὺς ὑπὸ τῶν δημιουργῶν πεποιημένους· εἶναι γάρ τινας λαρισσοποιούς.
3 ἔστι δ' ἁπλοῦν· εἰ γὰρ μετεῖχον κατὰ τὸν ῥηθέντα διορισμὸν τῆς πολιτείας, ἦσαν[a] πολῖται· καὶ γὰρ οὐ δυνατὸν ἐφαρμόττειν τὸ ἐκ πολίτου ἢ ἐκ πολίτιδος ἐπὶ τῶν πρώτων οἰκησάντων ἢ κτισάντων. ἀλλ' ἴσως ἐκεῖνοι μᾶλλον ἔχουσιν ἀπορίαν, ὅσοι μετέσχον μεταβολῆς γενομένης πολιτείας, οἷον Ἀθήνησιν ἐποίησε Κλεισθένης μετὰ τὴν τῶν τυράννων ἐκβολήν· πολλοὺς γὰρ ἐφυλέτευσε ξένους καὶ δούλους μετοίκους. τὸ δ' ἀμφισβήτημα πρὸς τούτους ἐστὶν οὐ τίς πολί-

[a] ἂν Bekker.

ported by Vet. Int., who translates it 'autem.'

πολιτικῶς] 'practically,' 'popularly.' Comp. *Poetics*, VI. 23, 1450, b. 8. ταχέως, 'hastily,' 'superficially.'

2 εἰρωνευόμενος] "sich lustig machte." Stahr. I prefer the sense of 'speaking cautiously,' 'not wishing to speak out.'

δημιουργῶν] The word stands both for 'artificers' and 'magistrates.'

Λαρισσαίους] Liddell and Scott give the word ὁ Λαρισαῖος from this passage as a kind of kettle made at Larissa. We do not know enough of Gorgias at Larissa, where he is said to have spent a considerable time, to make the anecdote clear.

3 ἔστι δ' ἁπλοῦν] 'But the question is really simple.'

ἦσαν ἄν] 'erant,' Vet. Int. I omit the ἄν, 'If they came up to the definition, they were citizens.' ἐφαρμόττειν, active.

ἐκεῖνοι] 'another class involve really a greater difficulty.'

μετέσχον, κ.τ.λ.] 'have been admitted to citizenship after a revolution.'

πολλοὺς γὰρ ἐφυλέτευσε, κ.τ.λ.] In this passage Bp Thirlwall, II. 74, wishes to insert καί before μετοίκους, making the new citizens to be taken from these classes. Niebuhr, on the other hand, *Rom. Hist.* II. 305, note 702, wishes to change the order, πολλοὺς ἐφυλέτευσε ξένους μετοίκους καὶ δούλους. Mr Grote, IV. 170, note 1, prefers to take it as it stands, and construes the μετοίκους with both ξένους and δούλους. A comparison of two other passages, IV. (VII.) IV. 6, δούλων ἀριθμὸν καὶ μετοίκων καὶ ξένων, and again in the same chapter, § 14, ξένοις καὶ μετοίκοις would lead, I think, to the insertion of καί as the simplest way.

4 τὸ ἀμφισβήτημα] The question is not *de facto*, but *de jure*.

The Citizen defined.

της, ἀλλὰ πότερον ἀδίκως ἢ δικαίως. καίτοι καὶ τοῦτό τις ἔτι προσαπορήσειεν, ἆρ' εἰ μὴ δικαίως πολίτης, οὐ πολίτης, ὡς ταὐτὸ δυναμένου τοῦ τ' ἀδίκου καὶ τοῦ ψευδοῦς. ἐπεὶ δ' 1276 ὁρῶμεν καὶ ἄρχοντάς τινας ἀδίκως, οὓς ἄρχειν μὲν φήσομεν ἀλλ' οὐ δικαίως, ὁ δὲ πολίτης ἀρχῇ τινὶ διωρισμένος ἐστίν (ὁ γὰρ κοινωνῶν τῆς τοιᾶσδε ἀρχῆς πολίτης ἐστίν, ὡς ἔφαμεν), δῆλον ὅτι πολίτας μὲν εἶναι φατέον καὶ τούτους, περὶ δὲ τοῦ δικαίως ἢ μὴ δικαίως συνάπτει πρὸς τὴν εἰρημένην πρότερον ἀμφισβήτησιν.

Identity of the State.

3 Ἀποροῦσι γάρ τινες πόθ' ἡ πόλις ἔπραξε καὶ πότε οὐχ ἡ πόλις, οἷον ὅταν ἐξ ὀλιγαρχίας ἢ τυραννίδος γένηται δημοκρατία. 2 τότε γὰρ οὔτε τὰ συμβόλαια ἔνιοι βούλονται διαλύειν, ὡς οὐ τῆς πόλεως ἀλλὰ τοῦ τυράννου λαβόντος, οὔτ' ἄλλα πολλὰ τῶν τοιούτων, ὡς ἐνίας τῶν πολιτειῶν τῷ κρατεῖν οὔσας, ἀλλ' οὐ διὰ τὸ κοινῇ συμφέρον. εἴπερ οὖν καὶ δημοκρατοῦνταί τινες κατὰ τὸν τρόπον τοῦτον, ὁμοίως τῆς πόλεως φατέον εἶναι ταύτης τὰς τῆς πολιτείας ταύτης πράξεις καὶ τὰς ἐκ τῆς ὀλιγαρχίας καὶ τῆς τυραννίδος. 3 ἔοικε δ' οἰκεῖος ὁ λόγος εἶναι τῆς ἀπορίας ταύτης, πῶς ποτὲ χρὴ λέγειν τὴν πόλιν εἶναι τὴν αὐτὴν ἢ μὴ τὴν αὐτὴν ἀλλ' ἑτέραν. ἡ μὲν οὖν ἐπιπολαιο-

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ἆρ' εἰ, κ.τ.λ.] 'Must it not follow, if you allow that a man is a citizen on wrong grounds, that he is not a citizen at all?'

5 τούτους] sc. τοὺς μετασχόντας μεταβολῆς γενομένης.

III. 1 συνάπτει πρός] 'connects with,' πρότερον, I. 1.

2 διαλύειν] 'meet,' 'discharge.'

ἄλλα πολλὰ τῶν τοιούτων] such for instance as the laws of the fallen government.

ὡς ἐνίας, κ.τ.λ.] 'on the ground that there are some constitutions which exist simply by virtue of superior force, and not for the common good.'

The reasoning must hold good for the three forms of government equally, says Aristotle. 'If then in any case you have a democracy resting on mere force, you must allow that its acts (τὰς τῆς πολιτείας ταύτης πράξεις) are the acts of the state in which it exists (τῆς πόλεως ταύτης), as much as (ὁμοίως καί, comp. II. viii. 21) the acts of an oligarchy or tyranny are the acts of their respective states.' They are all παρεκβάσεις, they must all be judged on the same principles.

3 ἔοικε δ' οἰκεῖος ὁ λόγος] ὁ λόγος is what follows, πῶς ποτὲ ... ἑτέραν. 'The difficulty we have been discussing seems to have an intimate connexion with the question, how can you ever say that the state is the same or not the same but different?'

ἡ μὲν οὖν, κ.τ.λ.] 'The most obvious solution of the difficulty.' Such seems to be the meaning of ζήτησις

Identity of the State.

τάτη τῆς ἀπορίας ζήτησις περὶ τὸν τόπον καὶ τοὺς ἀνθρώπους ἐστίν· ἐνδέχεται γὰρ διαζευχθῆναι τὸν τόπον καὶ τοὺς ἀνθρώπους, καὶ τοὺς μὲν ἕτερον τοὺς δ᾽ ἕτερον οἰκῆσαι τόπον· ταύτην μὲν οὖν πραοτέραν θετέον τὴν ἀπορίαν· πολλαχῶς γὰρ τῆς πόλεως λεγομένης ἐστί πως εὐμάρεια τῆς τοιαύτης ζητήσεως. ὁμοίως δὲ καὶ τῶν τὸν αὐτὸν τόπον κατοικούντων ἀνθρώπων πότε δεῖ νομίζειν μίαν εἶναι
5 τὴν πόλιν. οὐ γὰρ δὴ τοῖς τείχεσιν· εἴη γὰρ ἂν Πελοποννήσῳ περιβαλεῖν ἓν τεῖχος. τοιαύτη δ᾽ ἴσως ἐστὶ καὶ Βαβυλὼν καὶ πᾶσα ἥτις ἔχει περιγραφὴν μᾶλλον ἔθνους ἢ πόλεως· ἧς γέ φασιν ἑαλωκυίας τρίτην ἡμέραν οὐκ αἰσθέ-
6 σθαι τι μέρος τῆς πόλεως. ἀλλὰ περὶ μὲν ταύτης τῆς ἀπορίας εἰς ἄλλον καιρὸν χρήσιμος ἡ σκέψις· περὶ γὰρ μεγέθους τῆς πόλεως, τό τε πόσον καὶ πότερον ἔθνος ἓν ἢ πλείω συμφέρει, δεῖ μὴ λανθάνειν τὸν πολιτικόν· ἀλλὰ τῶν αὐτῶν κατοικούντων τὸν αὐτὸν τόπον, πότερον ἕως ἂν ᾖ τὸ γένος ταὐτὸ τῶν κατοικούντων, τὴν αὐτὴν εἶναι φατέον πόλιν, καίπερ ἀεὶ τῶν μὲν φθειρομένων τῶν δὲ γινομένων,

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though it is forcing the word to make it stand for the result of inquiry, instead of inquiry. Compare his use of *κρίσεως* in II. viii. 13. Stahr takes the same view, "Die zunächst liegende Lösung dieser Schwierigkeit."

4 *ταύτην μὲν οὖν, κ.τ.λ.*] 'The difficulty when it takes this form, is by no means hard.' *πραοτέραν*, 'milder,' 'gentler.' For as the name of the city may apply to several, to the inhabitants of several places, the inquiry as to the identity of the different places meant by the name presents no difficulty. So I paraphrase the *πολλαχῶς...ζητήσεως*.

ὁμοίως δέ, κ.τ.λ.] The first question arose when the place of residence was not the same. 'Similarly when the place is the same.' 'There is equally also a question,' &c.

5 'It cannot surely be that the enclosure within given walls constitutes identity.'

Βαβυλών] Compare Herod. i. 178, 191, 'which includes within its circumference a space adapted rather for a tribe than for a city.'

6 *εἰς ἄλλον καιρόν*] IV. (VII.) 4.

ἔθνος ἕν] Compare on this subject Arnold, Thucydides, Preface to Vol. iii. xv.

ἀλλὰ τῶν αὐτῶν, κ.τ.λ.] 'But throwing aside the question of size, and assuming that you have men of the same race inhabiting the same place, then, &c.'

τὸ γένος] Is the identity of the state dependent on the identity of the race, which is not impaired by the succession of generations? or does it depend on the identity of constitution? On this last, says Aristotle.

ὥσπερ καὶ ποταμοὺς εἰώθαμεν λέγειν τοὺς αὐτοὺς καὶ κρήνας Identity of the State.
τὰς αὐτάς, καίπερ ἀεὶ τοῦ μὲν ἐπιγινομένου νάματος τοῦ δ'
ὑπεξιόντος, ἢ τοὺς μὲν ἀνθρώπους φατέον εἶναι τοὺς αὐτοὺς
διὰ τὴν τοιαύτην αἰτίαν, τὴν δὲ πόλιν ἑτέραν; εἴπερ γάρ 7 1276 B
ἐστι κοινωνία τις ἡ πόλις, ἔστι δὲ κοινωνία πολιτῶν πολι-
τεία[a], γιγνομένης ἑτέρας τῷ εἴδει καὶ διαφερούσης τῆς πολι-
τείας ἀναγκαῖον εἶναι δόξειεν ἂν καὶ τὴν πόλιν εἶναι μὴ τὴν
αὐτήν, ὥσπερ γε καὶ χορὸν ὁτὲ μὲν κωμικὸν ὁτὲ δὲ τραγικὸν
ἕτερον εἶναί φαμεν, τῶν αὐτῶν πολλάκις ἀνθρώπων ὄντων.
ὁμοίως δὲ καὶ πᾶσαν ἄλλην κοινωνίαν καὶ σύνθεσιν ἑτέραν, 8
ἂν εἶδος ἕτερον ᾖ τῆς συνθέσεως, οἷον ἁρμονίαν τῶν αὐτῶν
φθόγγων ἑτέραν εἶναι λέγομεν, ἂν ὁτὲ μὲν ᾖ Δώριος ὁτὲ
δὲ Φρύγιος. εἰ δὴ τοῦτον ἔχει τὸν τρόπον, φανερὸν 9
ὅτι μάλιστα λεκτέον τὴν αὐτὴν πόλιν εἰς τὴν πολιτείαν
βλέποντας· ὄνομα δὲ καλεῖν ἕτερον ἢ ταὐτὸν ἔξεστι καὶ
τῶν αὐτῶν κατοικούντων αὐτὴν καὶ πάμπαν ἑτέρων ἀνθρώ-
πων. εἰ δὲ δίκαιον διαλύειν ἢ μὴ διαλύειν, ὅταν εἰς ἑτέραν
μεταβάλλῃ πολιτείαν ἡ πόλις, λόγος ἕτερος.

Τῶν δὲ νῦν εἰρημένων ἐχόμενόν ἐστιν ἐπισκέψασθαι 4
πότερον τὴν αὐτὴν ἀρετὴν ἀνδρὸς ἀγαθοῦ καὶ πολίτου
σπουδαίου θετέον, ἢ μὴ τὴν αὐτήν. ἀλλὰ μὴν εἴ γε τοῦτο
τυχεῖν δεῖ ζητήσεως, τὴν τοῦ πολίτου τύπῳ τινὶ πρῶτον

Are the good man and the good citizen identical?

[a] κοινωνία πολιτῶν, πολιτείας Bekker.

διὰ τὴν τοιαύτην αἰτίαν] 'on these grounds.'

7 **εἴπερ γάρ, κ.τ.λ.**] 'For if we allow that the state is an association, and an association of citizens is a constitution, then when the constitution becomes in kind other than it was, and different, it would seem to follow that the state is no longer the same.' I read *κοινωνία πολιτῶν πολιτεία*. If Bekker's reading is kept, you have one of the two '*πολιτείας*' superfluous. And the next chapter, § 3, shews that the expression is legitimate, *κοινωνία δ' ἐστὶν ἡ πολιτεία*.

8 **ἑτέραν**] is the predicate.

9 **λόγος ἕτερος**] The point, as far as I know, is not discussed in the books we have.

IV. 1 After settling who is the citizen of his state, he proceeds to discuss a question analogous to that discussed in I. XIII., and first mooted *Eth.* V. v. 11. p. 1130, B. 29, *ἴσως γὰρ οὐ ταὐτὸν ἀνδρί τ' ἀγαθῷ εἶναι καὶ πολίτῃ παντί*, a statement which anticipates the conclusion of this chapter.

τὴν τοῦ πολίτου] That of the man has been given in the *Ethics*.

Aristotle's language the question takes this shape: Is the excellence of the man identical with that of the good citizen? The answer must be negative except in the ideal state, and even in that ideal state strict theory compels us to say that it is only in its magistrates that we find the two absolutely coincident. But as in that state the citizens are in turn citizens and magistrates, in all alike the two will coincide, but it will be a question of time, it will be only, that is, when in power, that there will be scope for the full exercise of perfect virtue. These alternations of perfect and imperfect excellence are the necessary consequences of the conditions of Aristotle's ideal state, which is formed of a number of citizens equally good, who must therefore be in turn rulers and ruled (Ch. IV.).

3rdly. In such a state the qualifications of the citizens must be high, and for the attainment of these long training and high education are indispensable. But these require leisure. The class then to which leisure is denied by its circumstances must be excluded. This is the ground for his answer to the question, Are the artizans, *βάναυσοι*, citizens? They cannot be in the ideal state, such as Aristotle conceived it (Ch. V.).

So far by way of preamble. The general test of a good government, varieties being granted, is, that it is for the good of the governed, not that of the governing body (Ch. VI.). That body may be one man or more than one. If more than one, it may be a small minority of the whole or a large majority. In other words, it may be a monarch—an aristocracy—or a politeia. Such are the divisions of governments, based on the principle of the number of the governing body, when the end aimed at by the government is the right one. But make the interest of the governing body its paramount consideration, and still adhere to the same principle of division, and your names change; and the new names are tyranny—oligarchy—democracy. These three are called deviations from the right forms. The members of the two series are looked on as theoretically on a level, but practically in both there is a difference in Aristotle's view, a difference even more strongly marked in the last than in the first (Ch. VII.). Oligarchy and democracy are examined at somewhat greater length. The characteristic of the first is found in wealth—that of the second in poverty. Accidentally wealth resides in the few—poverty in the many (Ch. VIII.).

All governments are based on some claim of right. The true ground of discussion, when examining the several claims, is this: You who claim more, do you contribute more, not as rich men, nor as artists, but as citizens? If so, your claim is just; if not, your claim is unjust (Ch. IX.).

Where shall the sovereign power reside? Shall it be in the many or the few? This is discussed with a leaning to the many (Ch. X. XI.).

The state is based on justice, and justice is equality. The question is: Equality in what? A series of difficulties are started, and the most definite result is this: that legislation involves the idea that those legislated for are equal in race and in powers. If the fair limits of this equality are overstepped, those who overstep it are practically liable to ostracism, theoretically they are the natural governors of their state (Ch. XII. XIII.).

The remainder of the book is on Monarchy, the various forms of the government of one; and is mainly descriptive, partly speculative. (Compare Mr Cornewall Lewis, *On Methods of Observation and Reasoning on Politics*, Vol. I. ch. III.) Five forms are given: the Spartan—barbaric—æsymnete, or elective—heroic—absolute, either tyranny or ideal monarchy (Chaps. XIV. XVI.). Hereditary monarchy is not favoured; nor, speaking generally, monarchy: but the judgment on it must depend on the state in which we find it existing (Ch. XVII.). He adopts as his own ideal state evidently not monarchy, but the second form, aristocracy in its ideal sense, the government of a certain number, which number under the conditions of human nature can hardly be very large, of citizens well qualified by moral discipline and intellectual training for a wise exercise of the functions they are called on to discharge.

The opening of the book at once carries us back to the end of the first book: *ὥστ' ἐπεὶ περὶ μὲν τούτων (τῆς οἰκονομίας) διώρισται, περὶ δὲ τῶν λοιπῶν ἐν ἄλλοις λεκτέον, ἀφέντες ὡς τέλος ἔχοντας τοὺς νῦν λόγους, ἄλλην ἀρχὴν ποιησάμενοι λέγωμεν, καὶ πρῶτον ἐπισκεψώμεθα περὶ τῶν ἀποφηναμένων περὶ τῆς πολιτείας τῆς ἀρίστης.* (Book II.) Compare also I. III. 1.

ΠΟΛΙΤΙΚΩΝ Γ.

The Citizen defined.

ΤΩι περὶ πολιτείας ἐπισκοποῦντι, καὶ τίς ἑκάστη καὶ
ποία τις, σχεδὸν πρώτη σκέψις περὶ πόλεως ἰδεῖν, τί
ποτ' ἐστὶν ἡ πόλις· νῦν γὰρ ἀμφισβητοῦσιν, οἱ μὲν φά-
σκοντες τὴν πόλιν πεπραχέναι τὴν πρᾶξιν, οἱ δ' οὐ τὴν
πόλιν ἀλλὰ τὴν ὀλιγαρχίαν ἢ τὸν τύραννον. τοῦ δὲ πολι-
τικοῦ καὶ τοῦ νομοθέτου πᾶσαν ὁρῶμεν τὴν πραγματείαν
οὖσαν περὶ πόλιν· ἡ δὲ πολιτεία τῶν τὴν πόλιν οἰκούντων
2 ἐστὶ τάξις τις. Ἐπεὶ δ' ἡ πόλις τῶν συγκειμένων, καθάπερ
ἄλλο τι τῶν ὅλων μὲν συνεστώτων δ' ἐκ πολλῶν μορίων,
δῆλον ὅτι πρότερον ὁ πολίτης ζητητέος· ἡ γὰρ πόλις πο-
1275 λιτῶν τι πλῆθός ἐστιν, ὥστε τίνα χρὴ καλεῖν πολίτην καὶ
τίς ὁ πολίτης ἐστί, σκεπτέον. καὶ γὰρ ὁ πολίτης ἀμφισ-
βητεῖται πολλάκις· οὐ γὰρ τὸν αὐτὸν ὁμολογοῦσι πάντες
εἶναι πολίτην· ἔστι γάρ τις ὃς ἐν δημοκρατίᾳ πολίτης ὢν
3 ἐν ὀλιγαρχίᾳ πολλάκις οὐκ ἔστι πολίτης. τοὺς μὲν οὖν
ἄλλως πως τυγχάνοντας ταύτης τῆς προσηγορίας, οἷον
τοὺς ποιητοὺς πολίτας, ἀφετέον. ὁ δὲ πολίτης οὐ τῷ
οἰκεῖν που πολίτης ἐστίν· καὶ γὰρ μέτοικοι καὶ δοῦλοι κοι-
4 νωνοῦσι τῆς οἰκήσεως. οὐδ' οἱ τῶν δικαίων μετέχοντες
οὕτως ὥστε καὶ δίκην ὑπέχειν καὶ δικάζεσθαι (τοῦτο γὰρ

I. 1 *περὶ πολιτείας*] genitive singular, as opposed to *οἰκονομίας*. See note on I. xiii. 15.

νῦν γάρ, κ.τ.λ.] That the idea is not clear, is evident from the fact, that at present men are at issue, &c.

ἡ δὲ πολιτεία] The constitution is an arrangement of a state; a state is a whole made up of parts, those parts are citizens. Who then is the citizen? How shall he be defined?

2 Comp. I. 1. 3.

καὶ γάρ, κ.τ.λ.] 'For the idea of the citizen, like that of the state, is by no means clear.'

3 *ταύτης τῆς προσηγορίας*] 'This name of citizen.'

τῷ οἰκεῖν που] 'by the simple fact of residence in a given place.'

4 *οὕτως*] 'only so far.'

ὥστε καὶ δίκην, κ.τ.λ.] 'as to be parties in suits, defendants and plaintiffs.'

τοῦτο γὰρ ὑπάρχει, κ.τ.λ.] 'for this

ὑπάρχει καὶ τοῖς ἀπὸ συμβόλων κοινωνοῦσιν) καὶ γὰρ ταῦτα τούτοις ὑπάρχει. πολλαχοῦ μὲν οὖν οὐδὲ τούτων τελέως οἱ μέτοικοι μετέχουσιν, ἀλλὰ νέμειν ἀνάγκη προστάτην· διὸ ἀτελῶς πως μετέχουσι τῆς τοιαύτης κοινωνίας· 5
ἀλλὰ καθάπερ καὶ παῖδας τοὺς μήπω δι' ἡλικίαν ἐγγεγραμμένους καὶ τοὺς γέροντας τοὺς ἀφειμένους, φατέον εἶναι μέν πως πολίτας, οὐχ ἁπλῶς δὲ λίαν ἀλλὰ προστιθέντας τοὺς μὲν ἀτελεῖς τοὺς δὲ παρηκμακότας ἤ τι τοιοῦτον ἕτερον· οὐδὲν γὰρ διαφέρει· δῆλον γὰρ τὸ λεγόμενον· ζητοῦμεν γὰρ τὸν ἁπλῶς πολίτην καὶ μηδὲν ἔχοντα τοιοῦτον ἔγκλημα διορθώσεως δεόμενον, ἐπεὶ καὶ περὶ τῶν ἀτίμων καὶ φυγάδων ἔστι τὰ τοιαῦτα καὶ διαπορεῖν καὶ λύειν. Πολί- 6
της δ' ἁπλῶς οὐδενὶ τῶν ἄλλων ὁρίζεται μᾶλλον ἢ τῷ

The Citizen defined.

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would apply to those who are associated by commercial treaties.' "In lawsuits between citizens of different states there existed, by virtue of a particular agreement, an appeal from one state to the other." These appeals were the δίκαι ἀπὸ συμβόλων, covenants or treaties for mutual protection, as opposed to the system of simple reprisals. Böckh, *Publ. Econ. of Athens*, I. 69.

καὶ γὰρ ταῦτα τούτοις ὑπάρχει] Schneider, with Vet. Int. and others, leave this out: Stahr retains it, but puts it in brackets as suspicious. St Hilaire retains it, but his translation scarcely meets the difficulty. I think it may be defended. In fact, though the passage is confused, I am inclined to look on it as hardly clear without these words. I should include in a parenthesis the words τοῦτο γάρ —— κοινωνοῦσιν. The τούτοις I should refer to μετοίκοις, the ταῦτα to τῶν δικαίων μετέχοντες, κ.τ.λ. 'Mere residence does not make a citizen; if it did, slaves and metics would be citizens. Nor again, does a certain community of rights, that, viz. of appearing in the courts of justice. Again the metics would be citizens if it did. Though it is true they do not always possess the right in its full integrity, they can only appear by representation.'

νέμειν προστάτην] Comp. Isocrates, *Or.* VIII. p. 170: τοὺς μετοίκους τοιούτους νομίζομεν, οἵους περ ἂν τοὺς προστάτας νέμωσιν, 'to provide themselves with a patron.'

5 ἐγγεγραμμένους] 'enrolled in the list of citizens,' εἰς τὸ ληξιαρχικὸν γραμματεῖον, the book in which the members of the demus were enrolled. Grote, IV. 178, note.

τοὺς ἀφειμένους] past the age of 60.

οὐχ ἁπλῶς δέ, κ.τ.λ.] 'But yet not quite without a qualification; we must add to the statement in the one case that they are not full citizens, in the other that they are past the age.'

ἔγκλημα] 'open to no objection of this kind requiring correction.'

ἀτίμων καὶ φυγάδων] These two are κατὰ πρόσθεσιν πολῖται, not ἁπλῶς.

6 πολίτης δέ, κ.τ.λ.] 'a citizen in the strict sense is defined by no one other thing so properly as by his sharing in the administration of justice and in the government.'

The Citizen defined.

μετέχειν κρίσεως καὶ ἀρχῆς. τῶν δ' ἀρχῶν αἱ μέν εἰσι διῃ-
ρημέναι κατὰ χρόνον, ὥστ' ἐνίας μὲν ὅλως δὶς τὸν αὐτὸν
οὐκ ἔξεστιν ἄρχειν, ἢ διά τινων ὡρισμένων χρόνων· ὁ δ'
7 ἀόριστος, οἷον ὁ δικαστὴς καὶ ἐκκλησιαστής. τάχα μὲν
οὖν ἂν φαίη τις οὐδ' ἄρχοντας εἶναι τοὺς τοιούτους, οὐδὲ
μετέχειν διὰ ταῦτ' ἀρχῆς· καίτοι γελοῖον τοὺς κυριωτάτους
ἀποστερεῖν ἀρχῆς. ἀλλὰ διαφερέτω μηδέν· περὶ ὀνόματος
γὰρ ὁ λόγος· ἀνώνυμον γὰρ τὸ κοινὸν ἐπὶ δικαστοῦ καὶ
ἐκκλησιαστοῦ, τί δεῖ ταῦτ' ἄμφω καλεῖν. ἔστω δὴ διορι-
8 σμοῦ χάριν ἀόριστος ἀρχή. τίθεμεν δὴ πολίτας τοὺς οὕτω
μετέχοντας. ὁ μὲν οὖν μάλιστ' ἂν ἐφαρμόσας πολίτης ἐπὶ
πάντας τοὺς λεγομένους πολίτας σχεδὸν τοιοῦτός ἐστιν.
δεῖ δὲ μὴ λανθάνειν ὅτι τῶν πραγμάτων ἐν οἷς τὰ ὑποκεί-
μενα διαφέρει τῷ εἴδει, καὶ τὸ μὲν αὐτῶν ἐστὶ πρῶτον τὸ
δὲ δεύτερον τὸ δ' ἐχόμενον, ἢ τὸ παράπαν οὐδέν ἐστιν, ᾗ
9 τοιαῦτα, τὸ κοινόν, ἢ γλίσχρως. τὰς δὲ πολιτείας ὁρῶμεν
εἴδει διαφερούσας ἀλλήλων, καὶ τὰς μὲν ὑστέρας τὰς δὲ
1275 B προτέρας οὔσας· τὰς γὰρ ἡμαρτημένας καὶ παρεκβεβηκυίας
ἀναγκαῖον ὑστέρας εἶναι τῶν ἀναμαρτήτων· τὰς δὲ παρεκ-

ὁ δ' ἀόριστος] The change to the masculine is abrupt, but caused by what follows. This makes it clear that by ἀρχῆς, he means legislative power, the power of the ἐκκλησιαστής.

7 ἀνώνυμον γάρ] 'for we have no name to express that which the two, the member of the judicial and the member of the legislative body, have in common. Let it be then, for distinction's sake, called "an indefinite magistracy." We consider then as citizens, those who in this sense are members of the association.' μετέχοντας, sc. τῆς κοινωνίας.

8 ὁ μὲν οὖν, κ.τ.λ.] 'The sense of the word citizen then, which would best suit all that are called citizens, may be said to be this.'

τῶν πραγμάτων, κ.τ.λ.] 'in the case of general names which stand for individuals differing in kind;' or, wherever the things that correspond to the name differ in kind,' ("die einzeln zum Grunde liegenden Theile der Art nach verschieden sind," Stahr,) 'and one sense is the primary, the other secondary, &c.: either there is absolutely no common element, or one which is very difficult to trace.' γλισχρῶς, 'scantily.' It is the case of analogous words, or equivocals. ὁμώνυμα, *Categ.* I. i. p. I. I.

9. πολιτεία] is the generic term, the various species differ very widely.

ὑστέρας] ambiguous, and if order of time is meant by the word, then the statement is not correct.

ἀναγκαῖον ἕτερον] If the whole differ, it cannot but be that the parts differ: the πολίτης is but part of the πολιτεία.

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βεβηκυίας πῶς λέγομεν, ὕστερον ἔσται φανερόν. ὥστε καὶ
τὸν πολίτην ἕτερον ἀναγκαῖον εἶναι τὸν καθ' ἑκάστην πολι-
τείαν. διόπερ ὁ λεχθεὶς ἐν μὲν δημοκρατίᾳ μάλιστ' ἐστὶ 10
πολίτης, ἐν δὲ ταῖς ἄλλαις ἐνδέχεται μέν, οὐ μὴν ἀναγκαῖον·
ἐνίαις γὰρ οὐκ ἔστι δῆμος, οὐδ' ἐκκλησίαν νομίζουσιν ἀλλὰ
συγκλήτους, καὶ τὰς δίκας δικάζουσι κατὰ μέρος, οἷον ἐν
Λακεδαίμονι τὰς τῶν συμβολαίων δικάζει τῶν ἐφόρων
ἄλλος ἄλλας, οἱ δὲ γέροντες τὰς φονικάς, ἑτέρα δ' ἴσως
ἀρχή τις ἑτέρας. τὸν αὐτὸν δὲ τρόπον καὶ περὶ Καρχη- 11
δόνα· πάσας γὰρ ἀρχαί τινες κρίνουσι τὰς δίκας. ἀλλ'
ἔχει γὰρ διόρθωσιν ὁ τοῦ πολίτου διορισμός. ἐν γὰρ ταῖς
ἄλλαις πολιτείαις οὐχ ὁ ἀόριστος ἄρχων ἐκκλησιαστής
ἐστι καὶ δικαστής, ἀλλ' ὁ κατὰ τὴν ἀρχὴν ὡρισμένος· τού-
των γὰρ ἢ πᾶσιν ἢ τισὶν ἀποδέδοται τὸ βουλεύεσθαι καὶ
δικάζειν ἢ περὶ πάντων ἢ περὶ τινῶν. τίς μὲν οὖν ἐστὶν ὁ 12
πολίτης, ἐκ τούτων φανερόν· ᾧ γὰρ ἐξουσία κοινωνεῖν ἀρχῆς
βουλευτικῆς ἢ κριτικῆς, πολίτην ἤδη λέγομεν εἶναι ταύτης
τῆς πόλεως, πόλιν δὲ τὸ τῶν τοιούτων πλῆθος ἱκανὸν πρὸς
αὐτάρκειαν ζωῆς, ὡς ἁπλῶς εἰπεῖν. ὁρίζονται δὲ[a] πρὸς τὴν 2

[a] δὴ Bekker.

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10 Διόπερ, κ.τ.λ.] 'looking at this distinction, we must remember that the above definition of the citizen will apply with most propriety in a democracy.' Stahr puts a full stop at πολίτης, I prefer altering that after ἀναγκαῖον.

δῆμος] 'democratical element.'

συγκλήτους] 'assemblies summoned as occasion required.' At Athens they would be extraordinary, as opposed to the regular assemblies. In the case supposed by Aristotle they are the only ones.

κατὰ μέρος] "verschiedene Behörden." Stahr. 'The administration of justice is conducted by different parts of the state,'

11 Καρχηδόνα] II. 11. 7. See note. The general object is the same, at Sparta and at Carthage; the administration of justice is entrusted to the few, the magistrates; not to the people, assembled in large numbers, as at Athens. The ἀρχαί τινες = ὑπὸ τῶν ἀρχείων.

ἀλλ' ἔχει γάρ, κ.τ.λ.] 'However the definition of the citizen admits of correction.'

ταῖς ἄλλαις] as opposed to ἐν δημοκρατίᾳ.

12 ᾧ γὰρ ἐξουσία] 'He who is admissible,' to whom the right of access to office is not closed.

ταύτης τῆς πόλεως] 'of the state in which he has this right.'

II. 1 ὁρίζονται δή] δέ should be read, 'Now for practical purposes the citizen is defined to be.' This is sup-

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χρῆσιν πολίτην τὸν ἐξ ἀμφοτέρων πολιτῶν καὶ μὴ θατέρου μόνον, οἷον πατρὸς ἢ μητρός· οἱ δὲ καὶ τοῦτ' ἐπὶ πλέον ζητοῦσιν, οἷον ἐπὶ πάππους δύο ἢ τρεῖς ἢ πλείους. οὕτω δὴ ὁριζομένων πολιτικῶς καὶ ταχέως, ἀποροῦσί τινες τὸν τρίτον ἐκεῖνον ἢ τέταρτον, πῶς ἔσται πολίτης. Γοργίας μὲν οὖν ὁ Λεοντῖνος, τὰ μὲν ἴσως ἀπορῶν τὰ δ' εἰρωνευόμενος, ἔφη, καθάπερ ὅλμους εἶναι τοὺς ὑπὸ τῶν ὁλμοποιῶν πεποιημένους, οὕτω καὶ Λαρισσαίους τοὺς ὑπὸ τῶν δημιουργῶν πεποιημένους· εἶναι γάρ τινας λαρισσοποιούς. 3 ἔστι δ' ἁπλοῦν· εἰ γὰρ μετεῖχον κατὰ τὸν ῥηθέντα διορισμὸν τῆς πολιτείας, ἦσαν[a] πολῖται· καὶ γὰρ οὐ δυνατὸν ἐφαρμόττειν τὸ ἐκ πολίτου ἢ ἐκ πολίτιδος ἐπὶ τῶν πρώτων οἰκησάντων ἢ κτισάντων. ἀλλ' ἴσως ἐκεῖνοι μᾶλλον ἔχουσιν ἀπορίαν, ὅσοι μετέσχον μεταβολῆς γενομένης πολιτείας, οἷον Ἀθήνησιν ἐποίησε Κλεισθένης μετὰ τὴν τῶν τυράννων ἐκβολήν· πολλοὺς γὰρ ἐφυλέτευσε ξένους καὶ δούλους μετοίκους. τὸ δ' ἀμφισβήτημα πρὸς τούτους ἐστὶν οὐ τίς πολί-

[a] ἂν Bekker.

ported by Vet. Int., who translates it 'autem.'

πολιτικῶς] 'practically,' 'popularly.' Comp. *Poetics*, VI. 23, 1450, b. 8. ταχέως, 'hastily,' 'superficially.'

2 εἰρωνευόμενος] "sich lustig machte." Stahr. I prefer the sense of 'speaking cautiously,' 'not wishing to speak out.'

δημιουργῶν] The word stands both for 'artificers' and 'magistrates.'

Λαρισσαίους] Liddell and Scott give the word ὁ Λαρισαῖος from this passage as a kind of kettle made at Larissa. We do not know enough of Gorgias at Larissa, where he is said to have spent a considerable time, to make the anecdote clear.

3 ἔστι δ' ἁπλοῦν] 'But the question is really simple.'

ἦσαν ἄν] 'erant,' Vet. Int. I omit the ἄν, 'If they came up to the definition, they were citizens.' ἐφαρμόττ-, active.

ἐκεῖνοι] 'another class involve really a greater difficulty.'

μετέσχον, κ.τ.λ.] 'have been admitted to citizenship after a revolution.'

πολλοὺς γὰρ ἐφυλέτευσε, κ.τ.λ.] In this passage Bp Thirlwall, II. 74, wishes to insert καί before μετοίκους, making the new citizens to be taken from these classes. Niebuhr, on the other hand, *Rom. Hist.* II. 305, note 702, wishes to change the order, πολλοὺς ἐφυλέτευσε ξένους μετοίκους καὶ δούλους. Mr Grote, IV. 170, note 1, prefers to take it as it stands, and construes the μετοίκους with both ξένους and δούλους. A comparison of two other passages, IV. (VII.) IV. 6, δούλων ἀριθμὸν καὶ μετοίκων καὶ ξένων, and again in the same chapter, § 14, ξένοις καὶ μετοίκοις would lead, I think, to the insertion of καί as the simplest way.

4 τὸ ἀμφισβήτημα] The question is not *de facto*, but *de jure*.

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της, ἀλλὰ πότερον ἀδίκως ἢ δικαίως. καίτοι καὶ τοῦτό τις ἔτι προσαπορήσειεν, ἆρ᾽ εἰ μὴ δικαίως πολίτης, οὐ πολίτης, ὡς ταὐτὸ δυναμένου τοῦ τ᾽ ἀδίκου καὶ τοῦ ψευδοῦς. ἐπεὶ δ᾽ 1276 ὁρῶμεν καὶ ἄρχοντάς τινας ἀδίκως, οὓς ἄρχειν μὲν φήσομεν ἀλλ᾽ οὐ δικαίως, ὁ δὲ πολίτης ἀρχῇ τινὶ διωρισμένος ἐστίν (ὁ γὰρ κοινωνῶν τῆς τοιᾶσδε ἀρχῆς πολίτης ἐστίν, ὡς ἔφαμεν), δῆλον ὅτι πολίτας μὲν εἶναι φατέον καὶ τούτους, περὶ δὲ τοῦ δικαίως ἢ μὴ δικαίως συνάπτει πρὸς τὴν εἰρημένην πρότερον ἀμφισβήτησιν.

3

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Ἀποροῦσι γάρ τινες πόθ᾽ ἡ πόλις ἔπραξε καὶ πότε οὐχ ἡ πόλις, οἷον ὅταν ἐξ ὀλιγαρχίας ἢ τυραννίδος γένηται δημοκρατία. τότε γὰρ οὔτε τὰ συμ- 2 βόλαια ἔνιοι βούλονται διαλύειν, ὡς οὐ τῆς πόλεως ἀλλὰ τοῦ τυράννου λαβόντος, οὔτ᾽ ἄλλα πολλὰ τῶν τοιούτων, ὡς ἐνίας τῶν πολιτειῶν τῷ κρατεῖν οὔσας, ἀλλ᾽ οὐ διὰ τὸ κοινῇ συμφέρον. εἴπερ οὖν καὶ δημοκρατοῦνταί τινες κατὰ τὸν τρόπον τοῦτον, ὁμοίως τῆς πόλεως φατέον εἶναι ταύτης τὰς τῆς πολιτείας ταύτης πράξεις καὶ τὰς ἐκ τῆς ὀλιγαρχίας καὶ τῆς τυραννίδος. ἔοικε δ᾽ οἰκεῖος ὁ λόγος εἶναι τῆς 3 ἀπορίας ταύτης, πῶς ποτὲ χρὴ λέγειν τὴν πόλιν εἶναι τὴν αὐτὴν ἢ μὴ τὴν αὐτὴν ἀλλ᾽ ἑτέραν. ἡ μὲν οὖν ἐπιπολαιο-

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ἆρ᾽ εἰ, κ.τ.λ.] 'Must it not follow, if you allow that a man is a citizen on wrong grounds, that he is not a citizen at all?'

5 τούτους] sc. τοὺς μετασχόντας μεταβολῆς γενομένης.

III. 1 συνάπτει πρός] 'connects with,' πρότερον, I. 1.

2 διαλύειν] 'meet,' 'discharge.'

ἄλλα πολλὰ τῶν τοιούτων] such for instance as the laws of the fallen government.

ὡς ἐνίας, κ.τ.λ.] 'on the ground that there are some constitutions which exist simply by virtue of superior force, and not for the common good.'

The reasoning must hold good for the three forms of government equally, says Aristotle. 'If then in any case you have a democracy resting on mere force, you must allow that its acts (τὰς τῆς πολιτείας ταύτης πράξεις) are the acts of the state in which it exists (τῆς πόλεως ταύτης), as much as (ὁμοίως καί, comp. II. VIII. 21) the acts of an oligarchy or tyranny are the acts of their respective states.' They are all παρεκβάσεις, they must all be judged on the same principles.

3 ἔοικε δ᾽ οἰκεῖος ὁ λόγος] ὁ λόγος is what follows, πῶς ποτὲ ... ἑτέραν. 'The difficulty we have been discussing seems to have an intimate connexion with the question, how can you ever say that the state is the same or not the same but different?'

ἡ μὲν οὖν, κ.τ.λ.] 'The most obvious solution of the difficulty.' Such seems to be the meaning of ζήτησις

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τάτη τῆς ἀπορίας ζήτησις περὶ τὸν τόπον καὶ τοὺς ἀνθρώπους ἐστίν· ἐνδέχεται γὰρ διαζευχθῆναι τὸν τόπον καὶ τοὺς ἀνθρώπους, καὶ τοὺς μὲν ἕτερον τοὺς δ' ἕτερον οἰκῆσαι τόπον· ταύτην μὲν οὖν πραοτέραν θετέον τὴν ἀπορίαν· πολλαχῶς γὰρ τῆς πόλεως λεγομένης ἐστί πως εὐμάρεια τῆς τοιαύτης ζητήσεως. ὁμοίως δὲ καὶ τῶν τὸν αὐτὸν τόπον κατοικούντων ἀνθρώπων πότε δεῖ νομίζειν μίαν εἶναι
5 τὴν πόλιν. οὐ γὰρ δὴ τοῖς τείχεσιν· εἴη γὰρ ἂν Πελοποννήσῳ περιβαλεῖν ἓν τεῖχος. τοιαύτη δ' ἴσως ἐστὶ καὶ Βαβυλὼν καὶ πᾶσα ἥτις ἔχει περιγραφὴν μᾶλλον ἔθνους ἢ πόλεως· ἧς γέ φασιν ἑαλωκυίας τρίτην ἡμέραν οὐκ αἰσθέ-
6 σθαι τι μέρος τῆς πόλεως. ἀλλὰ περὶ μὲν ταύτης τῆς ἀπορίας εἰς ἄλλον καιρὸν χρήσιμος ἡ σκέψις· περὶ γὰρ μεγέθους τῆς πόλεως, τό τε πόσον καὶ πότερον ἔθνος ἓν ἢ πλείω συμφέρει, δεῖ μὴ λανθάνειν τὸν πολιτικόν· ἀλλὰ τῶν αὐτῶν κατοικούντων τὸν αὐτὸν τόπον, πότερον ἕως ἂν ᾖ τὸ γένος ταὐτὸ τῶν κατοικούντων, τὴν αὐτὴν εἶναι φατέον πόλιν, καίπερ ἀεὶ τῶν μὲν φθειρομένων τῶν δὲ γινομένων,

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though it is forcing the word to make it stand for the result of inquiry, instead of inquiry. Compare his use of *κρίσεως* in II. VIII. 13. Stahr takes the same view, "Die zunächst liegende Lösung dieser Schwierigkeit."

4 *ταύτην μὲν οὖν, κ.τ.λ.*] 'The difficulty when it takes this form, is by no means hard.' *πραοτέραν*, 'milder,' 'gentler.' For as the name of the city may apply to several, to the inhabitants of several places, the inquiry as to the identity of the different places meant by the name presents no difficulty. So I paraphrase the *πολλαχῶς...ζητήσεως*.

ὁμοίως δέ, κ.τ.λ.] The first question arose when the place of residence was not the same. 'Similarly when the place is the same.' 'There is equally also a question,' &c.

5 'It cannot surely be that the enclosure within given walls constitutes identity.'

Βαβυλών] Compare Herod. I. 178, 191, 'which includes within its circumference a space adapted rather for a tribe than for a city.'

6 *εἰς ἄλλον καιρόν*] IV. (VII.) 4.

ἔθνος ἕν] Compare on this subject Arnold, Thucydides, Preface to Vol. III. xv.

ἀλλὰ τῶν αὐτῶν, κ.τ.λ.] 'But throwing aside the question of size, and assuming that you have men of the same race inhabiting the same place, then, &c.'

τὸ γένος] Is the identity of the state dependent on the identity of the race, which is not impaired by the succession of generations? or does it depend on the identity of constitution? On this last, says Aristotle.

ὥσπερ καὶ ποταμοὺς εἰώθαμεν λέγειν τοὺς αὐτοὺς καὶ κρήνας τὰς αὐτάς, καίπερ ἀεὶ τοῦ μὲν ἐπιγινομένου νάματος τοῦ δ' ὑπεξιόντος, ἢ τοὺς μὲν ἀνθρώπους φατέον εἶναι τοὺς αὐτοὺς διὰ τὴν τοιαύτην αἰτίαν, τὴν δὲ πόλιν ἑτέραν; εἴπερ γάρ 7 ἐστι κοινωνία τις ἡ πόλις, ἔστι δὲ κοινωνία πολιτῶν πολιτεία[a], γιγνομένης ἑτέρας τῷ εἴδει καὶ διαφερούσης τῆς πολιτείας ἀναγκαῖον εἶναι δόξειεν ἂν καὶ τὴν πόλιν εἶναι μὴ τὴν αὐτήν, ὥσπερ γε καὶ χορὸν ὁτὲ μὲν κωμικὸν ὁτὲ δὲ τραγικὸν ἕτερον εἶναί φαμεν, τῶν αὐτῶν πολλάκις ἀνθρώπων ὄντων. ὁμοίως δὲ καὶ πᾶσαν ἄλλην κοινωνίαν καὶ σύνθεσιν ἑτέραν, 8 ἂν εἶδος ἕτερον ᾖ τῆς συνθέσεως, οἷον ἁρμονίαν τῶν αὐτῶν φθόγγων ἑτέραν εἶναι λέγομεν, ἂν ὁτὲ μὲν ᾖ Δώριος ὁτὲ δὲ Φρύγιος. εἰ δὴ τοῦτον ἔχει τὸν τρόπον, φανερὸν 9 ὅτι μάλιστα λεκτέον τὴν αὐτὴν πόλιν εἰς τὴν πολιτείαν βλέποντας· ὄνομα δὲ καλεῖν ἕτερον ἢ ταὐτὸν ἔξεστι καὶ τῶν αὐτῶν κατοικούντων αὐτὴν καὶ πάμπαν ἑτέρων ἀνθρώπων. εἰ δὲ δίκαιον διαλύειν ἢ μὴ διαλύειν, ὅταν εἰς ἑτέραν μεταβάλλῃ πολιτείαν ἡ πόλις, λόγος ἕτερος.

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Τῶν δὲ νῦν εἰρημένων ἐχόμενόν ἐστιν ἐπισκέψασθαι 4 πότερον τὴν αὐτὴν ἀρετὴν ἀνδρὸς ἀγαθοῦ καὶ πολίτου σπουδαίου θετέον, ἢ μὴ τὴν αὐτήν. ἀλλὰ μὴν εἴ γε τοῦτο τυχεῖν δεῖ ζητήσεως, τὴν τοῦ πολίτου τύπῳ τινὶ πρῶτον

Are the good man and the good citizen identical?

[a] κοινωνία πολιτῶν, πολιτείας Bekker.

διὰ τὴν τοιαύτην αἰτίαν] 'on these grounds.'

7 **εἴπερ γάρ, κ.τ.λ.**] 'For if we allow that the state is an association, and an association of citizens is a constitution, then when the constitution becomes in kind other than it was, and different, it would seem to follow that the state is no longer the same.' I read *κοινωνία πολιτῶν πολιτεία*. If Bekker's reading is kept, you have one of the two '*πολιτείας*' superfluous. And the next chapter, § 3, shows that the expression is legitimate, *κοινωνία δ' ἐστὶν ἡ πολιτεία*.

8 **ἑτέραν**] is the predicate.

9 **λόγος ἕτερος**] The point, as far as I know, is not discussed in the books we have.

IV. 1 After settling who is the citizen of his state, he proceeds to discuss a question analogous to that discussed in I. XIII., and first mooted *Eth.* V. v. 11. p. 1130, B. 29, *ἴσως γὰρ οὐ ταὐτὸν ἀνδρί τ' ἀγαθῷ εἶναι καὶ πολίτῃ παντί*, a statement which anticipates the conclusion of this chapter.

τὴν τοῦ πολίτου] That of the man has been given in the *Ethics*.

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ληπτέον. ὥσπερ οὖν ὁ πλωτὴρ εἷς τις τῶν κοινωνῶν ἐστίν, οὕτω καὶ τὸν πολίτην φαμέν. τῶν δὲ πλωτήρων καίπερ ἀνομοίων ὄντων τὴν δύναμιν (ὁ μὲν γάρ ἐστιν ἐρέτης, ὁ δὲ κυβερνήτης, ὁ δὲ πρωρεύς, ὁ δ' ἄλλην τιν' ἔχων τοιαύτην
2 ἐπωνυμίαν) δῆλον ὡς ὁ μὲν ἀκριβέστατος ἑκάστου λόγος ἴδιος ἔσται τῆς ἀρετῆς ὁμοίως δὲ καὶ κοινός τις ἐφαρμόσει πᾶσιν. ἡ γὰρ σωτηρία τῆς ναυτιλίας ἔργον ἐστὶν αὐτῶν πάντων· τούτου γὰρ ἕκαστος ὀρέγεται τῶν πλωτήρων.
3 ὁμοίως τοίνυν καὶ τῶν πολιτῶν, καίπερ ἀνομοίων ὄντων, ἡ σωτηρία τῆς κοινωνίας ἔργον ἐστί, κοινωνία δ' ἐστὶν ἡ πολιτεία· διὸ τὴν ἀρετὴν ἀναγκαῖον εἶναι τοῦ πολίτου πρὸς τὴν πολιτείαν· εἴπερ οὖν ἐστὶ πλείω πολιτείας εἴδη, δῆλον ὡς οὐκ ἐνδέχεται τοῦ σπουδαίου πολίτου μίαν ἀρετὴν εἶναι τὴν τελείαν· τὸν δ' ἀγαθὸν ἄνδρα φαμὲν εἶναι κατ' ἀρετὴν τε-
4 λείαν. ὅτι μὲν οὖν ἐνδέχεται πολίτην ὄντα σπουδαῖον μὴ κεκτῆσθαι τὴν ἀρετὴν καθ' ἣν σπουδαῖος ἀνήρ, φανερόν. Οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ καὶ κατ' ἄλλον τρόπον ἔστι διαποροῦντας ἐπελθεῖν τὸν αὐτὸν λόγον περὶ τῆς ἀρίστης πολιτείας. εἰ

ὁ πλωτήρ] Compare *Eth.* VIII. xi. 5. p. 1160, 14, on the subject of κοινωνίαι, where πλωτῆρες are cited as examples.

2 ὁ μὲν ἀκριβέστατος, κ.τ.λ.] 'That whilst the most exact definition of each will express properly the peculiar excellence of each, there will be none the less some common one which will be adapted to all.' Vict. wishes to read ὅμως, and is followed by Schneider, but it is not necessary.

τῆς ναυτιλίας] 'For safety in their navigation is the object they all have in common;' and if they have in common some one object (ἔργον), then they will have in common some excellence, ἡ γὰρ ἀρετὴ πρὸς τὸ ἔργον τὸ οἰκεῖον, *Eth.* VI. ii. 7. p. 1139, 16.

3 κοινωνία δ' ἐστὶν ἡ πολιτεία] 'and the association of citizens is their constitution.'

πρὸς τὴν πολιτείαν] 'must necessarily be referred to the constitution of which he is a member,' comp. I. XIII. 15. He is but a part, and like other parts, can only be viewed properly in relation to the whole. If so, and if there are several forms of constitution, it will follow that the citizens in the different forms will differ, so that it is impossible for all citizens to secure the perfect virtue, in other words, to be perfectly good men.

4 οὐ μὴν ἀλλά] A second argument. 'We may from another point of view discuss the best constitution, and arrive at the same conclusion.' διαποροῦντας περὶ τῆς ἀρίστης πολιτείας, "indem man Zweifel und Bedenken über die Möglichkeit der ἀρίστη πολιτεία vorbringe." Spengel, p. 30.

5 This clause is rather loosely expressed; I consider it to mean: It is impossible that a state should have none but thoroughly good men for its citizens, yet each citizen must do his

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γὰρ ἀδύνατον ἐξ ἁπάντων σπουδαίων ὄντων εἶναι πόλιν, δεῖ δ' ἕκαστον τὸ καθ' αὑτὸν ἔργον εὖ ποιεῖν, τοῦτο δ' ἀπ' ἀρετῆς· ἐπεὶ δ' ἀδύνατον ὁμοίους εἶναι πάντας τοὺς πολίτας, οὐκ ἂν εἴη μία ἀρετὴ πολίτου καὶ ἀνδρὸς ἀγαθοῦ. τὴν μὲν γὰρ τοῦ σπουδαίου πολίτου δεῖ πᾶσιν ὑπάρχειν (οὕτω γὰρ 1277
ἀρίστην ἀναγκαῖον εἶναι τὴν πόλιν), τὴν δὲ τοῦ ἀνδρὸς τοῦ ἀγαθοῦ ἀδύνατον, εἰ μὴ πάντας ἀναγκαῖον ἀγαθοὺς εἶναι τοὺς ἐν τῇ σπουδαίᾳ πόλει πολίτας. Ἔτι ἐπεὶ ἐξ ἀνομοίων 6
ἡ πόλις, ὥσπερ ζῷον εὐθὺς ἐκ ψυχῆς καὶ σώματος καὶ ψυχὴ ἐκ λόγου καὶ ὀρέξεως καὶ οἰκία ἐξ ἀνδρὸς καὶ γυναικὸς καὶ κτῆσις ἐκ δεσπότου καὶ δούλου, τὸν αὐτὸν τρόπον καὶ πόλις ἐξ ἁπάντων τε τούτων καὶ πρὸς τούτοις ἐξ ἄλλων ἀνομοίων συνέστηκεν εἰδῶν, ἀνάγκη μὴ μίαν εἶναι τὴν τῶν πολιτῶν πάντων ἀρετήν, ὥσπερ οὐδὲ τῶν χορευτῶν κορυφαίου καὶ παραστάτου. Διότι μὲν τοίνυν ἁπλῶς οὐχ ἡ 7
αὐτή, φανερὸν ἐκ τούτων· ἀλλ' ἆρα ἔσται τινὸς ἡ αὐτὴ ἀρετὴ πολίτου τε σπουδαίου καὶ ἀνδρὸς σπουδαίου; φαμὲν δὴ τὸν ἄρχοντα τὸν σπουδαῖον ἀγαθὸν εἶναι καὶ φρόνιμον, τὸν δὲ πολίτην οὐκ[a] ἀναγκαῖον εἶναι φρόνιμον. καὶ τὴν 8

[a] τὸν δὲ πολιτικὸν Bekker.

own proper work; this involves some excellence, that of the citizen, so that they will all be good citizens. But then, as they cannot be all quite alike, though excellent as citizens, they will not be all equally excellent as men.

ἀδύνατον ὁμοίους εἶναι] II. II. 3, οὐ γὰρ γίνεται πόλις ἐξ ὁμοίων.

6 ἐξ ἀνομοίων = ἐξ εἴδει διαφερόντων. A third argument. The mere fact of the citizens being dissimilar, involves dissimilar excellence. You would as little look for its being one and the same in all, as you would require one and the same excellence in the front and rear ranks of a chorus. Muller, *Eumenides*, 63, 64.

7 Διότι] 'That then,' I. II. 10.

ἀλλ' ἆρα ἔσται] 'But will there not be some case in which we shall find coincident the excellence of the good citizen and the good man?'

φαμὲν δή] 'We say then that the good magistrate must combine moral goodness and intellectual excellence, whereas the citizen need not have this latter in its highest form.' τὸν δὲ πολίτην οὐκ is the reading I adopt on conjecture. We do not require φρόνησις for the simple citizen. See below § 18.

8 καὶ τὴν παιδείαν] 'So clear is it that we draw this distinction, that at the very outset, the education of the ruler, it is said, should be different from that of the ruled. As in fact is seen to be the case with the sons of kings, who are taught riding and the art of war.' For πολεμικήν, Göttling reads πολιτικήν, which I should not have mentioned, but that Mr Lewis

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παιδείαν δ' εὐθὺς ἑτέραν εἶναι λέγουσί τινες τοῦ ἄρχοντος, ὥσπερ καὶ φαίνονται οἱ τῶν βασιλέων υἱεῖς ἱππικὴν καὶ πολεμικὴν παιδευόμενοι, καὶ Εὐριπίδης φησὶ

μή μοι τὰ κόμψ'—
ἀλλ' ὧν πόλει δεῖ,

9 ὡς οὖσάν τινα ἄρχοντος παιδείαν. εἰ δὲ ἡ αὐτὴ ἀρετὴ
ἄρχοντός τε ἀγαθοῦ καὶ ἀνδρὸς ἀγαθοῦ, πολίτης δ' ἐστὶ καὶ
ὁ ἀρχόμενος, οὐχ ἡ αὐτὴ ἁπλῶς ἂν εἴη πολίτου καὶ ἀνδρός,
τινὸς μέντοι πολίτου· οὐ γὰρ ἡ αὐτὴ ἄρχοντος καὶ πολίτου,
καὶ διὰ τοῦτ' ἴσως Ἰάσων ἔφη πεινῆν, ὅτε μὴ τυραννοῖ,
10 ὡς οὐκ ἐπιστάμενος ἰδιώτης εἶναι. ἀλλὰ μὴν ἐπαινεῖταί γε
τὸ δύνασθαι ἄρχειν καὶ ἄρχεσθαι, καὶ πολίτου δοκίμου ἡ
ἀρετὴ εἶναι τὸ δύνασθαι καὶ ἄρχειν καὶ ἄρχεσθαι καλῶς. εἰ
οὖν τὴν μὲν τοῦ ἀγαθοῦ ἀνδρὸς τίθεμεν ἀρχικήν, τὴν δὲ τοῦ
11 πολίτου ἄμφω, οὐκ ἂν εἴη ἄμφω ἐπαινετὰ ὁμοίως. ἐπεὶ

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adopts it (*On Authority*, &c., p. 256, note). It is surely not necessary.

Εὐριπίδης] *Fr. Æol.* VII.

9 In the good ruler then we must look for the perfect virtue of the perfect man. But those whom he rules are, not less than he, citizens of the state. There is a wide interval between their functions, there will be therefore a difference in their respective excellences. So in a given citizen the good man and the good ruler coincide, not in all citizens. It was a strong expression of Jason's sense of this difference between ruler and subject, when he said he felt hungry when not despot. Grote, III. 36, note, 'incessant hunger till he became despot.'

10 ἀλλὰ μήν, κ.τ.λ.] 'It must not be forgotten, however, allowing all this, that by the common voice of men, praise is attached to the capacity for filling both positions, that of ruler and ruled, and the general idea of the excellence of a citizen, is that he possesses this capacity, that he can both rule and submit to rule.'

πολίτου δοκίμου] we must supply δοκεῖ, or some similar word.

εἰ οὖν, κ.τ.λ.] 'The good man must have the virtue of the ruler, the good citizen must have both; but both are not equally objects of praise.'

11 ἐπεὶ οὖν ποτέ, κ.τ.λ.] This is variously taken. Stahr supplies ἐπαινετὰ εἶναι after ἀμφότερα, as does Schneider. Victorious makes ἀμφότερα depend on μανθάνειν. Agreeing with him, I construe the passage as follows: 'Since then it seems that the ruler must some time or other learn both (ἄρχεσθαι καὶ ἄρχειν), and yet that the ruler and the ruled are not bound to know the same things, whilst the citizen must know both and fully share in both, what follows from these positions may be seen.' The simple answer as to what is required relatively of the two, the ruler and the ruled, is that in the best state it is a question of time. And as far as I can understand the passage, the line of argument is not continued in the next sentence, but in § 14, ταύτην γὰρ λέ-

οὖν ποτὲ δοκεῖ ἀμφότερα καὶ οὐ ταὐτὰ δεῖν τὸν ἄρχοντα μανθάνειν καὶ τὸν ἀρχόμενον, τὸν δὲ πολίτην ἀμφότερ' ἐπίστασθαι καὶ μετέχειν ἀμφοῖν, τοὐντεῦθεν ἂν κατίδοι τις. [Ἔστι γὰρ ἀρχὴ δεσποτική· ταύτην δὲ τὴν περὶ τἀναγκαῖα λέγομεν, ἃ ποιεῖν ἐπίστασθαι τὸν ἄρχοντ' οὐκ ἀναγκαῖον, ἀλλὰ χρῆσθαι μᾶλλον· θάτερον δὲ καὶ ἀνδραποδῶδες. λέγω 12 δὲ θάτερον τὸ δύνασθαι καὶ ὑπηρετεῖν τὰς διακονικὰς πράξεις. δούλου δ' εἴδη πλείω λέγομεν· αἱ γὰρ ἐργασίαι πλείους. ὧν ἓν μέρος κατέχουσιν οἱ χερνῆτες· οὗτοι δ' εἰσίν, ὥσπερ σημαίνει καὶ τοὔνομ' αὐτούς, οἱ ζῶντες ἀπὸ τῶν χειρῶν, ἐν 1277 B οἷς ὁ βάναυσος τεχνίτης ἐστίν. διὸ παρ' ἐνίοις οὐ μετεῖχον οἱ δημιουργοὶ τὸ παλαιὸν ἀρχῶν, πρὶν δῆμον γενέσθαι τὸν ἔσχατον. τὰ μὲν οὖν ἔργα τῶν ἀρχομένων οὕτως οὐ δεῖ 13 τὸν ἀγαθὸν οὐδὲ τὸν πολιτικὸν οὐδὲ τὸν πολίτην τὸν ἀγαθὸν μανθάνειν, εἰ μή ποτε χρείας χάριν αὐτῷ πρὸς αὐτόν· οὐ γὰρ ἔτι συμβαίνει γίνεσθαι τὸν μὲν δεσπότην τὸν δὲ δοῦλον. ἀλλ' ἔστι τις ἀρχὴ καθ' ἣν ἄρχει τῶν ὁμοίων τῷ γένει καὶ τῶν ἐλευθέρων.] Ταύτην γὰρ λέγομεν εἶναι τὴν πολιτικὴν 14 ἀρχήν, ἣν δεῖ τὸν ἄρχοντα ἀρχόμενον μαθεῖν, οἷον ἱππαρχεῖν ἱππαρχηθέντα, στρατηγεῖν στρατηγηθέντα καὶ ταξιαρχήσαντα καὶ λοχαγήσαντα. διὸ καὶ λέγεται καὶ τοῦτο

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γομεν, κ.τ.λ. All between these two points seems to me out of place. It interrupts the reasoning, and is in itself superfluous, as it is in fact a repetition of points already adequately treated in the First Book. Without presuming to say that it is not Aristotle's, I have therefore inclosed it in brackets simply to mark what I consider the sense of the passage. It has the air of being put in to explain the connexion of *ταύτην γὰρ λέγομεν τὴν πολιτικὴν ἀρχήν*.

ἔστι γὰρ ἀρχή] The doctrine is the same as that of I. VII.

12 *Δούλου δ' εἴδη*] From this to the end of the section is to me even more suspicious than the rest. It is most unnecessary detail.

13 *οὐ γὰρ ἔτι*] 'For the result is that the distinction is effaced.'

14 *ταύτην γάρ*] 'For the very notion we attach to the power exercised in a free state is, that it is that which the ruler learns to exercise by himself obeying.' Compare Grote, on the character of Epaminondas, x. 487, "An illustrious specimen of that capacity and goodwill, both to command and to be commanded, which Aristotle pronounces to form in their combination the characteristic feature of the worthy citizen."

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καλῶς, ὡς οὐκ ἔστιν εὖ ἄρξαι μὴ ἀρχθέντα. τούτων δὲ ἀρετὴ μὲν ἑτέρα, δεῖ δὲ τὸν πολίτην τὸν ἀγαθὸν ἐπίστασθαι καὶ δύνασθαι καὶ ἄρχεσθαι καὶ ἄρχειν, καὶ αὕτη ἀρετὴ πολίτου, τὸ τὴν τῶν ἐλευθέρων ἀρχὴν ἐπίστασθαι ἐπ' ἀμ-
15 φότερα. καὶ ἀνδρὸς δὴ ἀγαθοῦ ἄμφω, καὶ εἰ ἕτερον εἶδος
16 σωφροσύνης καὶ δικαιοσύνης ἀρχικῆς· καὶ γὰρ ἀρχομένου μὲν ἐλευθέρου δὲ δῆλον ὅτι οὐ μία ἂν εἴη τοῦ ἀγαθοῦ ἀρετή, οἷον δικαιοσύνη, ἀλλ' εἴδη ἔχουσα καθ' ἃ ἄρξει καὶ ἄρξεται, ὥσ-
17 περ ἀνδρὸς καὶ γυναικὸς ἑτέρα σωφροσύνη καὶ ἀνδρία. δόξαι γὰρ ἂν εἶναι δειλὸς ἀνήρ, εἰ οὕτως ἀνδρεῖος εἴη ὥσπερ γυνὴ ἀνδρεία, καὶ γυνὴ λάλος, εἰ οὕτω κοσμία εἴη ὥσπερ ὁ ἀνὴρ ὁ ἀγαθός, ἐπεὶ καὶ οἰκονομία ἑτέρα ἀνδρὸς καὶ γυναικός· τοῦ μὲν γὰρ κτᾶσθαι, τῆς δὲ φυλάττειν ἔργον ἐστίν. ἡ δὲ φρόνησις ἄρχοντος ἴδιος ἀρετὴ μόνη· τὰς γὰρ ἄλλας ἔοικεν ἀναγκαῖον εἶναι κοινὰς καὶ τῶν ἀρχομένων καὶ τῶν ἀρχόν-
18 των. ἀρχομένου δέ γε οὐκ ἔστιν ἀρετὴ φρόνησις, ἀλλὰ δόξα ἀληθής· ὥσπερ αὐλοποιὸς γὰρ ὁ ἀρχόμενος, ὁ δ' ἄρχων αὐλητὴς ὁ χρώμενος. Πότερον μὲν οὖν ἡ αὐτὴ ἀρετὴ ἀνδρὸς ἀγαθοῦ καὶ πολίτου σπουδαίου ἢ ἑτέρα, καὶ πῶς ἡ αὐτὴ καὶ πῶς ἑτέρα, φανερὸν ἐκ τούτων.

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5 Περὶ δὲ τὸν πολίτην ἔτι λείπεταί τις τῶν ἀποριῶν. ὡς ἀληθῶς γὰρ πότερον πολίτης ἐστὶν ᾧ κοινωνεῖν ἔξεστιν ἀρ-

15 *τούτων*] sc. of the two positions.

ἐπ' ἀμφότερα] 'in both directions,' 'dans les deux sens.'

16 'It follows then that both are parts of the character of a good man, even though we allow that the virtues as they appear in the ruler, wear a different face from that which they do in the ruled; I say virtues, for evidently in the good man, when though free he is yet bound by position to obey, there will not be merely one virtue, say justice, but there will be different kinds of virtue, one kind by which he shall be qualified to rule, other qualified to obey.'

17 *οἰκονομία*] 'Their function in the family management.'

ἡ δὲ φρόνησις, κ.τ.λ.] one virtue there is, and only one, peculiar to the ruler, *φρόνησις*, the highest union of moral virtue with the practical reason. This is in agreement with his language in the *Ethics*, VI. xi. 2. p. 1143, 8. *ἡ μὲν γὰρ φρόνησις ἐπιτακτική*.

18 *δόξα ἀληθής*] This is equivalent to the *σύνεσις* of the *Ethics* in the passage I have just quoted, which is said to be *κριτική*.

V. 1 *τὸν πολίτην*] 'Our citizen.'

πότερον πολίτης ἐστίν] 'Is he only a citizen?'

χῆς, ἢ καὶ τοὺς βαναύσους πολίτας θετέον; εἰ μὲν οὖν καὶ τούτους θετέον οἷς μὴ μέτεστιν ἀρχῶν, οὐχ οἷόν τε παντὸς εἶναι πολίτου τὴν τοιαύτην ἀρετήν· οὗτος γὰρ πολίτης. εἰ δὲ μηδεὶς τῶν τοιούτων πολίτης, ἐν τίνι μέρει θετέος ἕκαστος; οὐδὲ γὰρ μέτοικος οὐδὲ ξένος. ἢ διά γε τοῦτον τὸν 2
λόγον οὐδὲν φήσομεν συμβαίνειν ἄτοπον; οὐδὲ γὰρ οἱ 1278
δοῦλοι τῶν εἰρημένων οὐδέν, οὐδ' οἱ ἀπελεύθεροι. τοῦτο γὰρ ἀληθές, ὡς οὐ πάντας θετέον πολίτας ὧν ἄνευ οὐκ ἂν εἴη πόλις, ἐπεὶ οὐδ' οἱ παῖδες ὡσαύτως πολῖται καὶ οἱ ἄνδρες, ἀλλ' οἱ μὲν ἁπλῶς οἱ δ' ἐξ ὑποθέσεως· πολῖται μὲν γάρ εἰσιν, ἀλλ' ἀτελεῖς· ἐν μὲν οὖν τοῖς ἀρχαίοις χρόνοις παρ' 3
ἐνίοις ἦν δοῦλον τὸ βάναυσον ἢ ξενικόν· διόπερ οἱ πολλοὶ τοιοῦτοι καὶ νῦν. ἡ δὲ βελτίστη πόλις οὐ ποιήσει βάναυσον πολίτην· εἰ δὲ καὶ οὗτος πολίτης, ἀλλὰ πολίτου ἀρετὴν ἣν εἴπομεν λεκτέον οὐ παντός, οὐδ' ἐλευθέρου μόνον, ἀλλ' ὅσοι τῶν ἔργων εἰσὶν ἀφειμένοι τῶν ἀναγκαίων. τῶν δ' 4
ἀναγκαίων οἱ μὲν ἑνὶ λειτουργοῦντες τὰ τοιαῦτα δοῦλοι, οἱ δὲ κοινοὶ βάναυσοι καὶ θῆτες. φανερὸν δ' ἐντεῦθεν μικρὸν

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βαναύσους] Compare on this subject, Herod. II. 167.

τὴν τοιαύτην ἀρετήν] Such as we have given him. οὗτος, sc. ὁ βάναυσος.

οὐδὲ γὰρ μέτοικος] Here again, we have these two classes marked as distinct, III. II. 3.

2 ἢ διά γε, κ.τ.λ.] So far as that point is concerned, we are not involved in any difficulty. There are other classes in the same state.

ἀπελεύθεροι] 'freedmen.'

ἁπλῶς] 'simply,' 'without any qualification.'

ἐξ ὑποθέσεως] 'on a given supposition,' the term must be qualified when applied to them.

3 τὸ βάναυσον ἦν δοῦλον ἢ ξενικόν] 'The industrial population consisted entirely either of slaves or aliens.'

εἰ δὲ καὶ οὗτος] Rejected from the ideal state, the artisan may yet practically be a member of the state such as it exists. If so, his admission necessitates a qualification with regard to the excellence we require in a citizen. Such a standard as we set becomes now one by which all citizens are not to be tried, nor all free men, but only such as are free from the necessity of working to support themselves.

4 τῶν δ' ἀναγκαίων]. If this reading is kept, which perhaps is the best way, short as it is: 'With regard to such occupations, those who serve one man in such points are slaves, whilst those who serve the public are artisans and Thetes.' Looking at the whole expression I had thought that ἀναγκαίων was corrupt, and that the true reading was μὴ ἀφειμένων. But it is as well to acquiesce in the present reading.

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ἐπισκεψαμένοις πῶς ἔχει περὶ αὐτῶν· αὐτὸ γὰρ φανὲν τὸ λεχθὲν ποιεῖ δῆλον. ἐπεὶ γὰρ πλείους εἰσὶν αἱ πολιτεῖαι,
5 καὶ εἴδη πολίτου ἀναγκαῖον εἶναι πλείω, καὶ μάλιστα τοῦ ἀρχομένου πολίτου, ὥστ' ἐν μέν τινι πολιτείᾳ τὸν βάναυσον ἀναγκαῖον εἶναι καὶ τὸν θῆτα πολίτας, ἐν τισὶ δ' ἀδύνατον, οἷον εἴ τίς ἐστιν ἣν καλοῦσιν ἀριστοκρατικὴν καὶ ἐν ᾗ κατ' ἀρετὴν αἱ τιμαὶ δίδονται καὶ κατ' ἀξίαν· οὐ γὰρ οἷόν τ' ἐπιτηδεῦσαι τὰ τῆς ἀρετῆς ζῶντα βίον βάναυσον ἢ θητικόν.
6 ἐν δὲ ταῖς ὀλιγαρχίαις θῆτα μὲν οὐκ ἐνδέχεται εἶναι πολίτην (ἀπὸ τιμημάτων γὰρ μακρῶν αἱ μεθέξεις τῶν ἀρχῶν), βάναυσον δ' ἐνδέχεται· πλουτοῦσι γὰρ καὶ οἱ πολλοὶ τῶν
7 τεχνιτῶν. ἐν Θήβαις δὲ νόμος ἦν τὸν δέκα ἐτῶν μὴ ἀπεσχημένον τῆς ἀγορᾶς μὴ μετέχειν ἀρχῆς. ἐν πολλαῖς δὲ πολιτείαις προσεφέλκεται καὶ τῶν ξένων ὁ νόμος· ὁ γὰρ ἐκ πολίτιδος ἔν τισι δημοκρατίαις πολίτης ἐστίν. τὸν αὐτὸν
8 δὲ τρόπον ἔχει καὶ τὰ περὶ τοὺς νόθους παρὰ πολλοῖς. οὐ μὴν ἀλλ' ἐπεὶ δι' ἔνδειαν τῶν γνησίων πολιτῶν ποιοῦνται πολίτας τοὺς τοιούτους (διὰ γὰρ ὀλιγανθρωπίαν οὕτω χρῶνται τοῖς νόμοις), εὐποροῦντες δ' ὄχλου κατὰ μικρὸν παραιροῦνται τοὺς ἐκ δούλου πρῶτον ἢ δούλης, εἶτα τοὺς ἀπὸ γυ-

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αὐτὸ γὰρ φανὲν τὸ λεχθέν] "Die nähere Beleuchtung des Gesagten." Stahr. 'What we have already said, of itself, if explained, clears up the point.'

5 οὐ γὰρ οἷον] Here we have definitely the reason why Aristotle excludes the industrial population. If by the arrangement of society the reason ceases to hold good, the exclusion would cease to be required. It is a problem which seems in a fair way of solution, in favour of the industrial population, owing to their numbers, their organization, and the ultimate influence on the question of leisure for education and self-cultivation which machinery will have.

7 δέκα ἐτῶν] 'for a space of ten years.' That interval must elapse between his mixing in business and his admission to office.

προσεφέλκεται] Middle. 'The law draws in some of the aliens also,' "zieht sogar manche Freunde zum Bürgerrecht." Stahr. Eurip. *Med.* 461.

8 οὐ μὴν ἀλλά, κ.τ.λ.] 'not however but that, when from want of genuine citizens they introduce such as these, when they have numbers sufficient,' &c. εὐποροῦντες δ' ὄχλου. Comp. Thirlwall, III. 61, for Pericles' clearing the Athenian register.

ἀπὸ γυναικῶν] = ἐκ πολίτιδος, where the mother only was a citizen.

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ναικῶν· τέλος δὲ μόνους τοὺς ἐξ ἀμφοῖν αὐτῶν[a] πολίτας ποιοῦσιν. ὅτι μὲν οὖν εἴδη πλείω πολίτου, φανερὸν ἐκ τούτων, καὶ ὅτι λέγεται μάλιστα πολίτης ὁ μετέχων τῶν 9
τιμῶν, ὥσπερ καὶ Ὅμηρος ἐποίησεν

ὡσεί τιν' ἀτίμητον μετανάστην·

ὥσπερ μέτοικος γάρ ἐστιν ὁ τῶν τιμῶν μὴ μετέχων. ἀλλ' ὅπου τὸ τοιοῦτον ἐπικεκρυμμένον ἐστίν, ἀπάτης χάριν τῶν συνοικούντων ἐστίν. Πότερον μὲν οὖν ἑτέραν ἢ τὴν αὐτὴν 10
θετέον καθ' ἣν ἀνὴρ ἀγαθός ἐστι καὶ πολίτης σπουδαῖος, 1278 B
δῆλον ἐκ τῶν εἰρημένων, ὅτι τινὸς μὲν πόλεως ὁ αὐτὸς τινὸς δ' ἕτερος, κἀκεῖνος οὐ πᾶς ἀλλ' ὁ πολιτικὸς καὶ κύριος ἢ δυνάμενος εἶναι κύριος, ἢ καθ' αὐτὸν ἢ μετ' ἄλλων, τῆς τῶν κοινῶν ἐπιμελείας.

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Ἐπεὶ δὲ ταῦτα διώρισται, τὸ μετὰ ταῦτα σκεπτέον 6
πότερον μίαν θετέον πολιτείαν ἢ πλείους, κἂν εἰ πλείους, τίνες καὶ πόσαι, καὶ διαφοραὶ τίνες αὐτῶν εἰσίν. Ἔστι δὲ πολιτεία πόλεως τάξις τῶν τε ἄλλων ἀρχῶν καὶ μάλιστα

[a] ἀστῶν Bekker.

αὐτῶν] ἀστῶν, adopted by Bekker and others in place of αὐτῶν, the reading of the MSS., is rejected by Stahr. Nickes agrees with him, *Excur.* VI. He refers to *Œc.* II. iv. 3, where Bekker has made the same change, and supports his view by the argument that ἀστῶν is very rare in Aristotle. αὐτῶν certainly seems to make good sense, referred to the subject of ποιοῦσιν. 'They make citizens those only who have a father and mother both of themselves, of the body to which those who make them belong,' "aus ihrer Mitte." Stahr.

9 *Il.* IX. 648.

ἐπικεκρυμμένον] "Dies Verhältniss verdeckt ist." Stahr. "Où l'on a soin de dissimuler ces différences." St Hil. Does it mean: where this exclusion, though not expressed openly in the laws, is yet tacitly acted on, it is with a view to deceive those, whether settlers from abroad, or born in the country, who are merely living with them, not really admitted into the state? And the object of deceiving them would be of course to keep them quiet.

10 τινὸς μὲν πόλεως] 'That in a given state they are identical, in others not so, and he in whom they are identical, is not any citizen of that state indifferently, but the statesman and the man who, either singly or with others, is or can be at the head of the administration. Spengel proposes to read κἀκείνης (p. 29, note 30), but the change is not necessary.

VI. 1 After settling these preliminary points, we now come to the main object of the work.

τῶν τε ἄλλων ἀρχῶν] 'Both generally, as to magistracies, and especially the sovereign one.'

The object of the state.

τῆς κυρίας πάντων. κύριον μὲν γὰρ πανταχοῦ τὸ πολίτευμα τῆς πόλεως, πολίτευμα δ' ἐστὶν ἡ πολιτεία. λέγω δ' οἷον
2 ἐν μὲν ταῖς δημοκρατικαῖς κύριος ὁ δῆμος, οἱ δ' ὀλίγοι τοὐναντίον ἐν ταῖς ὀλιγαρχίαις· φαμὲν δὲ καὶ πολιτείαν ἑτέραν εἶναι τούτων. τὸν αὐτὸν δὲ τοῦτον ἐροῦμεν λόγον καὶ περὶ τῶν ἄλλων. Ὑποθετέον δὲ πρῶτον τίνος χάριν συνέστηκε πόλις, καὶ τῆς ἀρχῆς εἴδη πόσα τῆς περὶ ἄνθρωπον καὶ τὴν
3 κοινωνίαν τῆς ζωῆς. εἴρηται δὴ καὶ κατὰ τοὺς πρώτους λόγους, ἐν οἷς περὶ οἰκονομίας διωρίσθη καὶ δεσποτείας, ὅτι φύσει μέν ἐστιν ἄνθρωπος ζῷον πολιτικόν, διὸ καὶ μηδὲν δεόμενοι τῆς παρ' ἀλλήλων βοηθείας οὐκ ἔλαττον ὀρέγονται τοῦ συζῆν· οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ καὶ τὸ κοινῇ συμφέρον συνάγει,
4 καθ' ὅσον ἐπιβάλλει μέρος ἑκάστῳ τοῦ ζῆν καλῶς. μάλιστα μὲν οὖν τοῦτ' ἐστὶ τέλος, καὶ κοινῇ πᾶσι καὶ χωρίς· συνέρχονται δὲ καὶ τοῦ ζῆν ἕνεκεν αὐτοῦ (ἴσως γὰρ ἔνεστί

τὸ πολίτευμα] 'the government,' and the constitution of the state, or more shortly, the state is its government; L'état, c'est moi, is the language of all governments, monarchical or republican. Compare *Eth.* IX. viii. 6. p. 1168, b. 29, *ὥσπερ δὲ καὶ πόλις τὸ κυριώτατον μάλιστα δοκεῖ εἶναι καὶ πᾶν ἄλλο σύστημα.*

2 *φαμὲν δὲ καί*] The sovereign in each differs, therefore the constitution differs, and our common language allows that it does.

ὑποθετέον] '' We must first take as a basis for subsequent reasonings, answers to the two questions: What is the object of the formation of a state? 2ndly, How many kinds of government are there?'

3 *ἐν οἷς, κ.τ.λ.*] marks very clearly the scope of the First Book.

καὶ μηδὲν δεόμενοι] 'even if in no degree in need of mutual assistance.' Compare *Eth.* IX. 9. p. 1169, 6, for the full discussion of this question.

οὐ μὴν ἀλλά, κ.τ.λ.] Still it is not possible to exclude from the bonds of union the element of personal advantage which each member of the state derives from the union, in proportion to the degree in which each by it is enabled to live nobly.

4 *τοῦτο*] sc. *τὸ ζῆν καλῶς.* 'But still men do form the social union for life itself, and not for social life, and when formed men keep it together solely with reference to life and to secure that, unless the hardships which their life brings with it become past endurance.' Comp. Arnold, *Rom. Hist.* II. 167, "Nations, like individuals, cheerfully acquiesce in their actual condition, when it appears to be in any degree natural or even endurable; and their desire of change, whenever they do feel it, is less the wish of advancing from good to better, or a fond craving after novelty, than an irresistible instinct to escape from what is clearly and intolerably bad, even though they have no definite prospect of arriving at good." Also, p. 554.

ἴσως γὰρ ἔνεστί τι τοῦ καλοῦ μόριον] There is a question as to the place

The different kinds of government.

τι τοῦ καλοῦ μόριον), καὶ συνέχουσι τὴν πολιτικὴν κοινωνίαν καὶ κατὰ τὸ ζῆν αὐτὸ μόνον, ἂν μὴ τοῖς χαλεποῖς κατὰ τὸν βίον ὑπερβάλλῃ λίαν. δῆλον δ' ὡς καρτεροῦσι πολλὴν
5
κακοπάθειαν οἱ πολλοὶ τῶν ἀνθρώπων γλιχόμενοι τοῦ ζῆν, ὡς ἐνούσης τινὸς εὐημερίας ἐν αὐτῷ καὶ γλυκύτητος φυσικῆς. Ἀλλὰ μὴν καὶ τῆς ἀρχῆς τοὺς λεγομένους τρόπους ῥᾴδιον διελεῖν· καὶ γὰρ ἐν τοῖς ἐξωτερικοῖς λόγοις διοριζόμεθα περὶ αὐτῶν πολλάκις. ἡ μὲν γὰρ δεσποτεία, καίπερ ὄντος κατ'
6
ἀλήθειαν τῷ τε φύσει δούλῳ καὶ τῷ φύσει δεσπότῃ ταὐτοῦ συμφέροντος, ὅμως ἄρχει πρὸς τὸ τοῦ δεσπότου συμφέρον οὐδὲν ἧττον, πρὸς δὲ τὸ τοῦ δούλου κατὰ συμβεβηκός· οὐ γὰρ ἐνδέχεται φθειρομένου τοῦ δούλου σώζεσθαι τὴν δεσποτείαν. ἡ δὲ τέκνων ἀρχὴ καὶ γυναικὸς καὶ τῆς οἰκίας
7
πάσης, ἣν δὴ καλοῦμεν οἰκονομικήν, ἤτοι τῶν ἀρχομένων χάριν ἐστὶν ἢ κοινοῦ τινὸς ἀμφοῖν, καθ' αὑτὸ μὲν τῶν ἀρχο-
1279
μένων, ὥσπερ ὁρῶμεν καὶ τὰς ἄλλας τέχνας, οἷον ἰατρικὴν καὶ γυμναστικήν, κατὰ συμβεβηκὸς δὲ κἂν αὐτῶν εἶεν· οὐδὲν γὰρ κωλύει τὸν παιδοτρίβην ἕνα τῶν γυμναζομένων ἐνίοτ' εἶναι καὶ αὐτόν, ὥσπερ ὁ κυβερνήτης εἷς ἐστιν ἀεὶ τῶν πλωτήρων. ὁ μὲν οὖν παιδοτρίβης ἢ κυβερνήτης σκοπεῖ τῶν
8
ἀρχομένων ἀγαθόν· ὅταν δὲ τούτων εἷς γένηται καὶ αὐτός,

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these words should hold. Some, as Schneider with Coray, resting on the Vet. Int., wish to place them after τὴν πολιτικὴν κοινωνίαν. If I understand them rightly, it is no matter where they stand. In either case I refer them to the social union expressed—if their present place is kept, by the συνέρχονται, if their place is altered, by πολιτικὴν κοινωνίαν. Rest society and the objects of society on the simple basis of mutual wants, a lower one than Aristotle would wish to take, still there results from it, there is implied in it inherently something noble, some higher element. Men cannot unite without eliciting, as the fruits of their union, something good. There is honour among thieves, is an illustration of this statement.

5 ἀλλὰ μὴν] Here begins the answer to the 2nd question, πόσα εἴδη ἀρχῆς, here called τοὺς τρόπους.

ἐξωτερικοῖς] This term may here include, and probably does, the First Book. Compare I. v. 4, and note.

6 οὐ γὰρ ἐνδέχεται] It does not answer absolutely to neglect the slave, any more than any other part of property.

7 ἣν δὴ] 'and it is this, not δεσποτικήν, that we emphatically call οἰκονομικήν.'

αὐτῶν] sc. τῶν ἀρχόντων.

The different kinds of government.

κατὰ συμβεβηκὸς μετέχει τῆς ὠφελείας· ὁ μὲν γὰρ πλωτήρ, ὁ δὲ τῶν γυμναζομένων εἷς γίνεται παιδοτρίβης ὤν. διὸ καὶ τὰς πολιτικὰς ἀρχάς, ὅταν ᾖ κατ' ἰσότητα τῶν πολιτῶν
9 συνεστηκυῖα καὶ καθ' ὁμοιότητα, κατὰ μέρος ἀξιοῦσιν ἄρχειν, πρότερον μέν, ᾗ πέφυκεν, ἀξιοῦντες ἐν μέρει λειτουργεῖν, καὶ σκοπεῖν τινὰ πάλιν τὸ αὐτοῦ ἀγαθόν, ὥσπερ πρότερον
10 αὐτὸς ἄρχων ἐσκόπει τὸ ἐκείνου συμφέρον· νῦν δὲ διὰ τὰς ὠφελείας τὰς ἀπὸ τῶν κοινῶν καὶ τὰς ἐκ τῆς ἀρχῆς βούλονται συνεχῶς ἄρχειν, οἷον εἰ συνέβαινεν ὑγιαίνειν ἀεὶ τοῖς ἄρχουσι, νοσακεροῖς οὖσιν· καὶ γὰρ ἂν οὕτως ἴσως ἐδίωκον
11 τὰς ἀρχάς. φανερὸν τοίνυν ὡς ὅσαι μὲν πολιτεῖαι τὸ κοινῇ συμφέρον σκοποῦσιν, αὗται μὲν ὀρθαὶ τυγχάνουσιν οὖσαι κατὰ τὸ ἁπλῶς δίκαιον, ὅσαι δὲ τὸ σφέτερον μόνον τῶν ἀρχόντων, ἡμαρτημέναι πᾶσαι καὶ παρεκβάσεις τῶν ὀρθῶν πολιτειῶν· δεσποτικαὶ γάρ, ἡ δὲ πόλις κοινωνία τῶν ἐλευθέρων ἐστίν.

Division of governments.

7 Διωρισμένων δὲ τούτων ἐχόμενόν ἐστι τὰς πολιτείας ἐπισκέψασθαι, πόσαι τὸν ἀριθμὸν καὶ τίνες εἰσί, καὶ πρῶτον τὰς ὀρθὰς αὐτῶν· καὶ γὰρ αἱ παρεκβάσεις ἔσονται φανεραὶ
2 τούτων διορισθεισῶν. Ἐπεὶ δὲ πολιτεία μὲν καὶ πολίτευμα σημαίνει ταὐτόν, πολίτευμα δ' ἐστὶ τὸ κύριον τῶν πόλεων, ἀνάγκη δ' εἶναι κύριον ἢ ἕνα ἢ ὀλίγους ἢ τοὺς πολλούς, ὅταν μὲν ὁ εἷς ἢ οἱ ὀλίγοι ἢ οἱ πολλοὶ πρὸς τὸ κοινὸν συμφέρον ἄρχωσι, ταύτας μὲν ὀρθὰς ἀναγκαῖον εἶναι τὰς πολιτείας,

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8 ὁ μὲν γὰρ πλωτήρ] for completeness there is required κυβερνήτης ὤν.

9 Διὸ καί, κ.τ.λ.] Because they look to the common good.

ὅταν ᾖ] supply as nominative ἡ πόλις, from πολιτικάς.

κατ' ἰσότητα καὶ καθ' ὁμοιότητα] on these two principles. The expression is equivalent to a more common one, ἐξ ἴσων καὶ ὁμοίων.

ἀξιοῦσιν, 'they think it but right.'

ᾗ πέφυκεν] 'as is the natural course.'

ἐν μέρει λειτουργεῖν] 'That all should serve in turn, and that each, after holding his office, should again attend to his own interests.'

10 νῦν δέ] answering to the πρότερον μέν.

11 ὅσαι πολιτεῖαι] 'all governments that.' Comp. Isoc. *Panath.* pp. 259, 260, where the same conclusion is come to as to the principles of governments and their divisions.

VII. 2 σημαίνει ταὐτόν] for our present purpose.

Division of governments.

τὰς δὲ πρὸς τὸ ἴδιον ἢ τοῦ ἑνὸς ἢ τῶν ὀλίγων ἢ τοῦ πλή-
θους παρεκβάσεις· ἢ γὰρ οὐ πολίτας φατέον εἶναι τοὺς
μετέχοντας, ἢ δεῖ κοινωνεῖν τοῦ συμφέροντος. καλεῖν δ' 3
εἰώθαμεν τῶν μὲν μοναρχιῶν τὴν πρὸς τὸ κοινὸν ἀποβλέ-
πουσαν συμφέρον βασιλείαν, τὴν δὲ τῶν ὀλίγων μὲν πλειό-
νων δ' ἑνὸς ἀριστοκρατίαν, ἢ διὰ τὸ τοὺς ἀρίστους ἄρχειν,
ἢ διὰ τὸ πρὸς τὸ ἄριστον τῇ πόλει καὶ τοῖς κοινωνοῦσιν
αὐτῆς. ὅταν δὲ τὸ πλῆθος πρὸς τὸ κοινὸν πολιτεύηται
συμφέρον, καλεῖται τὸ κοινὸν ὄνομα πασῶν τῶν πολιτειῶν,
πολιτεία· συμβαίνει δ' εὐλόγως· ἕνα μὲν γὰρ διαφέρειν 4
κατ' ἀρετὴν ἢ ὀλίγους ἐνδέχεται, πλείους δ' ἤδη χαλεπὸν
ἠκριβῶσθαι πρὸς πᾶσαν ἀρετήν, ἀλλὰ μάλιστα τὴν πολε- 1279 B
μικήν· αὕτη γὰρ ἐν πλήθει γίγνεται. διόπερ κατὰ ταύτην
τὴν πολιτείαν κυριώτατον τὸ προπολεμοῦν, καὶ μετέχουσιν
αὐτῆς οἱ κεκτημένοι τὰ ὅπλα. παρεκβάσεις δὲ τῶν εἰρη- 5
μένων τυραννὶς μὲν βασιλείας, ὀλιγαρχία δὲ ἀριστοκρατίας,
δημοκρατία δὲ πολιτείας. ἡ μὲν γὰρ τυραννίς ἐστι μοναρχία
πρὸς τὸ συμφέρον τὸ τοῦ μοναρχοῦντος, ἡ δ' ὀλιγαρχία
πρὸς τὸ τῶν εὐπόρων, ἡ δὲ δημοκρατία πρὸς τὸ συμφέρον

ἢ γὰρ οὐ πολίτας, κ.τ.λ.] For ἡ πόλις is κοινωνία πολιτῶν, ἡ δὲ πολιτικὴ κοινωνία τοῦ συμφέροντος ἕνεκα συνέστηκε. Comp. I. I. and note.

3 τῶν μὲν μοναρχιῶν] 'In the case of the monarchies we usually call the constitution which looks to the common interest.' With τὴν ἀποβλέπουσαν, I understand πολιτείαν.

4 συμβαίνει δ' εὐλόγως] "Ces différences de dénomination sont fort justes," says St Hilaire. I refer it strictly to the last form of government, and translate the passage: 'The result is such as you might reasonably expect; for whilst it is possible to find one man or a few of eminent virtue, in proportion as you increase the number, it becomes difficult to find them trained and finished generally; if to any excellence, it will be warlike excellence that will be developed in them. It is one of which large numbers are susceptible, and so we find that in this form of government the supreme power resides in the military class, and it is open to those who have got full armour.' Comp. III. XVII. 4. The passage is an avowal, that though in strict theory he places the three forms on a level, all equally right, practically there is an interval, and the third form is, from the nature of the case, not susceptible of such perfection as the first and second. It is the same conclusion as that of *Eth.* VIII. xii. 2. p. 1160, 36, χειρίστη ἡ τιμοκρατία. This will come more prominently forward later, VI. (IV.) VIII.

Are the good man and the good citizen identical?

παιδείαν δ' εὐθὺς ἑτέραν εἶναι λέγουσί τινες τοῦ ἄρχοντος, ὥσπερ καὶ φαίνονται οἱ τῶν βασιλέων υἱεῖς ἱππικὴν καὶ πολεμικὴν παιδευόμενοι, καὶ Εὐριπίδης φησὶ

μή μοι τὰ κόμψ'—
ἀλλ' ὧν πόλει δεῖ,

9 ὡς οὖσάν τινα ἄρχοντος παιδείαν. εἰ δὲ ἡ αὐτὴ ἀρετὴ ἄρχοντός τε ἀγαθοῦ καὶ ἀνδρὸς ἀγαθοῦ, πολίτης δ' ἐστὶ καὶ ὁ ἀρχόμενος, οὐχ ἡ αὐτὴ ἁπλῶς ἂν εἴη πολίτου καὶ ἀνδρός, τινὸς μέντοι πολίτου· οὐ γὰρ ἡ αὐτὴ ἄρχοντος καὶ πολίτου, καὶ διὰ τοῦτ' ἴσως Ἰάσων ἔφη πεινῆν, ὅτε μὴ τυραννοῖ,

10 ὡς οὐκ ἐπιστάμενος ἰδιώτης εἶναι. ἀλλὰ μὴν ἐπαινεῖταί γε τὸ δύνασθαι ἄρχειν καὶ ἄρχεσθαι, καὶ πολίτου δοκίμου ἡ ἀρετὴ εἶναι τὸ δύνασθαι καὶ ἄρχειν καὶ ἄρχεσθαι καλῶς. εἰ οὖν τὴν μὲν τοῦ ἀγαθοῦ ἀνδρὸς τίθεμεν ἀρχικήν, τὴν δὲ τοῦ

11 πολίτου ἄμφω, οὐκ ἂν εἴη ἄμφω ἐπαινετὰ ὁμοίως. ἐπεὶ

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adopts it (*On Authority*, &c., p. 256, note). It is surely not necessary.

Εὐριπίδης] *Fr. Æol.* VII.

9 In the good ruler then we must look for the perfect virtue of the perfect man. But those whom he rules are, not less than he, citizens of the state. There is a wide interval between their functions, there will be therefore a difference in their respective excellences. So in a given citizen the good man and the good ruler coincide, not in all citizens. It was a strong expression of Jason's sense of this difference between ruler and subject, when he said he felt hungry when not despot. Grote, III. 36, note, 'incessant hunger till he became despot.'

10 ἀλλὰ μήν, κ.τ.λ.] 'It must not be forgotten, however, allowing all this, that by the common voice of men, praise is attached to the capacity for filling both positions, that of ruler and ruled, and the general idea of the excellence of a citizen, is that he possesses this capacity, that he can both rule and submit to rule.'

πολίτου δοκίμου] we must supply δοκεῖ, or some similar word.

εἰ οὖν, κ.τ.λ.] 'The good man must have the virtue of the ruler, the good citizen must have both; but both are not equally objects of praise.'

11 ἐπεὶ οὖν ποτέ, κ.τ.λ.] This is variously taken. Stahr supplies ἐπαινετὰ εἶναι after ἀμφότερα, as does Schneider. Victorious makes ἀμφότερα depend on μανθάνειν. Agreeing with him, I construe the passage as follows: 'Since then it seems that the ruler must some time or other learn both (ἄρχεσθαι καὶ ἄρχειν), and yet that the ruler and the ruled are not bound to know the same things, whilst the citizen must know both and fully share in both, what follows from these positions may be seen.' The simple answer as to what is required relatively of the two, the ruler and the ruled, is that in the best state it is a question of time. And as far as I can understand the passage, the line of argument is not continued in the next sentence, but in § 14, ταύτην γὰρ λέ-

Are the good man and the good citizen identical?

οὖν ποτὲ δοκεῖ ἀμφότερα καὶ οὐ ταὐτὰ δεῖν τὸν ἄρχοντα
μανθάνειν καὶ τὸν ἀρχόμενον, τὸν δὲ πολίτην ἀμφότερ᾽
ἐπίστασθαι καὶ μετέχειν ἀμφοῖν, τοὐντεῦθεν ἂν κατίδοι τις.
[Ἔστι γὰρ ἀρχὴ δεσποτική· ταύτην δὲ τὴν περὶ τἀναγκαῖα
λέγομεν, ἃ ποιεῖν ἐπίστασθαι τὸν ἄρχοντ᾽ οὐκ ἀναγκαῖον,
ἀλλὰ χρῆσθαι μᾶλλον· θάτερον δὲ καὶ ἀνδραποδῶδες. λέγω 12
δὲ θάτερον τὸ δύνασθαι καὶ ὑπηρετεῖν τὰς διακονικὰς πράξεις.
δούλου δ᾽ εἴδη πλείω λέγομεν· αἱ γὰρ ἐργασίαι πλείους.
ὧν ἓν μέρος κατέχουσιν οἱ χερνῆτες· οὗτοι δ᾽ εἰσίν, ὥσπερ
σημαίνει καὶ τοὔνομ᾽ αὐτούς, οἱ ζῶντες ἀπὸ τῶν χειρῶν, ἐν 1277 B
οἷς ὁ βάναυσος τεχνίτης ἐστίν. διὸ παρ᾽ ἐνίοις οὐ μετεῖχον
οἱ δημιουργοὶ τὸ παλαιὸν ἀρχῶν, πρὶν δῆμον γενέσθαι τὸν
ἔσχατον. τὰ μὲν οὖν ἔργα τῶν ἀρχομένων οὕτως οὐ δεῖ 13
τὸν ἀγαθὸν οὐδὲ τὸν πολιτικὸν οὐδὲ τὸν πολίτην τὸν ἀγα-
θὸν μανθάνειν, εἰ μή ποτε χρείας χάριν αὐτῷ πρὸς αὑτόν· οὐ
γὰρ ἔτι συμβαίνει γίνεσθαι τὸν μὲν δεσπότην τὸν δὲ δοῦλον.
ἀλλ᾽ ἔστι τις ἀρχὴ καθ᾽ ἣν ἄρχει τῶν ὁμοίων τῷ γένει καὶ
τῶν ἐλευθέρων.] Ταύτην γὰρ λέγομεν εἶναι τὴν πολιτικὴν 14
ἀρχήν, ἣν δεῖ τὸν ἄρχοντα ἀρχόμενον μαθεῖν, οἷον ἱππαρ-
χεῖν ἱππαρχηθέντα, στρατηγεῖν στρατηγηθέντα καὶ ταξιαρ-
χήσαντα καὶ λοχαγήσαντα. διὸ καὶ λέγεται καὶ τοῦτο

γομεν, κ.τ.λ. All between these two points seems to me out of place. It interrupts the reasoning, and is in itself superfluous, as it is in fact a repetition of points already adequately treated in the First Book. Without presuming to say that it is not Aristotle's, I have therefore inclosed it in brackets simply to mark what I consider the sense of the passage. It has the air of being put in to explain the connexion of *ταύτην γὰρ λέγομεν τὴν πολιτικὴν ἀρχήν*.

ἔστι γὰρ ἀρχή] The doctrine is the same as that of I. vii.

12 *Δούλου δ᾽ εἴδη*] From this to the end of the section is to me even more suspicious than the rest. It is most unnecessary detail.

13 *οὐ γὰρ ἔτι*] 'For the result is that the distinction is effaced.'

14 *ταύτην γάρ*] 'For the very notion we attach to the power exercised in a free state is, that it is that which the ruler learns to exercise by himself obeying.' Compare Grote, on the character of Epaminondas, x. 487, "An illustrious specimen of that capacity and goodwill, both to command and to be commanded, which Aristotle pronounces to form in their combination the characteristic feature of the worthy citizen."

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καλῶς, ὡς οὐκ ἔστιν εὖ ἄρξαι μὴ ἀρχθέντα. τούτων δὲ ἀρετὴ μὲν ἑτέρα, δεῖ δὲ τὸν πολίτην τὸν ἀγαθὸν ἐπίστασθαι καὶ δύνασθαι καὶ ἄρχεσθαι καὶ ἄρχειν, καὶ αὕτη ἀρετὴ πολίτου, τὸ τὴν τῶν ἐλευθέρων ἀρχὴν ἐπίστασθαι ἐπ' ἀμ-
15 φότερα. καὶ ἀνδρὸς δὴ ἀγαθοῦ ἄμφω, καὶ εἰ ἕτερον εἶδος
16 σωφροσύνης καὶ δικαιοσύνης ἀρχικῆς· καὶ γὰρ ἀρχομένου μὲν ἐλευθέρου δὲ δῆλον ὅτι οὐ μία ἂν εἴη τοῦ ἀγαθοῦ ἀρετή, οἷον δικαιοσύνη, ἀλλ' εἴδη ἔχουσα καθ' ἃ ἄρξει καὶ ἄρξεται, ὥσ-
17 περ ἀνδρὸς καὶ γυναικὸς ἑτέρα σωφροσύνη καὶ ἀνδρία. δόξαι γὰρ ἂν εἶναι δειλὸς ἀνήρ, εἰ οὕτως ἀνδρεῖος εἴη ὥσπερ γυνὴ ἀνδρεία, καὶ γυνὴ λάλος, εἰ οὕτω κοσμία εἴη ὥσπερ ὁ ἀνὴρ ὁ ἀγαθός, ἐπεὶ καὶ οἰκονομία ἑτέρα ἀνδρὸς καὶ γυναικός· τοῦ μὲν γὰρ κτᾶσθαι, τῆς δὲ φυλάττειν ἔργον ἐστίν. ἡ δὲ φρόνησις ἄρχοντος ἴδιος ἀρετὴ μόνη· τὰς γὰρ ἄλλας ἔοικεν ἀναγκαῖον εἶναι κοινὰς καὶ τῶν ἀρχομένων καὶ τῶν ἀρχόν-
18 των. ἀρχομένου δέ γε οὐκ ἔστιν ἀρετὴ φρόνησις, ἀλλὰ δόξα ἀληθής· ὥσπερ αὐλοποιὸς γὰρ ὁ ἀρχόμενος, ὁ δ' ἄρχων αὐλητὴς ὁ χρώμενος. Πότερον μὲν οὖν ἡ αὐτὴ ἀρετὴ ἀνδρὸς ἀγαθοῦ καὶ πολίτου σπουδαίου ἢ ἑτέρα, καὶ πῶς ἡ αὐτὴ καὶ πῶς ἑτέρα, φανερὸν ἐκ τούτων.

Are οἱ βάναυσοι citizens?

5 Περὶ δὲ τὸν πολίτην ἔτι λείπεταί τις τῶν ἀποριῶν. ὡς ἀληθῶς γὰρ πότερον πολίτης ἐστὶν ᾧ κοινωνεῖν ἔξεστιν ἀρ-

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15 τούτων] sc. of the two positions.

ἐπ' ἀμφότερα] 'in both directions,' 'dans les deux sens.'

16 'It follows then that both are parts of the character of a good man, even though we allow that the virtues as they appear in the ruler, wear a different face from that which they do in the ruled; I say virtues, for evidently in the good man, when though free he is yet bound by position to obey, there will not be merely one virtue, say justice, but there will be different kinds of virtue, one kind by which he shall be qualified to rule, the other qualified to obey.'

17 οἰκονομία] 'Their function in the family management.'

ἡ δὲ φρόνησις, κ.τ.λ.] one virtue there is, and only one, peculiar to the ruler, φρόνησις, the highest union of moral virtue with the practical reason. This is in agreement with his language in the *Ethics*, VI. xi. 2. p. 1143, 8. ἡ μὲν γὰρ φρόνησις ἐπιτακτική.

18 δόξα ἀληθής] This is equivalent to the σύνεσις of the *Ethics* in the passage I have just quoted, which is said to be κριτική.

V. 1 τὸν πολίτην] 'Our citizen.'

πότερον πολίτης ἐστίν] 'Is he only a citizen?'

Are οἱ βάναυσοι citizens?

χῆς, ἢ καὶ τοὺς βαναύσους πολίτας θετέον; εἰ μὲν οὖν καὶ τούτους θετέον οἷς μὴ μέτεστιν ἀρχῶν, οὐχ οἷόν τε παντὸς εἶναι πολίτου τὴν τοιαύτην ἀρετήν· οὗτος γὰρ πολίτης. εἰ δὲ μηδεὶς τῶν τοιούτων πολίτης, ἐν τίνι μέρει θετέος ἕκαστος; οὐδὲ γὰρ μέτοικος οὐδὲ ξένος. ἢ διά γε τοῦτον τὸν 2
λόγον οὐδὲν φήσομεν συμβαίνειν ἄτοπον; οὐδὲ γὰρ οἱ 1278
δοῦλοι τῶν εἰρημένων οὐδέν, οὐδ' οἱ ἀπελεύθεροι. τοῦτο γὰρ ἀληθές, ὡς οὐ πάντας θετέον πολίτας ὧν ἄνευ οὐκ ἂν εἴη πόλις, ἐπεὶ οὐδ' οἱ παῖδες ὡσαύτως πολῖται καὶ οἱ ἄνδρες, ἀλλ' οἱ μὲν ἁπλῶς οἱ δ' ἐξ ὑποθέσεως· πολῖται μὲν γάρ εἰσιν, ἀλλ' ἀτελεῖς· ἐν μὲν οὖν τοῖς ἀρχαίοις χρόνοις παρ' 3
ἐνίοις ἦν δοῦλον τὸ βάναυσον ἢ ξενικόν· διόπερ οἱ πολλοὶ τοιοῦτοι καὶ νῦν. ἡ δὲ βελτίστη πόλις οὐ ποιήσει βάναυσον πολίτην· εἰ δὲ καὶ οὗτος πολίτης, ἀλλὰ πολίτου ἀρετὴν ἣν εἴπομεν λεκτέον οὐ παντός, οὐδ' ἐλευθέρου μόνον, ἀλλ' ὅσοι τῶν ἔργων εἰσὶν ἀφειμένοι τῶν ἀναγκαίων. τῶν δ' 4
ἀναγκαίων οἱ μὲν ἑνὶ λειτουργοῦντες τὰ τοιαῦτα δοῦλοι, οἱ δὲ κοινοὶ βάναυσοι καὶ θῆτες. φανερὸν δ' ἐντεῦθεν μικρὸν

βαναύσους] Compare on this subject, Herod. II. 167.

τὴν τοιαύτην ἀρετήν] Such as we have given him. *οὗτος*, sc. *ὁ βάναυσος*.

οὐδὲ γὰρ μέτοικος] Here again, we have these two classes marked as distinct, III. II. 3.

2 *ἢ διά γε, κ.τ.λ.*] So far as that point is concerned, we are not involved in any difficulty. There are other classes in the same state.

ἀπελεύθεροι] 'freedmen.'

ἁπλῶς] 'simply,' 'without any qualification.'

ἐξ ὑποθέσεως] 'on a given supposition,' the term must be qualified when applied to them.

3 *τὸ βάναυσον ἦν δοῦλον ἢ ξενικόν*] 'The industrial population consisted entirely either of slaves or aliens.'

εἰ δὲ καὶ οὗτος] Rejected from the ideal state, the artisan may yet practically be a member of the state such as it exists. If so, his admission necessitates a qualification with regard to the excellence we require in a citizen. Such a standard as we set becomes now one by which all citizens are not to be tried, nor all free men, but only such as are free from the necessity of working to support themselves.

4 *τῶν δ' ἀναγκαίων*]. If this reading is kept, which perhaps is the best way, short as it is: 'With regard to such occupations, those who serve one man in such points are slaves, whilst those who serve the public are artisans and Thetes.' Looking at the whole expression I had thought that *ἀναγκαίων* was corrupt, and that the true reading was *μὴ ἀφειμένων*. But it is as well to acquiesce in the present reading.

Are οἱ βάναυσοι citizens?

ἐπισκεψαμένοις πῶς ἔχει περὶ αὐτῶν· αὐτὸ γὰρ φανὲν τὸ
λεχθὲν ποιεῖ δῆλον. ἐπεὶ γὰρ πλείους εἰσὶν αἱ πολιτεῖαι,
5 καὶ εἴδη πολίτου ἀναγκαῖον εἶναι πλείω, καὶ μάλιστα τοῦ
ἀρχομένου πολίτου, ὥστ' ἐν μέν τινι πολιτείᾳ τὸν βάναυσον
ἀναγκαῖον εἶναι καὶ τὸν θῆτα πολίτας, ἐν τισὶ δ' ἀδύνατον,
οἷον εἴ τίς ἐστιν ἣν καλοῦσιν ἀριστοκρατικὴν καὶ ἐν ᾗ κατ'
ἀρετὴν αἱ τιμαὶ δίδονται καὶ κατ' ἀξίαν· οὐ γὰρ οἷόν τ'
ἐπιτηδεῦσαι τὰ τῆς ἀρετῆς ζῶντα βίον βάναυσον ἢ θητικόν.
6 ἐν δὲ ταῖς ὀλιγαρχίαις θῆτα μὲν οὐκ ἐνδέχεται εἶναι πολί-
την (ἀπὸ τιμημάτων γὰρ μακρῶν αἱ μεθέξεις τῶν ἀρχῶν),
βάναυσον δ' ἐνδέχεται· πλουτοῦσι γὰρ καὶ οἱ πολλοὶ τῶν
7 τεχνιτῶν. ἐν Θήβαις δὲ νόμος ἦν τὸν δέκα ἐτῶν μὴ ἀπε-
σχημένον τῆς ἀγορᾶς μὴ μετέχειν ἀρχῆς. ἐν πολλαῖς δὲ
πολιτείαις προσεφέλκεται καὶ τῶν ξένων ὁ νόμος· ὁ γὰρ ἐκ
πολίτιδος ἔν τισι δημοκρατίαις πολίτης ἐστίν. τὸν αὐτὸν
8 δὲ τρόπον ἔχει καὶ τὰ περὶ τοὺς νόθους παρὰ πολλοῖς. οὐ
μὴν ἀλλ' ἐπεὶ δι' ἔνδειαν τῶν γνησίων πολιτῶν ποιοῦνται
πολίτας τοὺς τοιούτους (διὰ γὰρ ὀλιγανθρωπίαν οὕτω χρῶν-
ται τοῖς νόμοις), εὐποροῦντες δ' ὄχλου κατὰ μικρὸν παραι-
ροῦνται τοὺς ἐκ δούλου πρῶτον ἢ δούλης, εἶτα τοὺς ἀπὸ γυ-

αὐτὸ γὰρ φανὲν τὸ λεχθέν] "Die nähere Beleuchtung des Gesagten." Stahr. 'What we have already said, of itself, if explained, clears up the point.'

5 οὐ γὰρ οἷον] Here we have definitely the reason why Aristotle excludes the industrial population. If by the arrangement of society the reason ceases to hold good, the exclusion would cease to be required. It is a problem which seems in a fair way of solution, in favour of the industrial population, owing to their numbers, their organization, and the ultimate influence on the question of leisure for education and self-cultivation which machinery will have.

7 δέκα ἐτῶν] 'for a space of ten years.' That interval must elapse between his mixing in business and his admission to office.

προσεφέλκεται] Middle. 'The law draws in some of the aliens also,' "zieht sogar manche Freunde zum Bürgerrecht." Stahr. Eurip. *Med.* 461.

8 οὐ μὴν ἀλλά, κ.τ.λ.] 'not however but that, when from want of genuine citizens they introduce such as these, when they have numbers sufficient,' &c. εὐποροῦντες δ' ὄχλου. Comp. Thirlwall, III. 61, for Pericles' clearing the Athenian register.

ἀπὸ γυναικῶν] = ἐκ πολίτιδος, where the mother only was a citizen.

ναικῶν· τέλος δὲ μόνους τοὺς ἐξ ἀμφοῖν αὐτῶν[a] πολίτας ποιοῦσιν. ὅτι μὲν οὖν εἴδη πλείω πολίτου, φανερὸν ἐκ τούτων, καὶ ὅτι λέγεται μάλιστα πολίτης ὁ μετέχων τῶν 9
τιμῶν, ὥσπερ καὶ Ὅμηρος ἐποίησεν

Are οἱ βάναυσοι citizens?

ὡσεί τιν' ἀτίμητον μετανάστην·

ὥσπερ μέτοικος γάρ ἐστιν ὁ τῶν τιμῶν μὴ μετέχων. ἀλλ' ὅπου τὸ τοιοῦτον ἐπικεκρυμμένον ἐστίν, ἀπάτης χάριν τῶν συνοικούντων ἐστίν. Πότερον μὲν οὖν ἑτέραν ἢ τὴν αὐτὴν 10
1278 B
θετέον καθ' ἣν ἀνὴρ ἀγαθός ἐστι καὶ πολίτης σπουδαῖος, δῆλον ἐκ τῶν εἰρημένων, ὅτι τινὸς μὲν πόλεως ὁ αὐτὸς τινὸς δ' ἕτερος, κἀκεῖνος οὐ πᾶς ἀλλ' ὁ πολιτικὸς καὶ κύριος ἢ δυνάμενος εἶναι κύριος, ἢ καθ' αὑτὸν ἢ μετ' ἄλλων, τῆς τῶν κοινῶν ἐπιμελείας.

Ἐπεὶ δὲ ταῦτα διώρισται, τὸ μετὰ ταῦτα σκεπτέον 6
πότερον μίαν θετέον πολιτείαν ἢ πλείους, κἂν εἰ πλείους, τίνες καὶ πόσαι, καὶ διαφοραὶ τίνες αὐτῶν εἰσίν. Ἔστι δὲ πολιτεία πόλεως τάξις τῶν τε ἄλλων ἀρχῶν καὶ μάλιστα

The object of the state.

[a] ἀστῶν Bekker.

αὐτῶν] ἀστῶν, adopted by Bekker and others in place of αὐτῶν, the reading of the MSS., is rejected by Stahr. Nickes agrees with him, *Excur.* VI. He refers to *Œc.* II. iv. 3, where Bekker has made the same change, and supports his view by the argument that ἀστῶν is very rare in Aristotle. αὐτῶν certainly seems to make good sense, referred to the subject of ποιοῦσιν. 'They make citizens those only who have a father and mother both of themselves, of the body to which those who make them belong,' "aus ihrer Mitte." Stahr.

9 *Il.* IX. 648.

ἐπικεκρυμμένον] "Dies Verhältniss verdeckt ist." Stahr. "Où l'on a soin de dissimuler ces différences." St Hil. Does it mean: where this exclusion, though not expressed openly in the laws, is yet tacitly acted on, it is with a view to deceive those, whether settlers from abroad, or born in the country, who are merely living with them, not really admitted into the state? And the object of deceiving them would be of course to keep them quiet.

10 τινὸς μὲν πόλεως] 'That in a given state they are identical, in others not so, and he in whom they are identical, is not any citizen of that state indifferently, but the statesman and the man who, either singly or with others, is or can be at the head of the administration. Spengel proposes to read κἀκείνης (p. 29, note 30), but the change is not necessary.

VI. 1 After settling these preliminary points, we now come to the main object of the work.

τῶν τε ἄλλων ἀρχῶν] 'Both generally, as to magistracies, and especially the sovereign one.'

The object of the state.

τῆς κυρίας πάντων. κύριον μὲν γὰρ πανταχοῦ τὸ πολίτευμα τῆς πόλεως, πολίτευμα δ' ἐστὶν ἡ πολιτεία. λέγω δ' οἷον
2 ἐν μὲν ταῖς δημοκρατικαῖς κύριος ὁ δῆμος, οἱ δ' ὀλίγοι τοὐναντίον ἐν ταῖς ὀλιγαρχίαις· φαμὲν δὲ καὶ πολιτείαν ἑτέραν εἶναι τούτων. τὸν αὐτὸν δὲ τοῦτον ἐροῦμεν λόγον καὶ περὶ τῶν ἄλλων. Ὑποθετέον δὲ πρῶτον τίνος χάριν συνέστηκε πόλις, καὶ τῆς ἀρχῆς εἴδη πόσα τῆς περὶ ἄνθρωπον καὶ τὴν
3 κοινωνίαν τῆς ζωῆς. εἴρηται δὴ καὶ κατὰ τοὺς πρώτους λόγους, ἐν οἷς περὶ οἰκονομίας διωρίσθη καὶ δεσποτείας, ὅτι φύσει μέν ἐστιν ἄνθρωπος ζῷον πολιτικόν, διὸ καὶ μηδὲν δεόμενοι τῆς παρ' ἀλλήλων βοηθείας οὐκ ἔλαττον ὀρέγονται τοῦ συζῆν· οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ καὶ τὸ κοινῇ συμφέρον συνάγει,
4 καθ' ὅσον ἐπιβάλλει μέρος ἑκάστῳ τοῦ ζῆν καλῶς. μάλιστα μὲν οὖν τοῦτ' ἐστὶ τέλος, καὶ κοινῇ πᾶσι καὶ χωρίς· συνέρχονται δὲ καὶ τοῦ ζῆν ἕνεκεν αὐτοῦ (ἴσως γὰρ ἔνεστί

τὸ πολίτευμα] 'the government,' and the constitution of the state, or more shortly, the state is its government; L'état, c'est moi, is the language of all governments, monarchical or republican. Compare *Eth.* IX. viii. 6. p. 1168, b. 29, ὥσπερ δὲ καὶ πόλις τὸ κυριώτατον μάλιστα δοκεῖ εἶναι καὶ πᾶν ἄλλο σύστημα.

2 φαμὲν δὲ καί] The sovereign in each differs, therefore the constitution differs, and our common language allows that it does.

ὑποθετέον] ' 'We must first take as a basis for subsequent reasonings, answers to the two questions: What is the object of the formation of a state? 2ndly, How many kinds of government are there?'

3 ἐν οἷς, κ.τ.λ.] marks very clearly the scope of the First Book.

καὶ μηδὲν δεόμενοι] 'even if in no degree in need of mutual assistance.' Compare *Eth.* IX. 9. p. 1169, 6, for a full discussion of this question.

μὴν ἀλλά, κ.τ.λ.] Still it is not to exclude from the bonds of union the element of personal advantage which each member of the state derives from the union, in proportion to the degree in which each by it is enabled to live nobly.

4 τοῦτο] sc. τὸ ζῆν καλῶς. 'But still men do form the social union for life itself, and not for social life, and when formed men keep it together solely with reference to life and to secure that, unless the hardships which their life brings with it become past endurance.' Comp. Arnold, *Rom. Hist.* II. 167, "Nations, like individuals, cheerfully acquiesce in their actual condition, when it appears to be in any degree natural or even endurable; and their desire of change, whenever they do feel it, is less the wish of advancing from good to better, or a fond craving after novelty, than an irresistible instinct to escape from what is clearly and intolerably bad, even though they have no definite prospect of arriving at good." Also, p. 554.

ἴσως γὰρ ἔνεστί τι τοῦ καλοῦ μόριον] There is a question as to the place

The different kinds of government.

τι τοῦ καλοῦ μόριον), καὶ συνέχουσι τὴν πολιτικὴν κοινωνίαν
καὶ κατὰ τὸ ζῆν αὐτὸ μόνον, ἂν μὴ τοῖς χαλεποῖς κατὰ τὸν
βίον ὑπερβάλλῃ λίαν. δῆλον δ' ὡς καρτεροῦσι πολλὴν
κακοπάθειαν οἱ πολλοὶ τῶν ἀνθρώπων γλιχόμενοι τοῦ ζῆν, 5
ὡς ἐνούσης τινὸς εὐημερίας ἐν αὐτῷ καὶ γλυκύτητος φυσικῆς.
Ἀλλὰ μὴν καὶ τῆς ἀρχῆς τοὺς λεγομένους τρόπους ῥᾴδιον
διελεῖν· καὶ γὰρ ἐν τοῖς ἐξωτερικοῖς λόγοις διοριζόμεθα περὶ
αὐτῶν πολλάκις. ἡ μὲν γὰρ δεσποτεία, καίπερ ὄντος κατ' 6
ἀλήθειαν τῷ τε φύσει δούλῳ καὶ τῷ φύσει δεσπότῃ ταὐτοῦ
συμφέροντος, ὅμως ἄρχει πρὸς τὸ τοῦ δεσπότου συμφέρον
οὐδὲν ἧττον, πρὸς δὲ τὸ τοῦ δούλου κατὰ συμβεβηκός· οὐ
γὰρ ἐνδέχεται φθειρομένου τοῦ δούλου σῴζεσθαι τὴν δεσ-
ποτείαν. ἡ δὲ τέκνων ἀρχὴ καὶ γυναικὸς καὶ τῆς οἰκίας 7
πάσης, ἣν δὴ καλοῦμεν οἰκονομικήν, ἤτοι τῶν ἀρχομένων
χάριν ἐστὶν ἢ κοινοῦ τινὸς ἀμφοῖν, καθ' αὑτὸ μὲν τῶν ἀρχο- 1279
μένων, ὥσπερ ὁρῶμεν καὶ τὰς ἄλλας τέχνας, οἷον ἰατρικὴν
καὶ γυμναστικήν, κατὰ συμβεβηκὸς δὲ κἂν αὐτῶν εἶεν· οὐδὲν
γὰρ κωλύει τὸν παιδοτρίβην ἕνα τῶν γυμναζομένων ἐνίοτ'
εἶναι καὶ αὐτόν, ὥσπερ ὁ κυβερνήτης εἷς ἐστιν ἀεὶ τῶν πλω-
τήρων. ὁ μὲν οὖν παιδοτρίβης ἢ κυβερνήτης σκοπεῖ τῶν 8
ἀρχομένων ἀγαθόν· ὅταν δὲ τούτων εἷς γένηται καὶ αὐτός,

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these words should hold. Some, as Schneider with Coray, resting on the Vet. Int., wish to place them after τὴν πολιτικὴν κοινωνίαν. If I understand them rightly, it is no matter where they stand. In either case I refer them to the social union expressed—if their present place is kept, by the συνέρχονται, if their place is altered, by πολιτικὴν κοινωνίαν. Rest society and the objects of society on the simple basis of mutual wants, a lower one than Aristotle would wish to take, still there results from it, there is implied in it inherently something noble, some higher element. Men cannot unite without eliciting, as the fruits of their union, something good. There is honour among thieves, is an illustration of this statement.

5 ἀλλὰ μὴν] Here begins the answer to the 2nd question, πόσα εἴδη ἀρχῆς, here called τοὺς τρόπους.

ἐξωτερικοῖς] This term may here include, and probably does, the First Book. Compare I. v. 4, and note.

6 οὐ γὰρ ἐνδέχεται] It does not answer absolutely to neglect the slave, any more than any other part of property.

7 ἣν δὴ] 'and it is this, not δεσποτικήν, that we emphatically call οἰκονομικήν.'

αὐτῶν] sc. τῶν ἀρχόντων.

The different kinds of government.

κατὰ συμβεβηκὸς μετέχει τῆς ὠφελείας· ὁ μὲν γὰρ πλωτήρ, ὁ δὲ τῶν γυμναζομένων εἷς γίνεται παιδοτρίβης ὤν. διὸ καὶ τὰς πολιτικὰς ἀρχάς, ὅταν ᾖ κατ' ἰσότητα τῶν πολιτῶν
9 συνεστηκυῖα καὶ καθ' ὁμοιότητα, κατὰ μέρος ἀξιοῦσιν ἄρχειν, πρότερον μέν, ᾗ πέφυκεν, ἀξιοῦντες ἐν μέρει λειτουργεῖν, καὶ σκοπεῖν τινὰ πάλιν τὸ αὐτοῦ ἀγαθόν, ὥσπερ πρότερον
10 αὐτὸς ἄρχων ἐσκόπει τὸ ἐκείνου συμφέρον· νῦν δὲ διὰ τὰς ὠφελείας τὰς ἀπὸ τῶν κοινῶν καὶ τὰς ἐκ τῆς ἀρχῆς βούλονται συνεχῶς ἄρχειν, οἷον εἰ συνέβαινεν ὑγιαίνειν ἀεὶ τοῖς ἄρχουσι, νοσακεροῖς οὖσιν· καὶ γὰρ ἂν οὕτως ἴσως ἐδίωκον
11 τὰς ἀρχάς. Φανερὸν τοίνυν ὡς ὅσαι μὲν πολιτεῖαι τὸ κοινῇ συμφέρον σκοποῦσιν, αὗται μὲν ὀρθαὶ τυγχάνουσιν οὖσαι κατὰ τὸ ἁπλῶς δίκαιον, ὅσαι δὲ τὸ σφέτερον μόνον τῶν ἀρχόντων, ἡμαρτημέναι πᾶσαι καὶ παρεκβάσεις τῶν ὀρθῶν πολιτειῶν· δεσποτικαὶ γάρ, ἡ δὲ πόλις κοινωνία τῶν ἐλευθέρων ἐστίν.

Division of governments.

7 Διωρισμένων δὲ τούτων ἐχόμενόν ἐστι τὰς πολιτείας ἐπισκέψασθαι, πόσαι τὸν ἀριθμὸν καὶ τίνες εἰσί, καὶ πρῶτον τὰς ὀρθὰς αὐτῶν· καὶ γὰρ αἱ παρεκβάσεις ἔσονται φαναραὶ
2 τούτων διορισθεισῶν. Ἐπεὶ δὲ πολιτεία μὲν καὶ πολίτευμα σημαίνει ταὐτόν, πολίτευμα δ' ἐστὶ τὸ κύριον τῶν πόλεων, ἀνάγκη δ' εἶναι κύριον ἢ ἕνα ἢ ὀλίγους ἢ τοὺς πολλούς, ὅταν μὲν ὁ εἷς ἢ οἱ ὀλίγοι ἢ οἱ πολλοὶ πρὸς τὸ κοινὸν συμφέρον ἄρχωσι, ταύτας μὲν ὀρθὰς ἀναγκαῖον εἶναι τὰς πολιτείας,

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8 ὁ μὲν γὰρ πλωτήρ] for completeness there is required κυβερνήτης ὤν.

9 Διὸ καί, κ.τ.λ.] Because they look to the common good.

ὅταν ᾖ] supply as nominative ἡ πόλις, from πολιτικάς.

κατ' ἰσότητα καὶ καθ' ὁμοιότητα] on these two principles. The expression is equivalent to a more common one, ἐξ ἴσων καὶ ὁμοίων.

ἀξιοῦσιν, 'they think it but right.'

ᾗ πέφυκεν] 'as is the natural course.'

ἐν μέρει λειτουργεῖν] 'That all should serve in turn, and that each, after holding his office, should again attend to his own interests.'

10 νῦν δέ] answering to the πρότερον μέν.

11 ὅσαι πολιτεῖαι] 'all governments that.' Comp. Isoc. *Panath.* pp. 259, 260, where the same conclusion is come to as to the principles of governments and their divisions.

VII. 2 σημαίνει ταὐτόν] for our present purpose.

Division of governments.

τὰς δὲ πρὸς τὸ ἴδιον ἢ τοῦ ἑνὸς ἢ τῶν ὀλίγων ἢ τοῦ πλή-
θους παρεκβάσεις· ἢ γὰρ οὐ πολίτας φατέον εἶναι τοὺς
μετέχοντας, ἢ δεῖ κοινωνεῖν τοῦ συμφέροντος. καλεῖν δ' 3
εἰώθαμεν τῶν μὲν μοναρχιῶν τὴν πρὸς τὸ κοινὸν ἀποβλέ-
πουσαν συμφέρον βασιλείαν, τὴν δὲ τῶν ὀλίγων μὲν πλειό-
νων δ' ἑνὸς ἀριστοκρατίαν, ἢ διὰ τὸ τοὺς ἀρίστους ἄρχειν,
ἢ διὰ τὸ πρὸς τὸ ἄριστον τῇ πόλει καὶ τοῖς κοινωνοῦσιν
αὐτῆς. ὅταν δὲ τὸ πλῆθος πρὸς τὸ κοινὸν πολιτεύηται
συμφέρον, καλεῖται τὸ κοινὸν ὄνομα πασῶν τῶν πολιτειῶν,
πολιτεία· συμβαίνει δ' εὐλόγως· ἕνα μὲν γὰρ διαφέρειν 4
κατ' ἀρετὴν ἢ ὀλίγους ἐνδέχεται, πλείους δ' ἤδη χαλεπὸν
ἠκριβῶσθαι πρὸς πᾶσαν ἀρετήν, ἀλλὰ μάλιστα τὴν πολε- 1279 B
μικήν· αὕτη γὰρ ἐν πλήθει γίγνεται. διόπερ κατὰ ταύτην
τὴν πολιτείαν κυριώτατον τὸ προπολεμοῦν, καὶ μετέχουσιν
αὐτῆς οἱ κεκτημένοι τὰ ὅπλα. παρεκβάσεις τὲ τῶν εἰρη- 5
μένων τυραννὶς μὲν βασιλείας, ὀλιγαρχία δὲ ἀριστοκρατίας,
δημοκρατία δὲ πολιτείας. ἡ μὲν γὰρ τυραννίς ἐστι μοναρχία
πρὸς τὸ συμφέρον τὸ τοῦ μοναρχοῦντος, ἡ δ' ὀλιγαρχία
πρὸς τὸ τῶν εὐπόρων, ἡ δὲ δημοκρατία πρὸς τὸ συμφέρον

ἢ γὰρ οὐ πολίτας, κ.τ.λ.] For ἡ πόλις is *κοινωνία πολιτῶν, ἡ δὲ πολιτικὴ κοινωνία τοῦ συμφέροντος ἕνεκα συνέστηκε.* Comp. I. I. and note.

3 *τῶν μὲν μοναρχιῶν*] 'In the case of the monarchies we usually call the constitution which looks to the common interest.' With *τὴν ἀποβλέπουσαν*, I understand *πολιτείαν*.

4 *συμβαίνει δ' εὐλόγως*] "Ces différences de dénomination sont fort justes," says St Hilaire. I refer it strictly to the last form of government, and translate the passage: 'The result is such as you might reasonably expect; for whilst it is possible to find one man or a few of eminent virtue, in proportion as you increase the number, it becomes difficult to find them trained and finished generally; if to any excellence, it will be warlike excellence that will be developed in them. It is one of which large numbers are susceptible, and so we find that in this form of government the supreme power resides in the military class, and it is open to those who have got full armour.' Comp. III. XVII. 4. The passage is an avowal, that though in strict theory he places the three forms on a level, all equally right, practically there is an interval, and the third form is, from the nature of the case, not susceptible of such perfection as the first and second. It is the same conclusion as that of *Eth.* VIII. xii. 2. p. 1160, 36, *χειρίστη ἡ τιμοκρατία.* This will come more prominently forward later, VI. (IV.) VIII.

Division of governments. τὸ τῶν ἀπόρων· πρὸς δὲ τὸ τῷ κοινῷ λυσιτελοῦν οὐδεμία αὐτῶν.

8 The corrupt forms. Δεῖ δὲ μικρῷ διὰ μακροτέρων εἰπεῖν τίς ἑκάστη τούτων τῶν πολιτειῶν ἐστίν· καὶ γὰρ ἔχει τινὰς ἀπορίας, τῷ δὲ περὶ ἑκάστην μέθοδον φιλοσοφοῦντι καὶ μὴ μόνον ἀποβλέποντι πρὸς τὸ πράττειν οἰκεῖόν ἐστι τὸ μὴ παρορᾶν μηδέ τι καταλείπειν, ἀλλὰ δηλοῦν τὴν περὶ ἕκαστον ἀλήθειαν.
2 Ἔστι δὲ τυραννὶς μὲν μοναρχία, καθάπερ εἴρηται, δεσποτικὴ τῆς πολιτικῆς κοινωνίας, ὀλιγαρχία δ' ὅταν ὦσι κύριοι τῆς πολιτείας οἱ τὰς οὐσίας ἔχοντες, δημοκρατία δὲ τοὐναντίον ὅταν οἱ μὴ κεκτημένοι πλῆθος οὐσίας ἀλλ' ἄποροι.
3 Πρώτη δ' ἀπορία πρὸς τὸν διορισμόν ἐστίν. εἰ γὰρ εἶεν οἱ πλείους ὄντες εὔποροι κύριοι τῆς πόλεως, δημοκρατία δ' ἐστὶν ὅταν ᾖ κύριον τὸ πλῆθος, ὁμοίως δὲ πάλιν κἂν εἴ που συμβαίνῃ τοὺς ἀπόρους ἐλάττους μὲν εἶναι τῶν εὐπόρων, κρείττους δ' ὄντας κυρίους εἶναι τῆς πολιτείας, ὅπου δ' ὀλίγον κύριον πλῆθος, ὀλιγαρχίαν εἶναί φασιν, οὐκ ἂν καλῶς

VIII. 1 τούτων] 'these last.' For it seems clear from what follows, that it is not the whole number that he is intending to consider. His attention is for some time concentrated on oligarchy and democracy. These seem rather out of place, and ought to have their treatment in Books VI. VII. = (IV. VI.) Is it that their immense practical importance, for they were really the only free forms actually in work, induces him to deviate from the more strict logical sequence of his book?

τῷ δὲ περί, κ.τ.λ.] 'It is strictly the business of the philosophical inquirer in each department, not to overlook.'

2 δεσποτικὴ τῆς πολιτικῆς κοινωνίας] 'It is the rule of a master over slaves where there had been a free political society.' It is superinduced on such a society previously existing. "The tyrant," to quote from a passage which fairly represents the character of the later tyrants of Greece (Arnold, *Rom. Hist.* I. p. 474), "had broken into the field of civilized society, he had seated himself on the necks of his countrymen, to gorge each prevailing passion of his nature at their cost, with no principle but the interest of his own power." The later tyrants and the earlier despots must be kept distinct.

3 πρώτη δέ] 'at the outset there arises a difficulty, suggested by the definition given.' The many might be wealthy and sovereign; or again, the few might be poor and sovereign: what shall we call such governments? The answer Aristotle gives is, that it is in the wealth and the poverty that lies the real distinction, the number is an accident.

κἂν εἴ που] 'even if anywhere.'

Distinction between oligarchy and democracy.

δόξειεν διωρίσθαι περὶ τῶν πολιτειῶν. ἀλλὰ μὴν κἂν τις
συνθεὶς τῇ μὲν εὐπορίᾳ τὴν ὀλιγότητα τῇ δ' ἀπορίᾳ τὸ
πλῆθος οὕτω προσαγορεύῃ τὰς πολιτείας, ὀλιγαρχίαν μὲν
ἐν ᾗ τὰς ἀρχὰς ἔχουσιν οἱ εὔποροι ὀλίγοι τὸ πλῆθος ὄντες, 4
δημοκρατίαν δὲ ἐν ᾗ οἱ ἄποροι πολλοὶ τὸ πλῆθος ὄντες,
ἄλλην ἀπορίαν ἔχει. τίνας γὰρ ἐροῦμεν τὰς ἄρτι λεχθείσας 5
πολιτείας, τὴν ἐν ᾗ πλείους οἱ εὔποροι καὶ ἐν ᾗ ἐλάττους οἱ
ἄποροι κύριοι δ' ἑκάτεροι τῶν πολιτειῶν, εἴπερ μηδεμία
ἄλλη πολιτεία παρὰ τὰς εἰρημένας ἐστίν; ἔοικε τοίνυν ὁ 6
λόγος ποιεῖν δῆλον ὅτι τὸ μὲν ὀλίγους ἢ πολλοὺς εἶναι κυ-
ρίους συμβεβηκός ἐστιν, τὸ μὲν ταῖς ὀλιγαρχίαις τὸ δὲ ταῖς
δημοκρατίαις, διὰ τὸ τοὺς μὲν εὐπόρους ὀλίγους, πολλοὺς δ'
εἶναι τοὺς ἀπόρους πανταχοῦ· διὸ καὶ οὐ συμβαίνει τὰς ῥη-
θείσας αἰτίας γίνεσθαι διαφορᾶς· ᾧ δὲ διαφέρουσιν ἥ τε 7
δημοκρατία καὶ ἡ ὀλιγαρχία ἀλλήλων, πενία καὶ πλοῦτός
ἐστιν. καὶ ἀναγκαῖον μέν, ὅπου ἂν ἄρχωσι διὰ πλοῦτον ἄν 1280
τ' ἐλάττους ἄν τε πλείους, εἶναι ταύτην ὀλιγαρχίαν, ὅπου
δ' οἱ ἄποροι δημοκρατίαν· ἀλλὰ συμβαίνει, καθάπερ εἴ- 8
πομεν, τοὺς μὲν ὀλίγους εἶναι τοὺς δὲ πολλούς· εὐποροῦσι
μὲν γὰρ ὀλίγοι, τῆς δ' ἐλευθερίας μετέχουσι πάντες· δι' ἃς
αἰτίας ἀμφισβητοῦσιν ἀμφότεροι τῆς πολιτείας.

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4 οὕτω] 'under these conditions,' 'from this point of view.'

5 τῶν πολιτειῶν] 'of their respective states.'

6 ὁ λόγος] 'The course of the argument.' In this and the following sections, I have altered Bekker's stopping. Both after διαφορᾶς, § 6, and δημοκρατίαν, § 7, I substitute a colon for a full stop.

τὸ μέν] In § 7, ᾧ δέ, we have the particle that answers to the μέν here, 'whilst the being few or many in the governing body is an accident, &c., that by which really the two differ,' &c.

πανταχοῦ] emphatic, 'everywhere, without exception.' So that he might on his own principles, I. vi. 6, look on it as a fact of nature.

διὸ καὶ οὐ συμβαίνει] 'So that as a fact we do not find that the cases supposed above occur, that the alleged causes of difference really exist.' The stress lies on συμβαίνει and γίνεσθαι, the genitive διαφορᾶς depends on αἰτίας τὰς αἰτίας διαφορᾶς γίνεσθαι.

7 καὶ ἀναγκαῖον μέν . . . ἀλλὰ συμβαίνει] More regularly it would be συμβαίνει δέ, VII. (VI.) viii. 6. Compare Waitz, *ad Org.* ix. vi. 5, "Sæpius etiam ponitur ἀλλά ubi δέ magis convenire videtur." He gives many instances.

8 δι' ἃς αἰτίας] 'and wealth in the one case, numbers in the other, make

Their respective notions of justice.

Ληπτέον δὲ πρῶτον τίνας ὅρους λέγουσι τῆς ὀλιγαρχίας καὶ δημοκρατίας, καὶ τί τὸ δίκαιον τό τε ὀλιγαρχικὸν καὶ δημοκρατικόν. πάντες γὰρ ἅπτονται δικαίου τινός, ἀλλὰ
9 μέχρι τινὸς προέρχονται, καὶ λέγουσιν οὐ πᾶν τὸ κυρίως δίκαιον. οἷον δοκεῖ ἴσον τὸ δίκαιον εἶναι, καὶ ἔστιν, ἀλλ'
2 οὐ πᾶσιν ἀλλὰ τοῖς ἴσοις. καὶ τὸ ἄνισον δοκεῖ δίκαιον εἶναι· καὶ γάρ ἐστιν, ἀλλ' οὐ πᾶσιν ἀλλὰ τοῖς ἀνίσοις. οἱ δὲ τοῦτ' ἀφαιροῦσι, τὸ οἷς, καὶ κρίνουσι κακῶς. τὸ δ' αἴτιον ὅτι περὶ αὑτῶν ἡ κρίσις· σχεδὸν δ' οἱ πλεῖστοι φαῦ-
3 λοι κριταὶ περὶ τῶν οἰκείων. ὥστ' ἐπεὶ τὸ δίκαιον τισίν, καὶ διῄρηται τὸν αὐτὸν τρόπον ἐπί τε τῶν πραγμάτων καὶ οἷς, καθάπερ εἴρηται πρότερον, [ἐν τοῖς ἠθικοῖς,] τὴν μὲν τοῦ πράγματος ἰσότητα ὁμολογοῦσι, τὴν δὲ οἷς ἀμφισβητοῦσι, μάλιστα μὲν διὰ τὸ λεχθὲν ἄρτι, διότι κρίνουσι τὰ περὶ αὑτοὺς κακῶς, ἔπειτα δὲ καὶ διὰ τὸ λέγειν μέχρι τινὸς
4 ἑκατέρους δίκαιόν τι νομίζουσι δίκαιον λέγειν ἁπλῶς. οἱ μὲν γὰρ ἂν κατά τι ἄνισοι ὦσιν, οἷον χρήμασιν, ὅλως οἴονται ἄνισοι εἶναι, οἱ δ' ἂν κατά τι ἴσοι, οἷον ἐλευθερίᾳ, ὅλως
5 ἴσοι. τὸ δὲ κυριώτατον οὐ λέγουσιν. εἰ μὲν γὰρ τῶν κτη-

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each party equally claim the state as its own.'

1 [illegible] τίνας ὅρους λέγουσι] 'what are the limits and definitions usually adopted? And in these governments it is peculiarly a question of limits, as their boundaries are ill-defined.

μέχρι τινὸς προέρχονται, κ.τ.λ.] 'They advance only a certain way, and they fall short of the full statement of strict justice.'

2 τὸ οἷς] 'the question of the persons to whom.' They omit the relation.

3 [illegible] 'This agrees with his language in the Eth. v. vi. 4. p. 1131, 18: [illegible]. The whole of the [illegible], which investigates τὸ [illegible] δίκαιον, 'distributive justice,' should be compared.

[illegible] ἐπί τε τῶν πραγμάτων καὶ οἷς] οἷς τε γὰρ δίκαιον τυγχάνει ὄν, δύο ἐστί, καὶ ἐν οἷς τὰ πράγματα, δύο. καὶ ἡ αὐτὴ ἔσται ἰσότης οἷς καὶ ἐν οἷς· (διῄρηται τὸν αὐτὸν τρόπον) 'and the division will be made on the same principles in respect of the things divided, and of the persons to whom they are divided.' It must necessarily be a relative division.

ἐν τοῖς ἠθικοῖς] I doubt this reference. πρότερον I imagine was enough to Aristotle, who did not wish to separate these two works of his by any very marked distinction. They were to him integral parts of one whole, and they have been too little viewed in that light. They are in fact two books on political science.

διότι] Here again it is clearly for ὅτι.

4 τὸ κυριώτατον] 'The capital point.'

Their respective notions of justice.

μάτων χάριν ἐκοινώνησαν καὶ συνῆλθον, τοσοῦτον μετέχουσι τῆς πόλεως ὅσονπερ καὶ τῆς κτήσεως, ὥσθ' ὁ τῶν ὀλιγαρχικῶν λόγος δόξειεν ἂν ἰσχύειν· οὐ γὰρ εἶναι δίκαιον ἴσον μετέχειν τῶν ἑκατὸν μνῶν τὸν εἰσενέγκαντα μίαν μνᾶν τῷ δόντι τὸ λοιπὸν πᾶν, οὔτε τῶν ἐξ ἀρχῆς οὔτε τῶν ἐπιγινομένων. εἰ δὲ μήτε τοῦ ζῆν μόνον ἕνεκεν ἀλλὰ μᾶλλον τοῦ 6
εὖ ζῆν (καὶ γὰρ ἂν δούλων καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ζῴων ἦν πόλις· νῦν δ' οὐκ ἔστι διὰ τὸ μὴ μετέχειν εὐδαιμονίας μηδὲ τοῦ ζῆν κατὰ προαίρεσιν), μήτε συμμαχίας ἕνεκεν, ὅπως ὑπὸ μηδενὸς ἀδικῶνται, μήτε διὰ τὰς ἀλλαγὰς καὶ τὴν χρῆσιν τὴν πρὸς ἀλλήλους· καὶ γὰρ ἂν Τυρρηνοὶ καὶ Καρχηδόνιοι, καὶ πάντες οἷς ἐστὶ σύμβολα πρὸς ἀλλήλους, ὡς μιᾶς ἂν πολῖται πόλεως ἦσαν· εἰσὶ γοῦν αὐτοῖς συνθῆκαι περὶ τῶν εἰσαγω- 7
γίμων καὶ σύμβολα περὶ τοῦ μὴ ἀδικεῖν καὶ γραφαὶ περὶ συμμαχίας· ἀλλ' οὔτ' ἀρχαὶ πᾶσιν ἐπὶ τούτοις κοιναὶ καθε- 1280 B
στᾶσιν, ἀλλ' ἕτεραι παρ' ἑκατέροις, οὔτε τοῦ ποίους τινὰς εἶναι δεῖ φροντίζουσιν ἅτεροι τοὺς ἑτέρους, οὐδ' ὅπως μηδεὶς ἄδικος ἔσται τῶν ὑπὸ τὰς συνθήκας μηδὲ μοχθηρίαν ἕξει μηδεμίαν, ἀλλὰ μόνον ὅπως μηδὲν ἀδικήσουσιν ἀλλήλους. περὶ δ' ἀρετῆς καὶ κακίας πολιτικῆς διασκοποῦσιν ὅσοι 8

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5 *οὐ γὰρ εἶναι*] 'For they say it is not fair.'

τῶν ἐξ ἀρχῆς οὔτε τῶν ἐπιγινομένων] 'either of the principal or of the profits accruing.' This is perhaps the simplest. It might, I think, be masculine: 'either of those who originally contributed, or of subsequent generations of shareholders.

6 Wealth or property is but the basis of the social life: *ἃ δεῖ ὑπάρχειν*. Hence the oligarchical claim becomes unsound as soon as you rise higher and state the real object of the social union. Compare Mr Cornewall Lewis, on *Opinion*, ch. VII. xvii. p. 232, &c.

μηδὲ τοῦ ζῆν κατὰ προαίρεσιν] Comp. *Eth.* x. vi. 8. p. 1177. 8: *εὐδαιμονίας οὐδεὶς ἀνδραπόδῳ μεταδίδωσιν, εἰ μὴ καὶ βίου*, the equivalent of *ζῆν κατὰ προαίρεσιν*.

συμμαχίας] Compare II. II. 3.

διὰ τὰς ἀλλαγάς] Ch. I. 3–5.

σύμβολα] For a particular instance of the union of these two nations compare Grote, IV. 275, 6.

The sentence terminates abruptly at the end of this section, and, grammatically, there is no apodosis. The real apodosis, in point of sense, begins with § 8: *περὶ δ' ἀρετῆς*; and were it not for the *ἢ καὶ* of the next clause, the whole might be ordered, even as it is, pretty regularly: *εἰ δὲ μήτε τοῦ ζῆν ἕνεκεν—μήτε συμμαχίας—μήτε διὰ τὰς ἀλλαγάς—περὶ δ' ἀρετῆς—φανερόν*.

7 *πᾶσιν κοιναί*] 'common to all the contracting parties for these objects.'

τῶν ὑπὸ τὰς συνθήκας] 'of those who come under the treaties.'

[illegible]

φροντίζουσιν εὐνομίας. ᾗ καὶ φανερὸν ὅτι δεῖ περὶ ἀρετῆς ἐπιμελὲς εἶναι τῇ γ' ὡς ἀληθῶς ὀνομαζομένῃ πόλει, μὴ λόγου χάριν. γίνεται γὰρ ἡ κοινωνία συμμαχία τῶν ἄλλων τόπῳ διαφέρουσα μόνον τῶν ἄποθεν συμμάχων· καὶ ὁ νόμος συνθήκη, καί, καθάπερ ἔφη Λυκόφρων ὁ σοφιστής, ἐγγυητὴς ἀλλήλοις τῶν δικαίων, ἀλλ' οὐχ οἷος ποιεῖν ἀγαθοὺς καὶ
5 δικαίους τοὺς πολίτας. ὅτι δὲ τοῦτον ἔχει τὸν τρόπον, φανερόν. εἰ γάρ τις καὶ συναγάγοι τοὺς τόπους εἰς ἕν, ὥστε ἅπτεσθαι τὴν Μεγαρέων πόλιν καὶ Κορινθίων τοῖς τείχεσιν, ὅμως οὐ μία πόλις. οὐδ' εἰ πρὸς ἀλλήλους ἐπιγαμίας ποιήσαιντο· καίτοι τοῦτο τῶν ἰδίων ταῖς πόλεσι κοινωνημάτων
10 ἐστίν. ὁμοίως δ' οὐδ' εἴ τινες οἰκοῖεν χωρὶς μέν, μὴ μέντοι τοσοῦτον ἄποθεν ὥστε μὴ κοινωνεῖν, ἀλλ' εἶεν αὐτοῖς νόμοι τοῦ μὴ σφᾶς αὐτοὺς ἀδικεῖν περὶ τὰς μεταδόσεις, οἷον εἰ ὁ μὲν εἴη τέκτων ὁ δὲ γεωργὸς ὁ δὲ σκυτοτόμος ὁ δ' ἄλλο τι τοιοῦτον, καὶ τὸ πλῆθος εἶεν μύριοι, μὴ μέντοι κοινωνοῖεν ἄλλου μηδενὸς ἢ τῶν τοιούτων, οἷον ἀλλαγῆς καὶ συμμα-
11 χίας, οὐδ' οὕτω πω πόλις. διὰ τίνα δή ποτ' αἰτίαν; οὐ γὰρ δὴ διὰ τὸ μὴ σύνεγγυς τῆς κοινωνίας. εἰ γὰρ καὶ συνέλθοιεν οὕτω κοινωνοῦντες, ἕκαστος μέντοι χρῷτο τῇ ἰδίᾳ οἰκίᾳ ὥσπερ πόλει καὶ σφίσιν αὐτοῖς ὡς ἐπιμαχίας οὔσης βοηθοῦντες ἐπὶ τοὺς ἀδικοῦντας μόνον, οὐδ' οὕτως ἂν εἶναι δόξειε πόλις τοῖς ἀκριβῶς θεωροῦσιν, εἴπερ ὁμοίως ὁμιλοῖεν

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8 μὴ λόγου χάριν] 'and not merely in name.'

γίνεται γάρ] 'For otherwise.'

τῶν ἄλλων] sc. συμμαχιῶν. τῶν ἄποθεν συμμάχων is redundant really.

συνθήκη] 'a mere treaty;' a merely negative thing.

Λυκόφρων] St Hilaire quotes other passages where he is mentioned by Aristotle, but it would seem that beyond this nothing is known.

ὅτι δὲ τοῦτον, κ.τ.λ.] 'But that this last is the true light in which to regard law, as being οἷος ποιεῖν ἀγαθοὺς καὶ δικαίους, is clear.'

9 καὶ συνάγοι] 'were even to bring them together so that.'

ἐπιγαμίας] 'Intermarriages;' 'and yet,' says Aristotle, 'this is one of the social acts which more particularly characterise the union of the citizens of the same state.' Grote, II. 340.

10 οὐδ' οὕτω πω πόλις] 'Not even so would it attain to the idea of a state.'

11 ἐπιμαχίας] 'a defensive alliance.' The passage reads oddly, not in the way of contrast, but of illustration of the common language of our day.

συνελθόντες καὶ χωρίς. φανερὸν τοίνυν ὅτι ἡ πόλις οὐκ ἔστι κοινωνία τόπου καὶ τοῦ μὴ ἀδικεῖν σφᾶς αὐτοὺς καὶ τῆς μεταδόσεως χάριν· ἀλλὰ ταῦτα μὲν ἀναγκαῖον ὑπάρχειν,

What constitutes the social union.

12 εἴπερ ἔσται πόλις, οὐ μὴν οὐδ' ὑπαρχόντων τούτων ἁπάντων ἤδη πόλις, ἀλλ' ἡ τοῦ εὖ ζῆν κοινωνία καὶ ταῖς οἰκίαις καὶ τοῖς γένεσι, ζωῆς τελείας χάριν καὶ αὐτάρκους. οὐκ ἔσται

13 μέντοι τοῦτο μὴ τὸν αὐτὸν καὶ ἕνα κατοικούντων τόπον καὶ χρωμένων ἐπιγαμίαις. διὸ κηδεῖαί τ' ἐγένοντο κατὰ τὰς πόλεις καὶ φρατρίαι καὶ θυσίαι καὶ διαγωγαὶ τοῦ συζῆν· τὸ δὲ τοιοῦτον φιλίας ἔργον· ἡ γὰρ τοῦ συζῆν προαίρεσις φιλία. Τέλος μὲν οὖν πόλεως τὸ εὖ ζῆν, ταῦτα δὲ τοῦ τέλους χάριν.

The real claim to power in a state.

14 1281 πόλις δὲ ἡ γενῶν καὶ κωμῶν κοινωνία ζωῆς τελείας καὶ αὐτάρκους· τοῦτο δ' ἐστίν, ὡς φαμέν, τὸ ζῆν εὐδαιμόνως καὶ καλῶς. τῶν καλῶν ἄρα πράξεων χάριν θετέον εἶναι τὴν πολιτικὴν κοινωνίαν, ἀλλ' οὐ τοῦ συζῆν.

15 διόπερ ὅσοι συμβάλλονται πλεῖστον εἰς τὴν τοιαύτην κοινωνίαν, τούτοις τῆς πόλεως μέτεστι πλεῖον ἢ τοῖς κατὰ μὲν ἐλευθερίαν καὶ γένος ἴσοις ἢ μείζοσι κατὰ δὲ τὴν πολιτικὴν ἀρετὴν ἀνίσοις, ἢ τοῖς κατὰ πλοῦτον ὑπερέχουσι κατ' ἀρετὴν δ' ὑπερεχομένοις. Ὅτι μὲν οὖν πάντες οἱ περὶ τῶν πολιτειῶν ἀμφισβητοῦντες μέρος τι τοῦ δικαίου λέγουσι, φανερὸν ἐκ τῶν εἰρημένων.

Ἔχει δ' ἀπορίαν, τί δεῖ τὸ κύριον εἶναι τῆς πόλεως. ἢ 10

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12 ταῦτα μὲν ἀναγκαῖον] 'Security of rights and property must exist, if there is to be a state; but it may exist, and there need not by virtue of its existence (ἤδη) be a state, that will be, &c.'

ταῖς οἰκίαις καὶ τοῖς γένεσι] 'Families and aggregates of families.' κώμαις in the place of γένεσι would have been more consistent with his general language.

13 διό] This refers to κοινωνία τοῦ εὖ ζῆν, κ.τ.λ., in § 12: 'To secure this,' &c. Comp. *Eth.* VIII. xi. 5. p. 1161, 18: πᾶσαι δ' αὗται ὑπὸ τὴν πολιτικήν.

τὸ τοιοῦτον] sc. τὸ συζῆν, *Eth.* IX. ix. p. 1169, b.

15 τὴν τοιαύτην κοινωνίαν] sc. τῶν καλῶν πράξεων. It is to those who contribute most to forward the true objects of the society, that the larger share in the government of the society properly belongs.

μέρος τι] Some part, and some part only.

X—XIV. It must be remembered that these chapters are quite aporematic.

Where is the supreme power to reside?

γάρ τοι τὸ πλῆθος, ἢ τοὺς πλουσίους, ἢ τοὺς ἐπιεικεῖς, ἢ
τὸν βέλτιστον ἕνα πάντων, ἢ τύραννον· ἀλλὰ ταῦτα πάντα
ἔχειν φαίνεται δυσκολίαν. τί γάρ; ἂν οἱ πένητες διὰ τὸ
πλείους εἶναι διανέμωνται τὰ τῶν πλουσίων, τοῦτ᾽ οὐκ ἄδι-
2 κόν ἐστιν; ἔδοξε γὰρ νὴ Δία τῷ κυρίῳ δικαίως. τὴν οὖν
ἀδικίαν τί χρὴ λέγειν τὴν ἐσχάτην; Πάλιν τε πάντων
ληφθέντων, οἱ πλείους τὰ τῶν ἐλαττόνων ἂν διανέμωνται,
φανερὸν ὅτι φθείρουσι τὴν πόλιν. ἀλλὰ μὴν οὐχ ἥ γ᾽ ἀρετὴ
φθείρει τὸ ἔχον αὐτήν, οὐδὲ τὸ δίκαιον πόλεως φθαρτικόν·
ὥστε δῆλον ὅτι καὶ τὸν νόμον τοῦτον οὐχ οἷόν τ᾽ εἶναι
3 δίκαιον. Ἔτι καὶ τὰς πράξεις ὅσας ὁ τύραννος ἔπραξεν,
ἀναγκαῖον εἶναι πάσας δικαίας· βιάζεται γὰρ ὢν κρείττων,
ὥσπερ καὶ τὸ πλῆθος τοὺς πλουσίους. Ἀλλ᾽ ἆρα τοὺς
ἐλάττους δίκαιον ἄρχειν καὶ τοὺς πλουσίους; ἂν οὖν κἀκεῖνοι
ταὐτὰ ποιῶσι καὶ διαρπάζωσι καὶ τὰ κτήματα ἀφαιρῶνται
4 τοῦ πλήθους, τοῦτ᾽ ἐστὶ δίκαιον; καὶ θάτερον ἄρα. ταῦτα
μὲν τοίνυν ὅτι πάντα φαῦλα καὶ οὐ δίκαια, φανερόν. Ἀλλὰ
τοὺς ἐπιεικεῖς ἄρχειν δεῖ καὶ κυρίους εἶναι πάντων; οὐκοῦν
ἀνάγκη τοὺς ἄλλους ἀτίμους εἶναι πάντας, μὴ τιμωμένους
ταῖς πολιτικαῖς ἀρχαῖς· τιμὰς γὰρ λέγομεν εἶναι τὰς ἀρχάς,
ἀρχόντων δ᾽ αἰεὶ τῶν αὐτῶν ἀναγκαῖον εἶναι τοὺς ἄλλους
5 ἀτίμους. Ἀλλ᾽ ἕνα τὸν σπουδαιότατον ἄρχειν βέλτιον;
ἀλλ᾽ ἔτι τοῦτο ὀλιγαρχικώτερον· οἱ γὰρ ἄτιμοι πλείους.
Ἀλλ᾽ ἴσως φαίη τις ἂν τὸ κύριον ὅλως ἄνθρωπον εἶναι

X. 1 ἔχειν δυσκολίαν] 'to involve unpleasant consequences.'

ἔδοξε γάρ] 'It can hardly be so, is the answer, for it was the will of that part of the state which is rightly sovereign.'

2 πάλιν τε πάντων ληφθέντων] 'Again, take all together,' sink the element of wealth and poverty, and look merely to number.

ἥ γ᾽ ἀρετή] By its definition in *Eth.* II. v. 2. p. 1106, 15, the very contrary is the case: οὗ ἂν ᾖ ἀρετή, αὐτό τε εὖ ἔχον ἀποτελεῖ.

τὸ δίκαιον] ἡ δικαιοσύνη πολιτικόν, I. II. 16.

3 ἀλλ᾽ ἆρα] 'But does it then follow?'

θάτερον] 'The other case supposed above.'

4 μὴ τιμωμένους] if not invested with political offices. τιμάς: compare the Latin 'honores.'

5 τὸ κύριον εἶναι, κ.τ.λ.] 'That the sovereign power should reside in a man and not in the law is bad, liable as man is to the incidents of passion.'

Where is the supreme power to reside?

ἀλλὰ μὴ νόμον, φαῦλον, ἔχοντά γε τὰ συμβαίνοντα πάθη
περὶ τὴν ψυχήν. ἂν οὖν ᾖ νόμος μὲν ὀλιγαρχικὸς δὲ ᾖ δη-
μοκρατικὸς τί διοίσει περὶ τῶν ἠπορημένων; συμβήσεται
γὰρ ὁμοίως τὰ λεχθέντα πρότερον.

11

Ought the many to be sovereign, or the few best men?

Περὶ μὲν οὖν τῶν ἄλ-
λων ἔστω τις ἕτερος λόγος· ὅτι δὲ δεῖ κύριον εἶναι μᾶλλον
τὸ πλῆθος ἢ τοὺς ἀρίστους μὲν ὀλίγους δέ, δόξειεν ἂν λύ-
εσθαι καί τιν᾽ ἔχειν ἀπορίαν, τάχα δὲ κἂν ἀλήθειαν. τοὺς
γὰρ πολλούς, ὧν ἕκαστός ἐστιν οὐ σπουδαῖος ἀνήρ, ὅμως 2
ἐνδέχεται συνελθόντας εἶναι βελτίους ἐκείνων, οὐχ ὡς ἕκα- 1281 B
στον ἀλλ᾽ ὡς σύμπαντας, οἷον τὰ συμφορητὰ δεῖπνα τῶν
ἐκ μιᾶς δαπάνης χορηγηθέντων· πολλῶν γὰρ ὄντων ἕκαστον
μόριον ἔχειν ἀρετῆς καὶ φρονήσεως, καὶ γίνεσθαι συνελθόν-
τας ὥσπερ ἕνα ἄνθρωπον τὸ πλῆθος πολύποδα καὶ πολύ-
χειρα καὶ πολλὰς ἔχοντ᾽ αἰσθήσεις. οὕτω καὶ περὶ τὰ ἤθη
καὶ τὴν διάνοιαν. διὸ καὶ κρίνουσιν ἄμεινον οἱ πολλοὶ καὶ τὰ 3
τῆς μουσικῆς ἔργα καὶ τὰ τῶν ποιητῶν· ἄλλοι γὰρ ἄλλο τι
μόριον, πάντα δὲ πάντες. ἀλλὰ τούτῳ διαφέρουσιν οἱ 4
σπουδαῖοι τῶν ἀνδρῶν ἑκάστου τῶν πολλῶν, ὥσπερ καὶ τῶν
μὴ καλῶν τοὺς καλούς φασι καὶ τὰ γεγραμμένα διὰ τέχνης
τῶν ἀληθινῶν, τῷ συνῆχθαι τὰ διεσπαρμένα χωρὶς εἰς ἕν,
ἐπεὶ κεχωρισμένων γε κάλλιον ἔχειν τοῦ γεγραμμένου τουδὶ
μὲν τὸν ὀφθαλμόν, ἑτέρου δέ τινος ἕτερον μόριον. εἰ μὲν 5

συμβήσεται ὁμοίως] Only it will now happen in virtue of the law.

XI. 1 *λύεσθαι*] difficult; can it be 'would seem to require a solution,' or 'to admit a solution'? I do not see what else to make of it, and of the two I prefer the first. St Hil. gives: "peut sembler une solution équitable et vraie de la question, quoiqu'elle ne tranche pas encore toutes les difficultés."

2 *ἐκείνων*] sc. *τῶν ἀρίστων μὲν ὀλίγων δέ*.

οἷον] 'just as.'

ἀρετῆς καὶ φρονήσεως] Compare, for the use of these words, I. II. 16.

πολύποδα] The 'Bellua multorum capitum' of Horace, *Ep.* I. i. 76.

3 Plato, *Rep.* IV. 420, c.

4 *τούτῳ*] sc. *τῷ συνῆχθαι*.

5 'It is not clear that this language can be always applicable, and that in any people and any large number there will be this superiority of the many to the few. Nay, possibly it is clear that in the case of some it is not conceivable that it should be applicable. For if carried to its utmost length it might be applicable to the inferior animals.' In the last case he means that the combination of the several points in which the animals are superior to man, might be considered to

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οὖν περὶ πάντα δῆμον καὶ περὶ πᾶν πλῆθος ἐνδέχεται ταύτην εἶναι τὴν διαφορὰν τῶν πολλῶν πρὸς τοὺς ὀλίγους σπουδαίους, ἄδηλον· ἴσως δὲ νὴ Δία δῆλον ὅτι περὶ ἐνίων ἀδύνατον. ὁ γὰρ αὐτὸς κἂν ἐπὶ τῶν θηρίων ἁρμόσειε λόγος. καίτοι τί διαφέρουσιν ἔνιοι τῶν θηρίων ὡς ἔπος εἰπεῖν; ἀλλὰ
6 περί τι πλῆθος οὐδὲν εἶναι κωλύει τὸ λεχθὲν ἀληθές. διὸ καὶ τὴν πρότερον εἰρημένην ἀπορίαν λύσειεν ἄν τις διὰ τούτων καὶ τὴν ἐχομένην αὐτῆς, τίνων δεῖ κυρίους εἶναι τοὺς ἐλευθέρους καὶ τὸ πλῆθος τῶν πολιτῶν· τοιοῦτοι δ' εἰσὶν
7 ὅσοι μήτε πλούσιοι μήτε ἀξίωμα ἔχουσιν ἀρετῆς μηδέν· τὸ μὲν γὰρ μετέχειν αὐτοὺς τῶν ἀρχῶν τῶν μεγίστων οὐκ ἀσφαλές (διά τε γὰρ ἀδικίαν καὶ δι' ἀφροσύνην τὰ μὲν ἀδικεῖν ἂν τὰ δ' ἁμαρτάνειν αὐτούς), τὸ δὲ μὴ μεταδιδόναι μηδὲ μετέχειν φοβερόν· ὅταν γὰρ ἄτιμοι πολλοὶ καὶ πένητες ὑπάρχωσι, πολεμίων ἀναγκαῖον εἶναι πλήρη τὴν πόλιν ταύ-
8 την. λείπεται δὴ τοῦ βουλεύεσθαι καὶ κρίνειν μετέχειν αὐτούς. διόπερ καὶ Σόλων καὶ τῶν ἄλλων τινὲς νομοθετῶν τάττουσιν ἐπί τε τὰς ἀρχαιρεσίας καὶ τὰς εὐθύνας τῶν
9 ἀρχόντων, ἄρχειν δὲ κατὰ μόνας οὐκ ἐῶσιν. πάντες μὲν γὰρ ἔχουσι συνελθόντες ἱκανὴν αἴσθησιν, καὶ μιγνύμενοι τοῖς βελτίοσι τὰς πόλεις ὠφελοῦσιν, καθάπερ ἡ μὴ καθαρὰ τροφὴ μετὰ τῆς καθαρᾶς τὴν πᾶσαν ποιεῖ χρησιμωτέραν

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prove that a given number of animals collected would be superior to a given number of men. This is an absurdity; but scarcely less absurd would it be to collect a given number of savages, and say they were superior to a given number of educated and civilised Greeks.

περί τι πλῆθος] Rejecting the extreme conclusion, Aristotle thinks that there may well be cases in which the position taken in § 2 may hold good, in which the majority outweighs the minority. Of course the majority must be to a certain extent cultivated, and their political intelligence developed. They must be above the animals considerably; and for this good laws are required. See below, § 19.

6 τὴν πρότερον εἰρημένην] sc. τί τὸ κύριον.

τὴν ἐχομένην] sc. τίνων κύριον.

τοιοῦτοι] sc. τὸ πλῆθος: 'The majority is composed of such as are not wealthy and have nothing beyond the average merit;' 'no claim to any eminence or distinction.'

8 This conclusion is in perfect keeping with his definition of his citizen, as given in Ch. I.

Σόλων] Compare II. xii. 5.

τῆς ὀλίγης· χωρὶς δ' ἕκαστος ἀτελὴς περὶ τὸ κρίνειν ἐστίν. Ἔχει δ' ἡ τάξις αὕτη τῆς πολιτείας ἀπορίαν πρώτην μὲν ὅτι δόξειεν ἂν τοῦ αὐτοῦ εἶναι τὸ κρῖναι τίς ὀρθῶς ἰάτρευκεν,

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10 οὗπερ καὶ τὸ ἰατρεῦσαι καὶ ποιῆσαι ὑγιᾶ τὸν κάμνοντα τῆς νόσου τῆς παρούσης· οὗτος δ' ἐστὶν ἰατρός. ὁμοίως δὲ τοῦτο καὶ περὶ τὰς ἄλλας ἐμπειρίας καὶ τέχνας. ὥσπερ οὖν ἰατρὸν 1282 δεῖ διδόναι τὰς εὐθύνας ἐν ἰατροῖς, οὕτω καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους ἐν τοῖς ὁμοίοις. 11 ἰατρὸς δ' ὅ τε δημιουργὸς καὶ ὁ ἀρχιτεκτονικὸς καὶ τρίτος ὁ πεπαιδευμένος περὶ τὴν τέχνην· εἰσὶ γάρ τινες τοιοῦτοι καὶ περὶ πάσας ὡς εἰπεῖν τὰς τέχνας, ἀποδίδομεν δὲ τὸ κρίνειν οὐδὲν ἧττον τοῖς πεπαιδευμένοις ἢ τοῖς εἰδόσιν. 12 ἔπειτα καὶ περὶ τὴν αἵρεσιν τὸν αὐτὸν ἂν δόξειεν ἔχειν τρόπον· καὶ γὰρ τὸ ἑλέσθαι ὀρθῶς τῶν εἰδότων ἔργον ἐστίν, οἷον γεωμέτρην τε τῶν γεωμετρικῶν καὶ κυβερνήτην τῶν κυβερνητικῶν. εἰ γὰρ καὶ περὶ ἐνίων ἔργων καὶ τεχνῶν μετέχουσι καὶ τῶν ἰδιωτῶν τινές, ἀλλ' οὔ τι τῶν εἰδότων γε μᾶλλον. 13 ὥστε κατὰ μὲν τοῦτον τὸν λόγον οὐκ ἂν εἴη τὸ πλῆθος ποιητέον κύριον οὔτε τῶν ἀρχαιρεσιῶν οὔτε τῶν εὐθυνῶν. 14 ἀλλ' ἴσως οὐ πάντα ταῦτα λέγεται καλῶς διά τε

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9 τῆς ὀλίγης] sc. καὶ καθαρᾶς.

ἀτελής] 'Incomplete.' I. XIII. 11: ὁ παῖς ἀτελής.

10 But then comes an objection. The election and control of magistrates implies the power of judging whether their office has been well performed. Can any be competent to judge but those who have had actual experience by the possession of office of the manner in which its duties should be performed? A physician would claim to be judged by physicians. Why should a magistrate be judged by those who are themselves not thought competent to be magistrates?

11 It is to be remembered that under the term physician we include three different classes. The man who merely practises (ὁ δημιουργός); the man who combines with practice the true knowledge of the principles of the science (ὁ ἀρχιτεκτονικός); and, thirdly, the man who has simply made himself master of the principles (ὁ πεπαιδευμένος περὶ τὴν τέχνην), and who has not gone further. Comp. *Eth.* I. i. 5. 3. p. 1094, b. 27, for this sense of πεπαιδευμένος.

ἀποδίδομεν δέ] 'and we are in the habit of trusting for judgment the educated in this sense, those who know the theory, as much as those who know both practice and theory.' τοῖς εἰδόσιν: 'those who have complete knowledge,' who are ἀρχιτεκτονικοί.

12 τὸ ἑλέσθαι ὀρθῶς] Compare his language, *Eth.* X. x. 20. p. 1181, 17: ὥσπερ οὐδὲ τὴν ἐκλογὴν οὖσαν συνέσεως καὶ τὸ κρῖναι ὀρθῶς μέγιστον.

τῶν ἰδιωτῶν] The term is here equivalent to πεπαιδευμένων.

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τὸν πάλαι λόγον, ἂν ᾖ τὸ πλῆθος μὴ λίαν ἀνδραποδῶδες (ἔσται γὰρ ἕκαστος μὲν χείρων κριτὴς τῶν εἰδότων, ἅπαντες δὲ συνελθόντες ἢ βελτίους ἢ οὐ χείρους), καὶ ὅτι περὶ ἐνίων οὔτε μόνον ὁ ποιήσας οὔτ' ἄριστ' ἂν κρίνειεν, ὅσων τἄργα γιγνώσκουσι καὶ οἱ μὴ ἔχοντες τὴν τέχνην, οἷον οἰκίαν οὐ μόνον ἐστὶ γνῶναι τοῦ ποιήσαντος, ἀλλὰ καὶ βέλτιον ὁ χρώμενος αὐτῇ κρινεῖ (χρῆται δ' ὁ οἰκονόμος), καὶ πηδάλιον κυβερνήτης τέκτονος, καὶ θοίνην ὁ δαιτυμὼν ἀλλ' οὐχ ὁ
15 μάγειρος. Ταύτην μὲν οὖν τὴν ἀπορίαν τάχα δόξειέ τις ἂν οὕτω λύειν ἱκανῶς· ἄλλη δ' ἐστὶν ἐχομένη ταύτης. δοκεῖ γὰρ ἄτοπον εἶναι τὸ μειζόνων εἶναι κυρίους τοὺς φαύλους τῶν ἐπιεικῶν, αἱ δ' εὐθῦναι καὶ αἱ τῶν ἀρχῶν αἱρέσεις εἰσὶ μέγιστον· ἃς ἐν ἐνίαις πολιτείαις, ὥσπερ εἴρηται, τοῖς δήμοις ἀποδιδόασιν· ἡ γὰρ ἐκκλησία κυρία πάντων τῶν τοιούτων
16 ἐστίν. καίτοι τῆς μὲν ἐκκλησίας μετέχουσι καὶ βουλεύουσι καὶ δικάζουσιν ἀπὸ μικρῶν τιμημάτων καὶ τῆς τυχούσης ἡλικίας, ταμιεύουσι δὲ καὶ στρατηγοῦσι καὶ τὰς μεγίστας ἀρχὰς ἄρχουσιν ἀπὸ μεγάλων. ὁμοίως δή τις ἂν λύσειε καὶ ταύτην τὴν ἀπορίαν· ἴσως γὰρ ἔχει καὶ ταῦτ' ὀρθῶς.
17 Οὐ γὰρ ὁ δικαστὴς οὐδ' ὁ βουλευτὴς οὐδ' ὁ ἐκκλησιαστὴς ἄρχων ἐστίν, ἀλλὰ τὸ δικαστήριον καὶ ἡ βουλὴ καὶ ὁ δῆμος· τῶν δὲ ῥηθέντων ἕκαστος μόριόν ἐστι τούτων· Λέγω δὲ μό-

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14 *πάλαι*] 'some time back.' XI. 2.

ἂν ᾖ τὸ πλῆθος] This is the assumption necessary for his argument in XI. 5.

καὶ ὅτι περὶ ἐνίων, κ.τ.λ.] If we allow that there is force in the objection in many cases, it does not follow that it holds in all. There are cases in which the producer of a result and his peers are not the only judges nor even the best—the cases in which the results have to be used by others, and when consequently those others are the best judges. It is not the architect, but the occupier, who knows the good and bad points in the house he occupies.

15 Passing then from this objection he turns to another closely connected with it, in fact, almost another form of the same. The inferior part of your state has greater powers vested in it than the higher. You trust more to those from whom you exact no guarantee, than to those from whom you require strong ones, such as wealth and age.

16 *ταῦτα*] 'the present state.' The answer is, that singly the many are inferior, say in property for instance, but then they are not trusted singly. It is the collective body on which the trust is reposed, and the collective body is wealthier than the few wealthy who are eligible to the offices singly.

ριον τὸν βουλευτὴν καὶ τὸν ἐκκλησιαστὴν καὶ τὸν δικαστήν· ὥστε δικαίως κύριον μειζόνων τὸ πλῆθος· ἐκ γὰρ πολλῶν ὁ δῆμος καὶ ἡ βουλὴ καὶ τὸ δικαστήριον. καὶ τὸ τίμημα δὲ

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πλεῖον τὸ πάντων τούτων ἢ τὸ τῶν καθ' ἕνα καὶ κατ' ὀλί- 18
γους μεγάλας ἀρχὰς ἀρχόντων. Ταῦτα μὲν οὖν διωρίσθω 19 1282 B
τοῦτον τὸν τρόπον· ἡ δὲ πρώτη λεχθεῖσα ἀπορία ποιεῖ φανερὸν οὐδὲν οὕτως ἕτερον ὡς ὅτι δεῖ τοὺς νόμους εἶναι κυρίους κειμένους ὀρθῶς, τὸν ἄρχοντα δέ, ἄν τε εἷς ἄν τε πλείους ὦσι, περὶ τούτων εἶναι κυρίους περὶ ὅσων ἐξαδυνατοῦσιν οἱ νόμοι λέγειν ἀκριβῶς διὰ τὸ μὴ ῥᾴδιον εἶναι
καθόλου δηλῶσαι περὶ πάντων. ὁποίους μέντοι τινὰς εἶναι 20
δεῖ τοὺς ὀρθῶς κειμένους νόμους, οὐδέν πω δῆλον, ἀλλ' ἔτι
μένει τὸ πάλαι διαπορηθέν. πλὴν τοῦτό γε φανερόν, ὅτι 21

19 ἡ πρώτη ἀπορία] That started in Ch. X.

περὶ τούτων] 'on those points, and those only.'

ἐξαδυνατοῦσιν] 'are absolutely incompetent.' Comp. *Eth.* v. xiv. 4. p. 1137, b. 13.

20 μένει] 'remains unsolved.' τὸ πάλαι. Ch. X. 5.

I invert the order of the two next sentences. It is much clearer so to my mind. The passage then runs as follows: 'The question started above remains still unanswered. Only so far at least is clear, that the laws must have reference to the constitution. In that case it must needs be that the laws will be good or bad just as the constitution to which they are adapted is good or bad. The two will vary together; and if so, it is clear that the laws answering to the right constitutions will be just; those answering to the forms which are deviations from the true type, will be unjust.' The passage cannot, I think, be cleared of virtual tautology.

The whole chapter leans towards the conclusion, that the majority should be in possession of the supreme power. It is in favour of the democratical rather than the oligarchical principle; but of course it cannot be made to shew more than this, that of these two imperfect forms Aristotle preferred democracy, the conclusion to which he came, *Eth.* VIII. xii. p. 1160. The chapter then does not interfere with his own theory of true government; and therefore I cannot agree with Spengel's language, p. 15, note 18: "Dieses ist gegen Platon's Ansicht, der überall den einzelnen Kundigen gegenüber dem ganzen unwissenden Volke hervorhebt; ähnlich hatte Sieyès seinen Antrag, man solle das ausführen was die Minorität, nicht was die Majorität wähle, motivirt: car la majorité est toujours bête. Gegen diesen Satz kämpft Aristoteles unmittelbar, wenn anders das Volk zu einzigem Bewusstseyn gekommen ist." I suspect that Aristotle with Plato and with Sieyès would look, in strict political theory, to the few wise and not to the popular element. At the same time, in the corrupt governments of Greece, as in that of our own country or others of the present day, it might be necessary for a time to redress the

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δεῖ πρὸς τὴν πολιτείαν κεῖσθαι τοὺς νόμους. ἀλλὰ γὰρ καὶ ὁμοίως ταῖς πολιτείαις ἀνάγκη καὶ τοὺς νόμους φαύλους ἢ σπουδαίους εἶναι καὶ δικαίους ἢ ἀδίκους. ἀλλὰ μὴν εἰ τοῦτο, δῆλον ὅτι τοὺς μὲν κατὰ τὰς ὀρθὰς πολιτείας ἀναγκαῖον εἶναι δικαίους, τοὺς δὲ κατὰ τὰς παρεκβεβηκυίας οὐ δικαίους.

Some equality necessary. Equality in what?

12 Ἐπεὶ δ' ἐν πάσαις μὲν ταῖς ἐπιστήμαις καὶ τέχναις ἀγαθὸν τὸ τέλος, μέγιστον δὲ καὶ μάλιστα ἐν τῇ κυριωτάτῃ πασῶν, αὕτη δ' ἐστὶν ἡ πολιτικὴ δύναμις, ἔστι δὲ πολιτικὸν ἀγαθὸν τὸ δίκαιον, τοῦτο δ' ἐστὶ τὸ κοινῇ συμφέρον, δοκεῖ δὲ πᾶσιν ἴσον τι τὸ δίκαιον εἶναι, καὶ μέχρι γέ τινος ὁμολογοῦσι τοῖς κατὰ φιλοσοφίαν λόγοις, ἐν οἷς διώρισται περὶ τῶν ἠθικῶν· τὶ γὰρ καὶ τισὶ τὸ δίκαιον, καὶ δεῖν τοῖς ἴσοις
2 ἴσον εἶναί φασιν· ποίων δ' ἰσότης ἐστὶ καὶ ποίων ἀνισότης, δεῖ μὴ λανθάνειν· ἔχει γὰρ τοῦτ' ἀπορίαν καὶ φιλοσοφίαν πολιτικήν. ἴσως γὰρ ἂν φαίη τις κατὰ παντὸς ὑπεροχὴν ἀγαθοῦ δεῖν ἀνίσως νενεμῆσθαι τὰς ἀρχάς, εἰ πάντα τὰ λοιπὰ μηδὲν διαφέροιεν ἀλλ' ὅμοιοι τυγχάνοιεν ὄντες· τοῖς γὰρ διαφέρουσιν ἕτερον εἶναι τὸ δίκαιον καὶ τὸ κατ' ἀξίαν.

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balance by calling in numbers to overpower the opposition to wholesome changes on the part of small but strongly organized classes.

XII. 1 ἐπεὶ δέ] The question is where to make the apodosis of the sentence begin. I think Stahr is right in placing it at ποίων δ' ἰσότης. The reasoning then shortly stated is: All look on τὸ πολιτικὸν ἀγαθὸν as ἴσον τι; but equality in what? for evidently it is not every superiority that constitutes a claim to a larger share of the benefits of the association.

δύναμις] His language here is very similar to that in *Eth.* I. ii. 3, 4, 5. p. 1094, 25: τίνος τῶν ἐπιστημῶν ἢ δυνάμεων. δόξειε δ' ἂν τῆς κυριωτάτης καὶ μάλιστα ἀρχιτεκτονικῆς. τοιαύτη δ' ἡ πολιτικὴ φαίνεται.

ὁμολογοῦσι] 'men in general agree with the conclusions of philosophical reasoners,' or better perhaps, 'with our philosophical arguments in which we discussed the subject of the moral virtue.' "In welchen über die Ethik Gehandelt worden ist." Stahr.

τὶ γὰρ καὶ τισί] 'For they allow that justice concerns things and persons.'

2 ποίων δέ] Yet though they go so far with us, there is a point where the union is interrupted, and therefore the question must be investigated, 'in regard to what things there is to be equality, in what inequality?'

ἔχει γὰρ τοῦτο] 'For this is a point not without difficulty, and one fairly requiring political science to throw light on it.'

τοῖς γὰρ διαφέρουσιν] They press their language to its strict logical conclusion, and say, those who differ have different rights and different claims.

Some equality necessary. Equality in what?

Ἀλλὰ μὴν εἰ τοῦτ᾿ ἀληθές, ἔσται καὶ κατὰ χρῶμα καὶ κατὰ μέγεθος καὶ καθ᾿ ὁτιοῦν τῶν ἀγαθῶν πλεονεξία τις τῶν πολιτικῶν δικαίων τοῖς ὑπερέχουσιν. ἢ τοῦτο ἐπιπόλαιον τὸ ψεῦδος; φανερὸν δ᾿ ἐπὶ τῶν ἄλλων ἐπιστημῶν καὶ δυνάμεων· 3
τῶν γὰρ ὁμοίων αὐλητῶν τὴν τέχνην οὐ δοτέον πλεονεξίαν 4
τῶν αὐλῶν τοῖς εὐγενεστέροις· οὐδὲν γὰρ αὐλήσουσι βέλτιον, δεῖ δὲ τῷ κατὰ τὸ ἔργον ὑπερέχοντι διδόναι καὶ τῶν ὀργάνων τὴν ὑπεροχήν. εἰ δὲ μήπω δῆλον τὸ λεγόμενον, ἔτι μᾶλλον αὐτὸ προαγαγοῦσιν ἔσται φανερόν. εἰ γὰρ εἴη τις 5
ὑπερέχων μὲν κατὰ τὴν αὐλητικήν, πολὺ δ᾿ ἐλλείπων κατ᾿ εὐγένειαν ἢ κάλλος, εἰ καὶ μεῖζον ἕκαστον ἐκείνων ἀγαθόν ἐστι τῆς αὐλητικῆς (λέγω δὲ τήν τ᾿ εὐγένειαν καὶ τὸ κάλλος) καὶ κατὰ τὴν ἀναλογίαν ὑπερέχουσι πλέον τῆς αὐλητικῆς ἢ ἐκεῖνος κατὰ τὴν αὐλητικήν, ὅμως τούτῳ δοτέον τοὺς διαφέροντας τῶν αὐλῶν· δεῖ γὰρ εἰς τὸ ἔργον συμβάλλεσθαι 1283
τὴν ὑπεροχὴν καὶ τοῦ πλούτου καὶ τῆς εὐγενείας, συμβάλλονται δ᾿ οὐδέν. ἔτι κατά γε τοῦτον τὸν λόγον πᾶν ἀγα- 6
θὸν πρὸς πᾶν ἂν εἴη συμβλητόν. εἰ γὰρ μᾶλλον τὸ τὶ μέγεθος, καὶ ὅλως ἂν τὸ μέγεθος ἐνάμιλλον εἴη καὶ πρὸς πλοῦτον καὶ πρὸς ἐλευθερίαν. ὥστ᾿ εἰ πλεῖον ὁδὶ διαφέρει κατὰ μέγεθος ἢ ὁδὶ κατ᾿ ἀρετήν, καὶ πλεῖον ὑπερέχει ὅλως ἀρετῆς μέγεθος, εἴη ἂν συμβλητὰ πάντα· τοσόνδε γὰρ μέγεθος εἰ κρεῖττον τοσοῦδε, τοσόνδε δῆλον ὡς ἴσον. ἐπεὶ δὲ 7
τοῦτ᾿ ἀδύνατον, δῆλον ὡς καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν πολιτικῶν εὐλόγως οὐ κατὰ πᾶσαν ἀνισότητ᾿ ἀμφισβητοῦσι τῶν ἀρχῶν. εἰ γὰρ οἱ μὲν βραδεῖς οἱ δὲ ταχεῖς, οὐδὲν διὰ τοῦτο δεῖ τοὺς μὲν

3 πλεονεξία] 'a larger share, an advantage in respect of, &c.' The term does not imply any disposition of the mind.

4 προαγαγοῦσιν] 'having carried it still further.' *Eth.* I. vii. 17. p. 1098, 21: παντὸς εἶναι προαγαγεῖν. He does not seem to have made his meaning clearer by the next section.

6 There must be some common measure of the various things we call good. This is not the case.

εἰ γὰρ μᾶλλον τὸ τὶ μέγεθος] 'If a given degree of greatness is better than a given degree of wealth, it would follow,' he argues, 'that greatness in itself might come into comparison with wealth in itself.' But many of these ideas are incommensurable, they do not come within the scope of the political philosopher. They are disparates to him.

7 εὐλόγως] 'There is good ground for men's not claiming offices on the score of every inequality.'

Some equality necessary. Equality in what?

πλεῖον τοὺς δ' ἔλαττον ἔχειν, ἀλλ' ἐν τοῖς γυμνικοῖς ἀγῶσιν
ἡ τούτων διαφορὰ λαμβάνει τὴν τιμήν. ἀλλ' ἐξ ὧν πόλις
συνέστηκεν, ἐν τούτοις ἀναγκαῖον ποιεῖσθαι τὴν ἀμφισβήτη-
8 σιν. διόπερ εὐλόγως ἀντιποιοῦνται τῆς τιμῆς οἱ εὐγενεῖς
καὶ ἐλεύθεροι καὶ πλούσιοι· δεῖ γὰρ ἐλευθέρους τ' εἶναι
καὶ τίμημα φέροντας· οὐ γὰρ ἂν εἴη πόλις ἐξ ἀπόρων πάν-
9 των, ὥσπερ οὐδ' ἐκ δούλων. Ἀλλὰ μὴν εἰ δεῖ τούτων, δῆλον
ὅτι καὶ δικαιοσύνης καὶ τῆς πολεμικῆς ἀρετῆς· οὐδὲ γὰρ ἄνευ
τούτων οἰκεῖσθαι πόλιν δυνατόν, πλὴν ἄνευ μὲν τῶν προ-
τέρων ἀδύνατον εἶναι πόλιν, ἄνευ δὲ τούτων οἰκεῖσθαι καλῶς.

The respective claims to power.

13 πρὸς μὲν οὖν τὸ πόλιν εἶναι δόξειεν ἂν ἢ πάντα ἢ ἔνιά γε
τούτων ὀρθῶς ἀμφισβητεῖν, πρὸς μέντοι ζωὴν ἀγαθὴν ἡ
παιδεία καὶ ἡ ἀρετὴ μάλιστα δικαίως ἂν ἀμφισβητοίησαν,
καθάπερ εἴρηται καὶ πρότερον. ἐπεὶ δ' οὔτε πάντων ἴσον
ἔχειν δεῖ τοὺς ἴσους ἕν τι μόνον ὄντας οὔτε ἄνισον τοὺς
ἀνίσους καθ' ἕν, ἀνάγκη πάσας εἶναι τὰς τοιαύτας πολιτείας
2 παρεκβάσεις. εἴρηται μὲν οὖν καὶ πρότερον ὅτι διαμ-
φισβητοῦσι τρόπον τινὰ δικαίως πάντες, ἁπλῶς δ' οὐ πάντες
δικαίως, οἱ πλούσιοι μὲν ὅτι πλεῖον μέτεστι τῆς χώρας
αὐτοῖς, ἡ δὲ χώρα κοινόν· ἔτι πρὸς τὰ συμβόλαια πιστοὶ
μᾶλλον ὡς ἐπὶ τὸ πλέον· οἱ δ' ἐλεύθεροι καὶ εὐγενεῖς ὡς

λαμβάνει τὴν τιμήν] 'finds its appreciation.'

8 *ἐξ ὧν πόλις συνέστηκεν*] 'Taking the elements that compose a state, it is only within the limits of these that there can be any discussion of the respective claims of the parties.'

δεῖ γάρ] 'There must be free men, and there must be a class paying taxes;' not merely *capitecensi*. "Censum ferentes," Victorius translates it. That the meaning is as I have given it, I feel sure, but I am not sure as to the expression.

9 *ἀλλὰ μήν*] 'These classes may be necessary, but it is clear that not less necessary are justice and bravery.'

XIII. 1 'For the mere existence of a state some of these at least, if not all, would seem justly to put in their claim to consideration.'

τοιαύτας πολιτείας] 'all states based on such equality and inequality.'

2 *πρότερον*] at the end of Ch. X.

πλεῖον μέτεστι τῆς χώρας] 'They have a larger share of the land of the country, and the land is emphatically a national interest.' As then, to use familiar words, they had a greater stake in the country, they claimed more power.

ἔτι πρὸς τὰ συμβόλαια] Their second claim is their greater trustworthiness, as a general rule, in the common dealings between man and man.

οἱ ἐλεύθεροι καὶ εὐγενεῖς ὡς ἐγγὺς ἀλλήλων] The reasoning here is not

The respective claims to power.

ἐγγὺς ἀλλήλων· πολῖται γὰρ μᾶλλον οἱ γενναιότεροι τῶν
ἀγεννῶν, ἡ δ' εὐγένεια παρ' ἑκάστοις οἴκοι τίμιος. ἔτι
διότι βελτίους εἰκὸς τοὺς ἐκ βελτιόνων· εὐγένεια γάρ ἐστιν
ἀρετὴ γένους. ὁμοίως δὴ φήσομεν δικαίως καὶ τὴν ἀρετὴν 3
ἀμφισβητεῖν· κοινωνικὴν γὰρ ἀρετὴν εἶναί φαμεν τὴν δικαιο-
σύνην, ᾗ πάσας ἀναγκαῖον ἀκολουθεῖν τὰς ἄλλας. ἀλλὰ 4
μὴν καὶ οἱ πλείους πρὸς τοὺς ἐλάττους· καὶ γὰρ κρείττους
καὶ πλουσιώτεροι καὶ βελτίους εἰσίν, ὡς λαμβανομένων τῶν
πλειόνων πρὸς τοὺς ἐλάττους. ἆρ' οὖν εἰ πάντες εἶεν ἐν 1283 B
μιᾷ πόλει, λέγω δ' οἷον οἵ τ' ἀγαθοὶ καὶ οἱ πλούσιοι καὶ
εὐγενεῖς, ἔτι δὲ πλῆθος ἄλλο τι πολιτικόν, πότερον ἀμ-
φισβήτησις ἔσται τίνας ἄρχειν δεῖ, ἢ οὐκ ἔσται; καθ' ἑκά- 5
στην μὲν οὖν πολιτείαν τῶν εἰρημένων ἀναμφισβήτητος ἡ
κρίσις τίνας ἄρχειν δεῖ· τοῖς γὰρ κυρίοις διαφέρουσιν ἀλλή-
λων, οἷον ἡ μὲν τῷ διὰ πλουσίων ἡ δὲ τῷ διὰ τῶν σπου-
δαίων ἀνδρῶν εἶναι, καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ἑκάστη τὸν αὐτὸν τρόπον.

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very easy. Is it that the free and the well-born claim on somewhat similar grounds, that their claim is similar, as they themselves stand at no great distance from one another? The free claim as genuine citizens—the well-born claim as citizens also, and *à fortiori* as compared with the simply free. For they urge that the nobler are truer citizens of the state than the meaner sort. They slip in the words γενναιότεροι, with its moral sense, for εὐγενέστεροι, and ἀγεννῶν for ἐλευθέρων. Compare, for the difference of the two words, *Rhet.* II. xv. 3. p. 1390, b. 22: εὐγενὲς κατὰ τὴν τοῦ γένους ἀρετήν, γενναῖον δὲ κατὰ τὸ μὴ ἐξίστασθαι τῆς φύσεως· ὅπερ ὡς ἐπὶ τὸ πολὺ οὐ συμβαίνει τοῖς εὐγενέσιν, ἀλλ' εἰσὶν οἱ πολλοὶ εὐτελεῖς.

ἡ δ' εὐγένεια] 'Besides, practically in every nation high birth, according to the standard adopted, is honoured.' Comp. I. VI. 7.

3 ἔτι, κ.τ.λ.] 'Secondly, the well-born urge that there is a reasonable probability of their being better from their fathers having been better; for good birth implies distinction or merit in the family.'

ὁμοίως δή] 'With not less justice surely then than we allow hereditary merit shall we allow personal merit to put in its claim; for justice in our view is the virtue essential to every association, and justice involves all other moral virtues; it is, ἀρετῆς χρῆσις—ἀρετὴ πρὸς ἄλλον.' *Eth.* V. iii. p. 1129, b. 25, and foll.

4 ὡς λαμβανομένων] Compare X. 2, the expression, πάντων ληφθέντων: 'If, that is, the many are taken in a body and compared with the few in a body.'

πολιτικόν] 'Simply citizens, and no more.'

5 τοῖς γὰρ κυρίοις] 'For it is by the difference in their sovereign power that they differ from one another.'

The respective claims to power.

ἀλλ' ὅμως σκοποῦμεν, ὅταν περὶ τὸν αὐτὸν ταῦθ' ὑπάρχῃ χρόνον, πῶς διοριστέον. εἰ δὴ τὸν ἀριθμὸν εἶεν ὀλίγοι πάμπαν οἱ τὴν ἀρετὴν ἔχοντες, τίνα δεῖ διελεῖν τὸν τρό-
6 πον; ἢ τὸ ὀλίγοι πρὸς τὸ ἔργον δεῖ σκοπεῖν, εἰ δυνατοὶ διοικεῖν τὴν πόλιν ἢ τοσοῦτοι τὸ πλῆθος ὥστ' εἶναι πόλιν ἐξ αὐτῶν; Ἔστι δὲ ἀπορία τις πρὸς ἅπαντας τοὺς διαμφισ-
7 βητοῦντας περὶ τῶν πολιτικῶν τιμῶν. δόξαιεν γὰρ οὐδὲν λέγειν δίκαιον οἱ διὰ τὸν πλοῦτον ἀξιοῦντες ἄρχειν, ὁμοίως δὲ καὶ οἱ κατὰ γένος· δῆλον γὰρ ὡς εἴ τις πάλιν εἷς πλουσιώτερος ἁπάντων ἐστί, δῆλον ὅτι κατὰ τὸ αὐτὸ δίκαιον τοῦτον ἄρχειν τὸν ἕνα ἁπάντων δεήσει, ὁμοίως δὲ καὶ τὸν εὐγενείᾳ διαφέροντα τῶν ἀμφισβητούντων δι' ἐλευθερίαν.
8 ταὐτὸ δὲ τοῦτ' ἴσως συμβήσεται καὶ περὶ τὰς ἀριστοκρατίας ἐπὶ τῆς ἀρετῆς· εἰ γάρ τις εἷς ἀμείνων ἀνὴρ εἴη τῶν ἄλλων τῶν ἐν τῷ πολιτεύματι σπουδαίων ὄντων, τοῦτον εἶναι δεῖ κύριον κατὰ ταὐτὸ δικαίον. οὐκοῦν εἰ καὶ τὸ πλῆθος εἶναί γε δεῖ κύριον διότι κρείττους εἰσὶ τῶν ὀλίγων, κἂν εἷς ἢ πλείους μὲν τοῦ ἑνὸς, ἐλάττους δὲ τῶν πολλῶν κρείτ-

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ἀλλ' ὅμως σκοποῦμεν] Still, whilst we allow that each constitution, such as oligarchy and democracy, carries with it its own answer to the question, who are to govern? there remains to consider, supposing all the elements given above to co-exist, and so the state not to come very decidedly under one or other, or to be as yet not decided, how are the claims of all to be settled? So I paraphrase the passage.

6 εἰ δή, κ.τ.λ.] He takes one case, that of the virtuous: Suppose that they are but very few in number, then what is the arrangement we must adopt? The mere fact of their being few is nothing. The question should be, are they few for the work required of them, could they manage the state? or are we to require them to be in number sufficient to constitute a state by themselves? If the good are rejected because they are in a minority, then what becomes of the claim of the rich? If against this it is urged that the rich claim by virtue of their great superiority in wealth, which compensates for their inferior numbers, this line of argument suggests a difficulty which in fact is general, and meets all the claimants alike. If the aggregate of rich men claims on the ground of superior wealth, it would follow that a single enormously wealthy individual would be justified in claiming against that aggregate, if his individual wealth were greater than that of the body. And a similar objection may be taken against all equally: πρὸς ἅπαντας τοὺς διαμφισβητοῦντας.

7 τοῦτον τὸν ἕνα] 'This one though but one.'

8 κρείττους] 'stronger.'

The respective claims to power.

τους ὦσι τῶν ἄλλων, τούτους ἂν δέοι κυρίους εἶναι μᾶλλον
ἢ τὸ πλῆθος. Πάντα δὴ ταῦτ' ἔοικε φανερὸν ποιεῖν ὅτι
τούτων τῶν ὅρων οὐδεὶς ὀρθός ἐστι, καθ' ὃν ἀξιοῦσιν αὐτοὶ 9
μὲν ἄρχειν τοὺς δ' ἄλλους ὑπὸ σφῶν ἄρχεσθαι πάντας. καὶ 10
γὰρ δὴ καὶ πρὸς τοὺς κατ' ἀρετὴν ἀξιοῦντας κυρίους εἶναι
τοῦ πολιτεύματος, ὁμοίως δὲ καὶ τοὺς κατὰ πλοῦτον, ἔχοιεν
ἂν λέγειν τὰ πλήθη λόγον τινὰ δίκαιον· οὐδὲν γὰρ κωλύει
ποτὲ τὸ πλῆθος εἶναι βέλτιον τῶν ὀλίγων καὶ πλουσιώ-
τερον, οὐχ ὡς καθ' ἕκαστον ἀλλ' ὡς ἀθρόους. Διὸ καὶ πρὸς 11
τὴν ἀπορίαν, ἣν ζητοῦσι καὶ προβάλλουσί τινες ἐνδέχεται
τοῦτον τὸν τρόπον ἀπαντᾶν. ἀποροῦσι γάρ τινες πότερον
τῷ νομοθέτῃ νομοθετητέον, βουλομένῳ τίθεσθαι τοὺς ὀρθο-
τάτους νόμους, πρὸς τὸ τῶν βελτιόνων συμφέρον ἢ πρὸς τὸ
τῶν πλειόνων, ὅταν συμβαίνῃ τὸ λεχθέν. τὸ δ' ὀρθὸν ληπ- 12
τέον ἴσως· τὸ δ' ἴσως ὀρθὸν πρὸς τὸ τῆς πόλεως ὅλης
συμφέρον καὶ πρὸς τὸ κοινὸν τὸ τῶν πολιτῶν. πολίτης δὲ
κοινῇ μὲν ὁ μετέχων τοῦ ἄρχειν καὶ ἄρχεσθαί ἐστι, καθ' 1284
ἑκάστην δὲ πολιτείαν ἕτερος, πρὸς δὲ τὴν ἀρίστην ὁ δυνάμε-
νος καὶ προαιρούμενος ἄρχεσθαι καὶ ἄρχειν πρὸς τὸν βίον
τὸν κατ' ἀρετήν. εἰ δέ τίς ἐστιν εἷς τοσοῦτον διαφέρων 13
κατ' ἀρετῆς ὑπερβολήν, ἢ πλείους μὲν ἑνὸς μὴ μέντοι δυνατοὶ
πλήρωμα παρασχέσθαι πόλεως, ὥστε μὴ συμβλητὴν εἶναι
τὴν τῶν ἄλλων ἀρετὴν πάντων μηδὲ τὴν δύναμιν αὐτῶν τὴν

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9 *τούτων τῶν ὅρων*] 'of the existing statements of the claims no one is completely correct.'

10 *οὐχ ὡς καθ' ἕκαστον*] resumes the subject of, XI. 18.

11 *ζητοῦσι*] 'inquire into as a difficulty.'

τὸ λεχθέν] The case supposed above, viz. that in which the people was superior as a whole to the upper classes.

12 *τὸ δ' ὀρθὸν ληπτέον ἴσως*] 'We must get at what is right in this case by striking an average and taking what is fair to both; and this will be found by looking to the interest of the whole state, and the common element which runs through the whole mass of citizens.' *ἴσως*: "æqualiter," Vict. "gleichmässig," Stahr.

πολίτης δὲ κοινῇ] 'Now a citizen in the general.'

πρὸς τὸν βίον] 'with a view to secure the life according to virtue.'

13 *πλήρωμα πόλεως*] 'The full complement of a state.' Compare § 6.

ὥστε] depends on *τοσοῦτον*.

τὴν δύναμιν τὴν πολιτικήν] in other words, *τὴν δύναμιν πρὸς τὸ ἔργον*.

The respective claims to power.

πολιτικὴν πρὸς τὴν ἐκείνων, εἰ πλείους, εἰ δ' εἷς, τὴν ἐκείνου μόνον, οὐκέτι θετέον τούτους μέρος πόλεως· ἀδικήσονται γὰρ ἀξιούμενοι τῶν ἴσων, ἄνισοι τοσοῦτον κατ' ἀρετὴν ὄντες καὶ τὴν πολιτικὴν δύναμιν· ὥσπερ γὰρ θεὸν ἐν ἀνθρώποις εἰκὸς
14 εἶναι τὸν τοιοῦτον· ὅθεν δῆλον ὅτι καὶ τὴν νομοθεσίαν ἀναγκαῖον εἶναι περὶ τοὺς ἴσους καὶ τῷ γένει καὶ τῇ δυνάμει· κατὰ δὲ τῶν τοιούτων οὐκ ἔστι νόμος· αὐτοὶ γάρ εἰσι νόμος. καὶ γὰρ γελοῖος ἂν εἴη νομοθετεῖν τις πειρώμενος κατ' αὐτῶν· λέγοιεν γὰρ ἂν ἴσως ἅπερ Ἀντισθένης ἔφη τοὺς λέοντας δημηγορούντων τῶν δασυπόδων καὶ τὸ ἴσον ἀξιούν-
15 των πάντας ἔχειν. διὸ καὶ τίθενται τὸν ὀστρακισμὸν αἱ δημοκρατούμεναι πόλεις, διὰ τὴν τοιαύτην αἰτίαν· αὗται γὰρ δὴ δοκοῦσι διώκειν τὴν ἰσότητα μάλιστα πάντων, ὥστε τοὺς δοκοῦντας ὑπερέχειν δυνάμει διὰ πλοῦτον ἢ πολυφιλίαν ἤ τινα ἄλλην πολιτικὴν ἰσχὺν ὠστράκιζον καὶ μεθίστασαν ἐκ
16 τῆς πόλεως χρόνους ὡρισμένους. μυθολογεῖται δὲ καὶ τοὺς Ἀργοναύτας τὸν Ἡρακλέα καταλιπεῖν διὰ τοιαύτην αἰτίαν· οὐ γὰρ ἐθέλειν αὐτὸν ἄγειν τὴν Ἀργὼ μετὰ τῶν ἄλλων ὡς ὑπερβάλλοντα πολὺ τῶν πλωτήρων. διὸ καὶ τοὺς ψέγοντας τὴν τυραννίδα καὶ τὴν Περιάνδρου Θρασυβούλῳ συμ-
17 βουλίαν οὐχ ἁπλῶς οἰητέον ὀρθῶς ἐπιτιμᾶν. φασὶ γὰρ τὸν

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14 ὅθεν δῆλον, κ.τ.λ.] Such a man, as a god amongst men, will be alien to human legislation. The highest form of human wisdom, ἡ πολιτικὴ φρόνησις ἀρχιτεκτονική, *Eth.* VI. viii. finds its expression in legislation for men, νομοθεσία, but does not attempt to rise above man. It assumes as the materials it has to deal with, a body of citizens within certain limits equal in their powers, moral and intellectual, as they are equal in their race.

τῶν τοιούτων] 'men so far superior as in the case supposed.' They cannot be bound by human law, they are themselves a law, a standard to others—the ideal, which others may aim at attaining.

Antisthenes, one of the school of Socrates. Smith, *Biogr. Dict.* "Where are your claws?"

Διὸ καὶ] The case of great relative superiority of any kind, and the difficulty of providing for its due position, leads naturally to the means adopted by some states to meet the difficulty—the celebrated ostracism. This is a democratical invention. But the principle is more general, of which he gives instances.

16 Ἀργώ] Comp. Grote, I. 320, note. He considers this legend very old, as "it ascribes to the ship sentient powers."

Περιάνδρου Θρασυβούλῳ] Herod. v. xcii. § 6, reverses the parts. Compare Botta, *Storia d' Italia*, Vol. I. p. 43. ed. 1825, on the method adopted at Lucca.

Ostracism.

Περίανδρον εἰπεῖν μὲν οὐδὲν πρὸς τὸν πεμφθέντα κήρυκα περὶ τῆς συμβουλίας, ἀφαιροῦντα δὲ τοὺς ὑπερέχοντας τῶν σταχύων ὁμαλῦναι τὴν ἄρουραν· ὅθεν ἀγνοοῦντος μὲν τοῦ κήρυκος τοῦ γινομένου τὴν αἰτίαν, ἀπαγγείλαντος δὲ τὸ συμπεσόν, συννοῆσαι τὸν Θρασύβουλον ὅτι δεῖ τοὺς ὑπερέχοντας ἄνδρας ἀναιρεῖν. τοῦτο γὰρ οὐ μόνον συμφέρει τοῖς 18
τυράννοις, οὐδὲ μόνον οἱ τύραννοι ποιοῦσιν, ἀλλ' ὁμοίως ἔχει καὶ περὶ τὰς ὀλιγαρχίας καὶ τὰς δημοκρατίας· ὁ γὰρ ὀστρακισμὸς τὴν αὐτὴν ἔχει δύναμιν τρόπον τινὰ τῷ κολούειν τοὺς ὑπερέχοντας καὶ φυγαδεύειν. τὸ δ' αὐτὸ καὶ περὶ τὰς 19
πόλεις καὶ τὰ ἔθνη ποιοῦσιν οἱ κύριοι τῆς δυνάμεως, οἷον Ἀθηναῖοι μὲν περὶ Σαμίους καὶ Χίους καὶ Λεσβίους (ἐπεὶ γὰρ θᾶττον ἐγκρατῶς ἔσχον τὴν ἀρχήν, ἐταπείνωσαν αὐτοὺς παρὰ τὰς συνθήκας), ὁ δὲ Περσῶν βασιλεὺς Μήδους καὶ Βαβυλωνίους καὶ τῶν ἄλλων τοὺς πεφρονηματισμένους διὰ 1284 B
τὸ γενέσθαι ποτ' ἐπ' ἀρχῆς ἐπέκοπτε πολλάκις. Τὸ δὲ 20
πρόβλημα καθόλου περὶ πάσας ἐστὶ τὰς πολιτείας, καὶ τὰς ὀρθάς· αἱ μὲν γὰρ παρεκβεβηκυῖαι, πρὸς τὸ ἴδιον ἀποσκοποῦσαι, τοῦτο δρῶσιν, οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ περὶ τὰς τὸ κοινὸν ἀγαθὸν ἐπισκοπούσας τὸν αὐτὸν ἔχει τρόπον. δῆλον δὲ τοῦτο 21
καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν ἄλλων τεχνῶν καὶ ἐπιστημῶν· οὔτε γὰρ γραφεὺς ἐάσειεν ἂν τὸν ὑπερβάλλοντα πόδα τῆς συμμετρίας ἔχειν τὸ ζῷον, οὐδ' εἰ διαφέροι τὸ κάλλος, οὔτε ναυπηγὸς πρύμναν ἢ τῶν ἄλλων τι μορίων τῶν τῆς νεώς· οὐδὲ δὴ χοροδιδάσκαλος τὸν μεῖζον καὶ κάλλιον τοῦ παντὸς χοροῦ φθεγγόμενον ἐάσει συγχορεύειν. ὥστε διὰ τοῦτο μὲν οὐδὲν 22
κωλύει τοὺς μονάρχους συμφωνεῖν ταῖς πόλεσιν, εἰ τῆς

19 τὸ δ' αὐτό] The same method is adopted as between states, and not merely within the limits of a single state. It was on this principle Athens dealt with her subjects (πόλεις); Persia with hers (ἔθνη).

ἐπεὶ γὰρ θᾶττον ἐγκρατῶς] 'For as soon as ever they held their empire with a firm grasp.'

ἐπέκοπτε] 'used to cut them short, keep them down.'

20 τὸ δὲ πρόβλημα καθόλου] 'The question is one that concerns all the forms of government without exception, even the right ones.'

21 For Aristotle's view on this particular point of symmetry, comp. Grote, IV. 212, note, and for the general subject of ostracism, the same volume, pp. 200, and foll.

Ought the many to be sovereign, or the few best men?

τὸν πάλαι λόγον, ἂν ᾖ τὸ πλῆθος μὴ λίαν ἀνδραποδῶδες (ἔσται γὰρ ἕκαστος μὲν χείρων κριτὴς τῶν εἰδότων, ἅπαντες δὲ συνελθόντες ἢ βελτίους ἢ οὐ χείρους), καὶ ὅτι περὶ ἐνίων οὔτε μόνον ὁ ποιήσας οὔτ' ἄριστ' ἂν κρίνειεν, ὅσων τἄργα γιγνώσκουσι καὶ οἱ μὴ ἔχοντες τὴν τέχνην, οἷον οἰκίαν οὐ μόνον ἐστὶ γνῶναι τοῦ ποιήσαντος, ἀλλὰ καὶ βέλτιον ὁ χρώμενος αὐτῇ κρινεῖ (χρῆται δ' ὁ οἰκονόμος), καὶ πηδάλιον κυβερνήτης τέκτονος, καὶ θοίνην ὁ δαιτυμὼν ἀλλ' οὐχ ὁ

15 μάγειρος. Ταύτην μὲν οὖν τὴν ἀπορίαν τάχα δόξειέ τις ἂν οὕτω λύειν ἱκανῶς· ἄλλη δ' ἐστὶν ἐχομένη ταύτης. δοκεῖ γὰρ ἄτοπον εἶναι τὸ μειζόνων εἶναι κυρίους τοὺς φαύλους τῶν ἐπιεικῶν, αἱ δ' εὔθυναι καὶ αἱ τῶν ἀρχῶν αἱρέσεις εἰσὶ μέγιστον· ἃς ἐν ἐνίαις πολιτείαις, ὥσπερ εἴρηται, τοῖς δήμοις ἀποδιδόασιν· ἡ γὰρ ἐκκλησία κυρία πάντων τῶν τοιούτων

16 ἐστίν. καίτοι τῆς μὲν ἐκκλησίας μετέχουσι καὶ βουλεύουσι καὶ δικάζουσιν ἀπὸ μικρῶν τιμημάτων καὶ τῆς τυχούσης ἡλικίας, ταμιεύουσι δὲ καὶ στρατηγοῦσι καὶ τὰς μεγίστας ἀρχὰς ἄρχουσιν ἀπὸ μεγάλων. ὁμοίως δή τις ἂν λύσειε καὶ ταύτην τὴν ἀπορίαν· ἴσως γὰρ ἔχει καὶ ταῦτ' ὀρθῶς.

17 Οὐ γὰρ ὁ δικαστὴς οὐδ' ὁ βουλευτὴς οὐδ' ὁ ἐκκλησιαστὴς ἄρχων ἐστίν, ἀλλὰ τὸ δικαστήριον καὶ ἡ βουλὴ καὶ ὁ δῆμος· τῶν δὲ ῥηθέντων ἕκαστος μόριόν ἐστι τούτων· Λέγω δὲ μό-

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14 πάλαι] 'some time back.' XI. 2.

ἂν ᾖ τὸ πλῆθος] This is the assumption necessary for his argument in XI. 5.

καὶ ὅτι περὶ ἐνίων, κ.τ.λ.] If we allow that there is force in the objection in many cases, it does not follow that it holds in all. There are cases in which the producer of a result and his peers are not the only judges nor even the best—the cases in which the results have to be used by others, and when consequently those others are the best judges. It is not the architect, but the occupier, who knows the good and bad points in the house he occupies.

15 Passing then from this objection he turns to another closely connected with it, in fact, almost another form of the same. The inferior part of your state has greater powers vested in it than the higher. You trust more to those from whom you exact no guarantee, than to those from whom you require strong ones, such as wealth and age.

16 ταῦτα] 'the present state.' The answer is, that singly the many are inferior, say in property for instance, but then they are not trusted singly. It is the collective body on which the trust is reposed, and the collective body is wealthier than the few wealthy who are eligible to the offices singly.

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ριον τὸν βουλευτὴν καὶ τὸν ἐκκλησιαστὴν καὶ τὸν δικαστήν· ὥστε δικαίως κύριον μειζόνων τὸ πλῆθος· ἐκ γὰρ πολλῶν ὁ δῆμος καὶ ἡ βουλὴ καὶ τὸ δικαστήριον. καὶ τὸ τίμημα δὲ πλεῖον τὸ πάντων τούτων ἢ τὸ τῶν καθ' ἕνα καὶ κατ' ὀλί- 18
γους μεγάλας ἀρχὰς ἀρχόντων. Ταῦτα μὲν οὖν διωρίσθω 19 1282 B
τοῦτον τὸν τρόπον· ἡ δὲ πρώτη λεχθεῖσα ἀπορία ποιεῖ φανερὸν οὐδὲν οὕτως ἕτερον ὡς ὅτι δεῖ τοὺς νόμους εἶναι κυρίους κειμένους ὀρθῶς, τὸν ἄρχοντα δέ, ἄν τε εἷς ἄν τε πλείους ὦσι, περὶ τούτων εἶναι κυρίους περὶ ὅσων ἐξαδυνατοῦσιν οἱ νόμοι λέγειν ἀκριβῶς διὰ τὸ μὴ ῥᾴδιον εἶναι καθόλου δηλῶσαι περὶ πάντων. ὁποίους μέντοι τινὰς εἶναι 20
δεῖ τοὺς ὀρθῶς κειμένους νόμους, οὐδέν πω δῆλον, ἀλλ' ἔτι μένει τὸ πάλαι διαπορηθέν. πλὴν τοῦτό γε φανερόν, ὅτι 21

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19 ἡ πρώτη ἀπορία] That started in Ch. X.

περὶ τούτων] 'on those points, and those only.'

ἐξαδυνατοῦσιν] 'are absolutely incompetent.' Comp. *Eth.* v. xiv. 4. p. 1137, b. 13.

20 μένει] 'remains unsolved.' τὸ πάλαι. Ch. X. 5.

I invert the order of the two next sentences. It is much clearer so to my mind. The passage then runs as follows: 'The question started above remains still unanswered. Only so far at least is clear, that the laws must have reference to the constitution. In that case it must needs be that the laws will be good or bad just as the constitution to which they are adapted is good or bad. The two will vary together; and if so, it is clear that the laws answering to the right constitutions will be just; those answering to the forms which are deviations from the true type, will be unjust.' The passage cannot, I think, be cleared of virtual tautology.

The whole chapter leans towards the conclusion, that the majority should be in possession of the supreme power. It is in favour of the democratical rather than the oligarchical principle; but of course it cannot be made to shew more than this, that of these two imperfect forms Aristotle preferred democracy, the conclusion to which he came, *Eth.* VIII. xii. p. 1160. The chapter then does not interfere with his own theory of true government; and therefore I cannot agree with Spengel's language, p. 15, note 18: "Dieses ist gegen Platon's Ansicht, der überall den einzelnen Kundigen gegenüber dem ganzen unwissenden Volke hervorhebt; ähnlich hatte Sieyès seinen Antrag, man solle das ausführen was die Minorität, nicht was die Majorität wähle, motivirt: car la majorité est toujours bête. Gegen diesen Satz kämpft Aristoteles unmittelbar, wenn anders das Volk zu einzigem Bewusstseyn gekommen ist." I suspect that Aristotle with Plato and with Sieyès would look, in strict political theory, to the few wise and not to the popular element. At the same time, in the corrupt governments of Greece, as in that of our own country or others of the present day, it might be necessary for a time to redress the

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δεῖ πρὸς τὴν πολιτείαν κεῖσθαι τοὺς νόμους. ἀλλὰ γὰρ καὶ ὁμοίως ταῖς πολιτείαις ἀνάγκη καὶ τοὺς νόμους φαύλους ἢ σπουδαίους εἶναι καὶ δικαίους ἢ ἀδίκους. ἀλλὰ μὴν εἰ τοῦτο, δῆλον ὅτι τοὺς μὲν κατὰ τὰς ὀρθὰς πολιτείας ἀναγκαῖον εἶναι δικαίους, τοὺς δὲ κατὰ τὰς παρεκβεβηκυίας οὐ δικαίους.

Some equality necessary. Equality in what?

12 Ἐπεὶ δ' ἐν πάσαις μὲν ταῖς ἐπιστήμαις καὶ τέχναις ἀγαθὸν τὸ τέλος, μέγιστον δὲ καὶ μάλιστα ἐν τῇ κυριωτάτῃ πασῶν, αὕτη δ' ἐστὶν ἡ πολιτικὴ δύναμις, ἔστι δὲ πολιτικὸν ἀγαθὸν τὸ δίκαιον, τοῦτο δ' ἐστὶ τὸ κοινῇ συμφέρον, δοκεῖ δὲ πᾶσιν ἴσον τι τὸ δίκαιον εἶναι, καὶ μέχρι γέ τινος ὁμολογοῦσι τοῖς κατὰ φιλοσοφίαν λόγοις, ἐν οἷς διώρισται περὶ τῶν ἠθικῶν· τὶ γὰρ καὶ τισὶ τὸ δίκαιον, καὶ δεῖν τοῖς ἴσοις
2 ἴσον εἶναί φασιν· ποίων δ' ἰσότης ἐστὶ καὶ ποίων ἀνισότης, δεῖ μὴ λανθάνειν· ἔχει γὰρ τοῦτ' ἀπορίαν καὶ φιλοσοφίαν πολιτικήν. ἴσως γὰρ ἂν φαίη τις κατὰ παντὸς ὑπεροχὴν ἀγαθοῦ δεῖν ἀνίσως νενεμῆσθαι τὰς ἀρχάς, εἰ πάντα τὰ λοιπὰ μηδὲν διαφέροιεν ἀλλ' ὅμοιοι τυγχάνοιεν ὄντες· τοῖς γὰρ διαφέρουσιν ἕτερον εἶναι τὸ δίκαιον καὶ τὸ κατ' ἀξίαν.

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balance by calling in numbers to overpower the opposition to wholesome changes on the part of small but strongly organized classes.

XII. 1 ἐπεὶ δέ] The question is where to make the apodosis of the sentence begin. I think Stahr is right in placing it at ποίων δ' ἰσότης. The reasoning then shortly stated is: All look on τὸ πολιτικὸν ἀγαθόν as ἴσον τι; but equality in what? for evidently it is not every superiority that constitutes a claim to a larger share of the benefits of the association.

δύναμις] His language here is very similar to that in *Eth.* I. ii. 3, 4, 5. p. 1094, 25: τίνος τῶν ἐπιστημῶν ἢ δυνάμεων. δόξειε δ' ἂν τῆς κυριωτάτης καὶ μάλιστα ἀρχιτεκτονικῆς. τοιαύτη δ' ἡ πολιτικὴ φαίνεται.

ὁμολογοῦσι] 'men in general agree with the conclusions of philosophical reasoners,' or better perhaps, 'with our philosophical arguments in which we discussed the subject of the moral virtue.' "In welchen über die Ethik Gehandelt worden ist." Stahr.

τὶ γὰρ καὶ τισί] 'For they allow that justice concerns things and persons.'

2 ποίων δέ] Yet though they go so far with us, there is a point where the union is interrupted, and therefore the question must be investigated, 'in regard to what things there is to be equality, in what inequality?'

ἔχει γὰρ τοῦτο] 'For this is a point not without difficulty, and one fairly requiring political science to throw light on it.'

τοῖς γὰρ διαφέρουσιν] They press their language to its strict logical conclusion, and say, those who differ have different rights and different claims.

Some equality necessary. Equality in what?

Ἀλλὰ μὴν εἰ τοῦτ' ἀληθές, ἔσται καὶ κατὰ χρῶμα καὶ κατὰ
μέγεθος καὶ καθ' ὁτιοῦν τῶν ἀγαθῶν πλεονεξία τις τῶν πο-
λιτικῶν δικαίων τοῖς ὑπερέχουσιν. ἢ τοῦτο ἐπιπόλαιον τὸ
ψεῦδος; φανερὸν δ' ἐπὶ τῶν ἄλλων ἐπιστημῶν καὶ δυνάμεων· 3
τῶν γὰρ ὁμοίων αὐλητῶν τὴν τέχνην οὐ δοτέον πλεονεξίαν 4
τῶν αὐλῶν τοῖς εὐγενεστέροις· οὐδὲν γὰρ αὐλήσουσι βέλτιον,
δεῖ δὲ τῷ κατὰ τὸ ἔργον ὑπερέχοντι διδόναι καὶ τῶν ὀργά-
νων τὴν ὑπεροχήν. εἰ δὲ μήπω δῆλον τὸ λεγόμενον, ἔτι
μᾶλλον αὐτὸ προαγαγοῦσιν ἔσται φανερόν. εἰ γὰρ εἴη τις 5
ὑπερέχων μὲν κατὰ τὴν αὐλητικήν, πολὺ δ' ἐλλείπων κατ'
εὐγένειαν ἢ κάλλος, εἰ καὶ μεῖζον ἕκαστον ἐκείνων ἀγαθόν
ἐστι τῆς αὐλητικῆς (λέγω δὲ τήν τ' εὐγένειαν καὶ τὸ κάλλος)
καὶ κατὰ τὴν ἀναλογίαν ὑπερέχουσι πλέον τῆς αὐλητικῆς ἢ
ἐκεῖνος κατὰ τὴν αὐλητικήν, ὅμως τούτῳ δοτέον τοὺς δια-
φέροντας τῶν αὐλῶν· δεῖ γὰρ εἰς τὸ ἔργον συμβάλλεσθαι 1283
τὴν ὑπεροχὴν καὶ τοῦ πλούτου καὶ τῆς εὐγενείας, συμβάλ-
λονται δ' οὐδέν. ἔτι κατά γε τοῦτον τὸν λόγον πᾶν ἀγα- 6
θὸν πρὸς πᾶν ἂν εἴη συμβλητόν. εἰ γὰρ μᾶλλον τὸ τὶ
μέγεθος, καὶ ὅλως ἂν τὸ μέγεθος ἐνάμιλλον εἴη καὶ πρὸς
πλοῦτον καὶ πρὸς ἐλευθερίαν. ὥστ' εἰ πλεῖον ὁδὶ διαφέρει
κατὰ μέγεθος ἢ ὁδὶ κατ' ἀρετήν, καὶ πλεῖον ὑπερέχει ὅλως
ἀρετῆς μέγεθος, εἴη ἂν συμβλητὰ πάντα· τοσόνδε γὰρ μέγε-
θος εἰ κρεῖττον τοσοῦδε, τοσόνδε δῆλον ὡς ἴσον. ἐπεὶ δὲ 7
τοῦτ' ἀδύνατον, δῆλον ὡς καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν πολιτικῶν εὐλόγως οὐ
κατὰ πᾶσαν ἀνισότητ' ἀμφισβητοῦσι τῶν ἀρχῶν. εἰ γὰρ
οἱ μὲν βραδεῖς οἱ δὲ ταχεῖς, οὐδὲν διὰ τοῦτο δεῖ τοὺς μὲν

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3 **πλεονεξία**] 'a larger share, an advantage in respect of, &c.' The term does not imply any disposition of the mind.

4 **προαγαγοῦσιν**] 'having carried it still further.' *Eth.* I. vii. 17. p. 1098, 21: **παντὸς εἶναι προαγαγεῖν**. He does not seem to have made his meaning clearer by the next section.

6 There must be some common measure of the various things we call good. This is not the case.

εἰ γὰρ μᾶλλον τὸ τὶ μέγεθος] 'If a given degree of greatness is better than a given degree of wealth, it would follow,' he argues, 'that greatness in itself might come into comparison with wealth in itself.' But many of these ideas are incommensurable, they do not come within the scope of the political philosopher. They are disparates to him.

7 **εὐλόγως**] 'There is good ground for men's not claiming offices on the score of every inequality.'

Some equality necessary. Equality in what?

πλεῖον τοὺς δ' ἔλαττον ἔχειν, ἀλλ' ἐν τοῖς γυμνικοῖς ἀγῶσιν ἡ τούτων διαφορὰ λαμβάνει τὴν τιμήν. ἀλλ' ἐξ ὧν πόλις συνέστηκεν, ἐν τούτοις ἀναγκαῖον ποιεῖσθαι τὴν ἀμφισβήτη-

8 σιν. διόπερ εὐλόγως ἀντιποιοῦνται τῆς τιμῆς οἱ εὐγενεῖς καὶ ἐλεύθεροι καὶ πλούσιοι· δεῖ γὰρ ἐλευθέρους τ' εἶναι καὶ τίμημα φέροντας· οὐ γὰρ ἂν εἴη πόλις ἐξ ἀπόρων πάν-

9 των, ὥσπερ οὐδ' ἐκ δούλων. Ἀλλὰ μὴν εἰ δεῖ τούτων, δῆλον ὅτι καὶ δικαιοσύνης καὶ τῆς πολεμικῆς ἀρετῆς· οὐδὲ γὰρ ἄνευ τούτων οἰκεῖσθαι πόλιν δυνατόν, πλὴν ἄνευ μὲν τῶν προτέρων ἀδύνατον εἶναι πόλιν, ἄνευ δὲ τούτων οἰκεῖσθαι καλῶς.

The respective claims to power.

13 πρὸς μὲν οὖν τὸ πόλιν εἶναι δόξειεν ἂν ἢ πάντα ἢ ἔνιά γε τούτων ὀρθῶς ἀμφισβητεῖν, πρὸς μέντοι ζωὴν ἀγαθὴν ἡ παιδεία καὶ ἡ ἀρετὴ μάλιστα δικαίως ἂν ἀμφισβητοίησαν, καθάπερ εἴρηται καὶ πρότερον. ἐπεὶ δ' οὔτε πάντων ἴσον ἔχειν δεῖ τοὺς ἴσους ἕν τι μόνον ὄντας οὔτε ἄνισον τοὺς ἀνίσους καθ' ἕν, ἀνάγκη πάσας εἶναι τὰς τοιαύτας πολιτείας

2 παρεκβάσεις. εἴρηται μὲν οὖν καὶ πρότερον ὅτι διαμφισβητοῦσι τρόπον τινὰ δικαίως πάντες, ἁπλῶς δ' οὐ πάντες δικαίως, οἱ πλούσιοι μὲν ὅτι πλεῖον μέτεστι τῆς χώρας αὐτοῖς, ἡ δὲ χώρα κοινόν· ἔτι πρὸς τὰ συμβόλαια πιστοὶ μᾶλλον ὡς ἐπὶ τὸ πλέον· οἱ δ' ἐλεύθεροι καὶ εὐγενεῖς ὡς

λαμβάνει τὴν τιμήν] 'finds its appreciation.'

8 *ἐξ ὧν πόλις συνέστηκεν*] 'Taking the elements that compose a state, it is only within the limits of these that there can be any discussion of the respective claims of the parties.'

δεῖ γάρ] 'There must be free men, and there must be a class paying taxes;' not merely *capitecensi*. "Censum ferentes," Victorius translates it. That the meaning is as I have given it, I feel sure, but I am not sure as to the expression.

9 *ἀλλὰ μήν*] 'These classes may be necessary, but it is clear that not less necessary are justice and bravery.'

XIII. 1 'For the mere existence of a state some of these at least, if not all, would seem justly to put in their claim to consideration.'

τοιαύτας πολιτείας] 'all states based on such equality and inequality.'

2 *πρότερον*] at the end of Ch. X.

πλεῖον μέτεστι τῆς χώρας] 'They have a larger share of the land of the country, and the land is emphatically a national interest.' As then, to use familiar words, they had a greater stake in the country, they claimed more power.

ἔτι πρὸς τὰ συμβόλαια] Their second claim is their greater trustworthiness, as a general rule, in the common dealings between man and man.

οἱ ἐλεύθεροι καὶ εὐγενεῖς ὡς ἐγγὺς ἀλλήλων] The reasoning here is not

The respective claims to power.

ἐγγὺς ἀλλήλων· πολῖται γὰρ μᾶλλον οἱ γενναιότεροι τῶν ἀγεννῶν, ἡ δ' εὐγένεια παρ' ἑκάστοις οἴκοι τίμιος. ἔτι διότι βελτίους εἰκὸς τοὺς ἐκ βελτιόνων· εὐγένεια γάρ ἐστιν ἀρετὴ γένους. ὁμοίως δὴ φήσομεν δικαίως καὶ τὴν ἀρετὴν 3 ἀμφισβητεῖν· κοινωνικὴν γὰρ ἀρετὴν εἶναί φαμεν τὴν δικαιοσύνην, ᾗ πάσας ἀναγκαῖον ἀκολουθεῖν τὰς ἄλλας. ἀλλὰ 4 μὴν καὶ οἱ πλείους πρὸς τοὺς ἐλάττους· καὶ γὰρ κρείττους καὶ πλουσιώτεροι καὶ βελτίους εἰσίν, ὡς λαμβανομένων τῶν πλειόνων πρὸς τοὺς ἐλάττους. ἆρ' οὖν εἰ πάντες εἶεν ἐν 1283 B μιᾷ πόλει, λέγω δ' οἷον οἵ τ' ἀγαθοὶ καὶ οἱ πλούσιοι καὶ εὐγενεῖς, ἔτι δὲ πλῆθος ἄλλο τι πολιτικόν, πότερον ἀμφισβήτησις ἔσται τίνας ἄρχειν δεῖ, ἢ οὐκ ἔσται; καθ' ἑκά- 5 στην μὲν οὖν πολιτείαν τῶν εἰρημένων ἀναμφισβήτητος ἡ κρίσις τίνας ἄρχειν δεῖ· τοῖς γὰρ κυρίοις διαφέρουσιν ἀλλήλων, οἷον ἡ μὲν τῷ διὰ πλουσίων ἡ δὲ τῷ διὰ τῶν σπουδαίων ἀνδρῶν εἶναι, καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ἑκάστη τὸν αὐτὸν τρόπον.

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very easy. Is it that the free and the well-born claim on somewhat similar grounds, that their claim is similar, as they themselves stand at no great distance from one another? The free claim as genuine citizens—the well-born claim as citizens also, and *à fortiori* as compared with the simply free. For they urge that the nobler are truer citizens of the state than the meaner sort. They slip in the words γενναιότεροι, with its moral sense, for εὐγενέστεροι, and ἀγεννῶν for ἐλευθέρων. Compare, for the difference of the two words, *Rhet.* II. xv. 3. p. 1390, b. 22: εὐγενὲς κατὰ τὴν τοῦ γένους ἀρετήν, γενναῖον δὲ κατὰ τὸ μὴ ἐξίστασθαι τῆς φύσεως· ὅπερ ὡς ἐπὶ τὸ πολὺ οὐ συμβαίνει τοῖς εὐγενέσιν, ἀλλ' εἰσὶν οἱ πολλοὶ εὐτελεῖς.

ἡ δ' εὐγένεια] 'Besides, practically in every nation high birth, according to the standard adopted, is honoured.' Comp. I. vi. 7.

3 ἔτι, κ.τ.λ.] 'Secondly, the well-born urge that there is a reasonable probability of their being better from their fathers having been better; for good birth implies distinction or merit in the family.'

ὁμοίως δή] 'With not less justice surely then than we allow hereditary merit shall we allow personal merit to put in its claim; for justice in our view is the virtue essential to every association, and justice involves all other moral virtues; it is, ἀρετῆς χρῆσις—ἀρετὴ πρὸς ἄλλον.' *Eth.* v. iii. p. 1129, b. 25, and foll.

4 ὡς λαμβανομένων] Compare X. 2, the expression, πάντων ληφθέντων: 'If, that is, the many are taken in a body and compared with the few in a body.'

πολιτικόν] 'Simply citizens, and no more.'

5 τοῖς γὰρ κυρίοις] 'For it is by the difference in their sovereign power that they differ from one another.'

The respective claims to power.

ἀλλ' ὅμως σκοποῦμεν, ὅταν περὶ τὸν αὐτὸν ταῦθ' ὑπάρχῃ χρόνον, πῶς διοριστέον. εἰ δὴ τὸν ἀριθμὸν εἶεν ὀλίγοι πάμπαν οἱ τὴν ἀρετὴν ἔχοντες, τίνα δεῖ διελεῖν τὸν τρό-
6 πον; ἢ τὸ ὀλίγοι πρὸς τὸ ἔργον δεῖ σκοπεῖν, εἰ δυνατοὶ διοικεῖν τὴν πόλιν ἢ τοσοῦτοι τὸ πλῆθος ὥστ' εἶναι πόλιν ἐξ αὐτῶν; Ἔστι δὲ ἀπορία τις πρὸς ἅπαντας τοὺς διαμφισ-
7 βητοῦντας περὶ τῶν πολιτικῶν τιμῶν. δόξαιεν γὰρ οὐδὲν λέγειν δίκαιον οἱ διὰ τὸν πλοῦτον ἀξιοῦντες ἄρχειν, ὁμοίως δὲ καὶ οἱ κατὰ γένος· δῆλον γὰρ ὡς εἴ τις πάλιν εἷς πλουσιώτερος ἁπάντων ἐστί, δῆλον ὅτι κατὰ τὸ αὐτὸ δίκαιον τοῦτον ἄρχειν τὸν ἕνα ἁπάντων δεήσει, ὁμοίως δὲ καὶ τὸν εὐγενείᾳ διαφέροντα τῶν ἀμφισβητούντων δι' ἐλευθερίαν.
8 ταὐτὸ δὲ τοῦτ' ἴσως συμβήσεται καὶ περὶ τὰς ἀριστοκρατίας ἐπὶ τῆς ἀρετῆς· εἰ γάρ τις εἷς ἀμείνων ἀνὴρ εἴη τῶν ἄλλων τῶν ἐν τῷ πολιτεύματι σπουδαίων ὄντων, τοῦτον εἶναι δεῖ κύριον κατὰ ταὐτὸ δικαίον. οὐκοῦν εἰ καὶ τὸ πλῆθος εἶναί γε δεῖ κύριον διότι κρείττους εἰσὶ τῶν ὀλίγων, κἂν εἷς ἢ πλείους μὲν τοῦ ἑνὸς, ἐλάττους δὲ τῶν πολλῶν κρείτ-

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ἀλλ' ὅμως σκοποῦμεν] Still, whilst we allow that each constitution, such as oligarchy and democracy, carries with it its own answer to the question, who are to govern? there remains to consider, supposing all the elements given above to co-exist, and so the state not to come very decidedly under one or other, or to be as yet not decided, how are the claims of all to be settled? So I paraphrase the passage.

6 εἰ δή, κ.τ.λ.] He takes one case, that of the virtuous: Suppose that they are but very few in number, then what is the arrangement we must adopt? The mere fact of their being few is nothing. The question should be, are they few for the work required of them, could they manage the state? or are we to require them to be in number sufficient to constitute a state by themselves? If the good are rejected because they are in a minority, then what becomes of the claim of the rich? If against this it is urged that the rich claim by virtue of their great superiority in wealth, which compensates for their inferior numbers, this line of argument suggests a difficulty which in fact is general, and meets all the claimants alike. If the aggregate of rich men claims on the ground of superior wealth, it would follow that a single enormously wealthy individual would be justified in claiming against that aggregate, if his individual wealth were greater than that of the body. And a similar objection may be taken against all equally: πρὸς ἅπαντας τοὺς διαμφισβητοῦντας.

7 τοῦτον τὸν ἕνα] 'This one though but one.'

8 κρείττους] 'stronger.'

The respective claims to power.

τους ὦσι τῶν ἄλλων, τούτους ἂν δέοι κυρίους εἶναι μᾶλλον
ἢ τὸ πλῆθος. Πάντα δὴ ταῦτ' ἔοικε φανερὸν ποιεῖν ὅτι
τούτων τῶν ὅρων οὐδεὶς ὀρθός ἐστι, καθ' ὃν ἀξιοῦσιν αὐτοὶ 9
μὲν ἄρχειν τοὺς δ' ἄλλους ὑπὸ σφῶν ἄρχεσθαι πάντας. καὶ 10
γὰρ δὴ καὶ πρὸς τοὺς κατ' ἀρετὴν ἀξιοῦντας κυρίους εἶναι
τοῦ πολιτεύματος, ὁμοίως δὲ καὶ τοὺς κατὰ πλοῦτον, ἔχοιεν
ἂν λέγειν τὰ πλήθη λόγον τινὰ δίκαιον· οὐδὲν γὰρ κωλύει
ποτὲ τὸ πλῆθος εἶναι βέλτιον τῶν ὀλίγων καὶ πλουσιώ-
τερον, οὐχ ὡς καθ' ἕκαστον ἀλλ' ὡς ἀθρόους. Διὸ καὶ πρὸς 11
τὴν ἀπορίαν, ἣν ζητοῦσι καὶ προβάλλουσί τινες ἐνδέχεται
τοῦτον τὸν τρόπον ἀπαντᾶν. ἀποροῦσι γάρ τινες πότερον
τῷ νομοθέτῃ νομοθετητέον, βουλομένῳ τίθεσθαι τοὺς ὀρθο-
τάτους νόμους, πρὸς τὸ τῶν βελτιόνων συμφέρον ἢ πρὸς τὸ
τῶν πλειόνων, ὅταν συμβαίνῃ τὸ λεχθέν. τὸ δ' ὀρθὸν ληπ- 12
τέον ἴσως· τὸ δ' ἴσως ὀρθὸν πρὸς τὸ τῆς πόλεως ὅλης
συμφέρον καὶ πρὸς τὸ κοινὸν τὸ τῶν πολιτῶν. πολίτης δὲ
κοινῇ μὲν ὁ μετέχων τοῦ ἄρχειν καὶ ἄρχεσθαί ἐστι, καθ' 1284
ἑκάστην δὲ πολιτείαν ἕτερος, πρὸς δὲ τὴν ἀρίστην ὁ δυνάμε-
νος καὶ προαιρούμενος ἄρχεσθαι καὶ ἄρχειν πρὸς τὸν βίον
τὸν κατ' ἀρετήν. εἰ δέ τίς ἐστιν εἷς τοσοῦτον διαφέρων 13
κατ' ἀρετῆς ὑπερβολήν, ἢ πλείους μὲν ἑνὸς μὴ μέντοι δυνατοὶ
πλήρωμα παρασχέσθαι πόλεως, ὥστε μὴ συμβλητὴν εἶναι
τὴν τῶν ἄλλων ἀρετὴν πάντων μηδὲ τὴν δύναμιν αὐτῶν τὴν

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9 *τούτων τῶν ὅρων*] 'of the existing statements of the claims no one is completely correct.'

10 *οὐχ ὡς καθ' ἕκαστον*] resumes the subject of, XI. 18.

11 *ζητοῦσι*] 'inquire into as a difficulty.'

τὸ λεχθέν] The case supposed above, viz. that in which the people was superior as a whole to the upper classes.

12 *τὸ δ' ὀρθὸν ληπτέον ἴσως*] 'We must get at what is right in this case by striking an average and taking what is fair to both; and this will be found by looking to the interest of the whole state, and the common element which runs through the whole mass of citizens.' *ἴσως*: "æqualiter," Vict. "gleichmässig," Stahr.

πολίτης δὲ κοινῇ] 'Now a citizen in the general.'

πρὸς τὸν βίον] 'with a view to secure the life according to virtue.'

13 *πλήρωμα πόλεως*] 'The full complement of a state.' Compare § 6.

ὥστε] depends on *τοσοῦτον*.

τὴν δύναμιν τὴν πολιτικήν] in other words, *τὴν δύναμιν πρὸς τὸ ἔργον*.

The respective claims to power.

πολιτικὴν πρὸς τὴν ἐκείνων, εἰ πλείους, εἰ δ' εἷς, τὴν ἐκείνου μόνον, οὐκέτι θετέον τούτους μέρος πόλεως· ἀδικήσονται γὰρ ἀξιούμενοι τῶν ἴσων, ἄνισοι τοσοῦτον κατ' ἀρετὴν ὄντες καὶ τὴν πολιτικὴν δύναμιν· ὥσπερ γὰρ θεὸν ἐν ἀνθρώποις εἰκὸς
14 εἶναι τὸν τοιοῦτον· ὅθεν δῆλον ὅτι καὶ τὴν νομοθεσίαν ἀναγκαῖον εἶναι περὶ τοὺς ἴσους καὶ τῷ γένει καὶ τῇ δυνάμει· κατὰ δὲ τῶν τοιούτων οὐκ ἔστι νόμος· αὐτοὶ γάρ εἰσι νόμος. καὶ γὰρ γελοῖος ἂν εἴη νομοθετεῖν τις πειρώμενος κατ' αὐτῶν· λέγοιεν γὰρ ἂν ἴσως ἅπερ Ἀντισθένης ἔφη τοὺς λέοντας δημηγορούντων τῶν δασυπόδων καὶ τὸ ἴσον ἀξιούν-
15 των πάντας ἔχειν. διὸ καὶ τίθενται τὸν ὀστρακισμὸν αἱ δημοκρατούμεναι πόλεις, διὰ τὴν τοιαύτην αἰτίαν· αὗται γὰρ δὴ δοκοῦσι διώκειν τὴν ἰσότητα μάλιστα πάντων, ὥστε τοὺς δοκοῦντας ὑπερέχειν δυνάμει διὰ πλοῦτον ἢ πολυφιλίαν ἤ τινα ἄλλην πολιτικὴν ἰσχὺν ὠστράκιζον καὶ μεθίστασαν ἐκ
16 τῆς πόλεως χρόνους ὡρισμένους. μυθολογεῖται δὲ καὶ τοὺς Ἀργοναύτας τὸν Ἡρακλέα καταλιπεῖν διὰ τοιαύτην αἰτίαν· οὐ γὰρ ἐθέλειν αὐτὸν ἄγειν τὴν Ἀργὼ μετὰ τῶν ἄλλων ὡς ὑπερβάλλοντα πολὺ τῶν πλωτήρων. διὸ καὶ τοὺς ψέγοντας τὴν τυραννίδα καὶ τὴν Περιάνδρου Θρασυβούλῳ συμ-
17 βουλίαν οὐχ ἁπλῶς οἰητέον ὀρθῶς ἐπιτιμᾶν. φασὶ γὰρ τὸν

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14 ὅθεν δῆλον, κ.τ.λ.] Such a man, as a god amongst men, will be alien to human legislation. The highest form of human wisdom, ἡ πολιτικὴ φρόνησις ἀρχιτεκτονική, *Eth.* VI. viii. finds its expression in legislation for men, νομοθεσία, but does not attempt to rise above man. It assumes as the materials it has to deal with, a body of citizens within certain limits equal in their powers, moral and intellectual, as they are equal in their race.

τῶν τοιούτων] 'men so far superior as in the case supposed.' They cannot be bound by human law, they are themselves a law, a standard to others —the ideal, which others may aim at attaining.

Antisthenes, one of the school of Socrates. Smith, *Biogr. Dict.* "Where are your claws?"

Διὸ καί] The case of great relative superiority of any kind, and the difficulty of providing for its due position, leads naturally to the means adopted by some states to meet the difficulty—the celebrated ostracism. This is a democratical invention. But the principle is more general, of which he gives instances.

16 Ἀργώ] Comp. Grote, I. 320, note. He considers this legend very old, as "it ascribes to the ship sentient powers."

Περιάνδρου Θρασυβούλῳ] Herod. V. xcii. § 6, reverses the parts. Compare Botta, *Storia d' Italia*, Vol. I. p. 43. ed. 1825, on the method adopted at Lucca.

Ostracism.

Περίανδρον εἰπεῖν μὲν οὐδὲν πρὸς τὸν πεμφθέντα κήρυκα περὶ τῆς συμβουλίας, ἀφαιροῦντα δὲ τοὺς ὑπερέχοντας τῶν σταχύων ὁμαλῦναι τὴν ἄρουραν· ὅθεν ἀγνοοῦντος μὲν τοῦ κήρυκος τοῦ γινομένου τὴν αἰτίαν, ἀπαγγείλαντος δὲ τὸ συμπεσόν, συννοῆσαι τὸν Θρασύβουλον ὅτι δεῖ τοὺς ὑπερέχοντας ἄνδρας ἀναιρεῖν. τοῦτο γὰρ οὐ μόνον συμφέρει τοῖς 18
τυράννοις, οὐδὲ μόνον οἱ τύραννοι ποιοῦσιν, ἀλλ' ὁμοίως ἔχει καὶ περὶ τὰς ὀλιγαρχίας καὶ τὰς δημοκρατίας· ὁ γὰρ ὀστρακισμὸς τὴν αὐτὴν ἔχει δύναμιν τρόπον τινὰ τῷ κολούειν τοὺς ὑπερέχοντας καὶ φυγαδεύειν. τὸ δ' αὐτὸ καὶ περὶ τὰς 19
πόλεις καὶ τὰ ἔθνη ποιοῦσιν οἱ κύριοι τῆς δυνάμεως, οἷον Ἀθηναῖοι μὲν περὶ Σαμίους καὶ Χίους καὶ Λεσβίους (ἐπεὶ γὰρ θᾶττον ἐγκρατῶς ἔσχον τὴν ἀρχήν, ἐταπείνωσαν αὐτοὺς παρὰ τὰς συνθήκας), ὁ δὲ Περσῶν βασιλεὺς Μήδους καὶ Βαβυλωνίους καὶ τῶν ἄλλων τοὺς πεφρονηματισμένους διὰ 1284 B
τὸ γενέσθαι ποτ' ἐπ' ἀρχῆς ἐπέκοπτε πολλάκις. Τὸ δὲ 20
πρόβλημα καθόλου περὶ πάσας ἐστὶ τὰς πολιτείας, καὶ τὰς ὀρθάς· αἱ μὲν γὰρ παρεκβεβηκυῖαι, πρὸς τὸ ἴδιον ἀποσκοποῦσαι, τοῦτο δρῶσιν, οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ περὶ τὰς τὸ κοινὸν ἀγαθὸν ἐπισκοπούσας τὸν αὐτὸν ἔχει τρόπον. δῆλον δὲ τοῦτο 21
καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν ἄλλων τεχνῶν καὶ ἐπιστημῶν· οὔτε γὰρ γραφεὺς ἐάσειεν ἂν τὸν ὑπερβάλλοντα πόδα τῆς συμμετρίας ἔχειν τὸ ζῷον, οὐδ' εἰ διαφέροι τὸ κάλλος, οὔτε ναυπηγὸς πρύμναν ἢ τῶν ἄλλων τι μορίων τῶν τῆς νεώς· οὐδὲ δὴ χοροδιδάσκαλος τὸν μεῖζον καὶ κάλλιον τοῦ παντὸς χοροῦ φθεγγόμενον ἐάσει συγχορεύειν. ὥστε διὰ τοῦτο μὲν οὐδὲν 22
κωλύει τοὺς μονάρχους συμφωνεῖν ταῖς πόλεσιν, εἰ τῆς

19 *τὸ δ' αὐτό*] The same method is adopted as between states, and not merely within the limits of a single state. It was on this principle Athens dealt with her subjects (*πόλεις*); Persia with hers (*ἔθνη*).

ἐπεὶ γὰρ θᾶττον ἐγκρατῶς] 'For as soon as ever they held their empire with a firm grasp.'

ἐπέκοπτε] 'used to cut them short, keep them down.'

20 *τὸ δὲ πρόβλημα καθόλου*] 'The question is one that concerns all the forms of government without exception, even the right ones.'

21 For Aristotle's view on this particular point of symmetry, comp. Grote, IV. 212, note, and for the general subject of ostracism, the same volume, pp. 200, and foll.

Ostracism. οἰκείας ἀρχῆς ὠφελίμου ταῖς πόλεσιν οὔσης τοῦτο δρῶσιν.
διὸ κατὰ τὰς ὁμολογουμένας ὑπεροχὰς ἔχει τι δίκαιον πολι-
23 τικὸν ὁ λόγος ὁ περὶ τὸν ὀστρακισμόν. βέλτιον μὲν οὖν
τὸν νομοθέτην ἐξ ἀρχῆς οὕτω συστῆσαι τὴν πολιτείαν ὥστε
μὴ δεῖσθαι τοιαύτης ἰατρείας· δεύτερος δὲ πλοῦς, ἂν συμβῇ,
πειρᾶσθαι τοιούτῳ τινὶ διορθώματι διορθοῦν. ὅπερ οὐκ ἐγί-
νετο περὶ τὰς πόλεις· οὐ γὰρ ἔβλεπον πρὸς τὸ τῆς πολι-
τείας τῆς οἰκείας συμφέρον, ἀλλὰ στασιαστικῶς ἐχρῶντο
24 τοῖς ὀστρακισμοῖς. ἐν μὲν οὖν ταῖς παρεκβεβηκυίαις πολι-
τείαις ὅτι μὲν ἰδίᾳ συμφέρει καὶ δίκαιόν ἐστι, φανερόν· ἴσως
δὲ καὶ ὅτι οὐχ ἁπλῶς δίκαιον, καὶ τοῦτο φανερόν. ἀλλ'
ἐπὶ τῆς ἀρίστης πολιτείας ἔχει πολλὴν ἀπορίαν, οὐ κατὰ
τῶν ἄλλων ἀγαθῶν τὴν ὑπεροχήν, οἷον ἰσχύος καὶ πλούτου
καὶ πολυφιλίας, ἀλλ' ἄν τις γένηται διαφέρων κατ' ἀρετήν,
25 τί χρὴ ποιεῖν; οὐ γὰρ δὴ φαῖεν ἂν δεῖν ἐκβάλλειν καὶ μεθι-
στάναι τὸν τοιοῦτον. ἀλλὰ μὴν οὐδ' ἄρχειν γε τοῦ τοιούτου·
παραπλήσιον γὰρ κἂν εἰ τοῦ Διὸς ἄρχειν ἀξιοῖεν, μερίζοντες
τὰς ἀρχάς. λείπεται τοίνυν, ὅπερ ἔοικε πεφυκέναι, πεί-
θεσθαι τῷ τοιούτῳ πάντας ἀσμένως, ὥστε βασιλέας εἶναι
τοὺς τοιούτους ἀϊδίους ἐν ταῖς πόλεσιν.

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22 **ἔχει τι δίκαιον πολιτικόν**] 'is not without a ground of political right.'

23 **στασιαστικῶς**] in VIII. (V.) VI. 15, occurs another form of this word **στασιωτικῶς**, 'for factious purposes.'

24 **ἰδίᾳ**] 'in particular cases.'

25 **μερίζοντες τὰς ἀρχάς**] "in the division of offices," Stahr.

ὅπερ ἔοικε πεφυκέναι] 'and this seems the natural course.'

βασιλέας ἀϊδίους] 'kings for their life,' the hero-kings of Mr. Carlyle, the great men whom all should obey and find their true glory in obeying. So that the whole discussion has in its singularly discursive form yet never lost sight of the one question that runs through it, beginning with Ch. IX., and ending here, the question of the relative claims to a share in the government of different members of the state. From the absolute equality of a democracy, Aristotle has arrived at absolute inequality, necessitated in the ideal state by the existence of some one man of supereminent virtue—the only conceivable justification of monarchy in its strict sense—the only case in which it was to him reconcileable with justice, with due regard, that is, for the relative claims of his citizens. And without this justice he thought the social union could never be secure. But, as he allows for the case of there being one man competent to fill the station of king by force of superior merit, one who in the language of the *Ethics*, VIII. xii. 2, p. 1160, 64, should be **αὐτάρκης καὶ**

Monarchy.

14 Ἴσως δὲ καλῶς ἔχει μετὰ τοὺς εἰρημένους λόγους μεταβῆναι καὶ σκέψασθαι περὶ βασιλείας· φαμὲν γὰρ τῶν ὀρθῶν πολιτειῶν μίαν εἶναι ταύτην. σκεπτέον δὲ πότερον συμφέρει τῇ μελλούσῃ καλῶς οἰκήσεσθαι καὶ πόλει καὶ χώρᾳ βασιλεύεσθαι, ἢ οὒ ἀλλ' ἄλλη τις πολιτεία μᾶλλον, ἢ τισὶ μὲν συμφέρει τισὶ δ' οὐ συμφέρει. δεῖ δὲ πρῶτον 2
διελέσθαι πότερον ἓν τὸ γένος ἐστὶν αὐτῆς ἢ πλείους ἔχει διαφοράς. ῥᾴδιον δὴ τοῦτό γε καταμαθεῖν, ὅτι πλείω τε 1285
γένη περιέχει καὶ τῆς ἀρχῆς ὁ τρόπος ἐστὶν οὐχ εἷς πασῶν. Ἡ γὰρ ἐν τῇ Λακωνικῇ πολιτείᾳ δοκεῖ μὲν εἶναι βασιλεία 3
μάλιστα τῶν κατὰ νόμον, οὐκ ἔστι δὲ κυρία πάντων, ἀλλ' ὅταν ἐξέλθῃ τὴν χώραν, ἡγεμών ἐστι τῶν πρὸς τὸν πόλεμον· ἔτι δὲ τὰ πρὸς τοὺς θεοὺς ἀποδέδοται τοῖς βασιλεῦσιν. αὕτη μὲν οὖν ἡ βασιλεία οἷον στρατηγία τις αὐτο- 4
κρατόρων καὶ ἀΐδιός ἐστιν· κτεῖναι γὰρ οὐ κύριος, εἰ μὴ ἔν τινι βασιλείᾳ, καθάπερ ἐπὶ τῶν ἀρχαίων ἐν ταῖς πολεμικαῖς ἐξόδοις ἐν χειρὸς νόμῳ. δηλοῖ δ' Ὅμηρος· ὁ γὰρ Ἀγαμέμνων κακῶς μὲν ἀκούων ἠνείχετο ἐν ταῖς ἐκκλησίαις, ἐξελθόντων δὲ καὶ κτεῖναι κύριος ἦν. λέγει γοῦν 5

πᾶσι τοῖς ἀγαθοῖς ὑπερέχων, and in the language of the *Politics*, VIII. (V.) x. 38, should rule over willing subjects—as he allows for this case, he is not unnaturally led to treat of the whole subject of the rule of one, and enumerate the various forms of monarchical government.

XIV. 1 *μεταβῆναι*] 'to pass to another point.' The word occurs, *Eth.* VI. xiii. 5[2]. p. 1144, b. 26, and in the participle *μεταβαίνων*, *Eth.* I. v. 2. p. 1097, 24.

2 *περιέχει*] sc. *ἡ βασιλεία*. 'The word monarchy comprises several forms under it, and the system adopted in those forms is not one and the same in all.'

3 "For the royal power as it exists in the Lacedæmonian constitution, is thought to answer better to the idea of monarchy, than any other of the constitutional forms, and yet it is not supreme." This is Stahr's view. For the powers of the Spartan kings, comp. Herod. VI. 56.

4 *αὐτοκρατόρων*] Vet. Int. 'imperialis.' Hence Victorius wishes to read *αὐτοκράτωρ*. Stahr condemns it as unnecessary. It will certainly construe as it stands, 'a generalship in the hands of men invested with full powers, and that for life.' 'And it is not more than this, for the power of life and death is not his, except in reference to part of his office.' *ἔν τινι βασιλείᾳ*. The meaning I have given to these words is favoured by the context, and is the one adopted by the best commentators.

ἐν χειρὸς νόμῳ] 'martial law.'

ἐν ταῖς ἐκκλησίαις] This is an odd

Monarchy.

ὃν δέ κ' ἐγὼν ἀπάνευθε μάχης,— ... —οὔ οἱ— ... ἄρκιον ἐσσεῖται φυγέειν κύνας ἠδ' οἰωνούς·
(πὰρ γὰρ ἐμοὶ θάνατος.)

ἓν μὲν οὖν τοῦτ' εἶδος βασιλείας, στρατηγία διὰ βίου· τού-
6 των δ' αἱ μὲν κατὰ γένος εἰσίν, αἱ δ' αἱρεταί. Παρὰ ταύτην δ' ἄλλο μοναρχίας εἶδος, οἷαι παρ' ἐνίοις εἰσὶ βασιλεῖαι τῶν βαρβάρων. ἔχουσι δ' αὗται τὴν δύναμιν πᾶσαι παραπλησίαν τυραννικῇ, εἰσὶ δ' ὅμως κατὰ νόμον καὶ πατρικαί· διὰ γὰρ τὸ δουλικώτεροι εἶναι τὰ ἤθη φύσει οἱ μὲν βάρβαροι τῶν Ἑλλήνων, οἱ δὲ περὶ τὴν Ἀσίαν τῶν περὶ τὴν Εὐρώπην, ὑπομένουσι τὴν δεσποτικὴν ἀρχὴν οὐδὲν δυσ-
7 χεραίνοντες. τυραννικαὶ μὲν οὖν διὰ τὸ τοιοῦτόν εἰσιν, ἀσφαλεῖς δὲ διὰ τὸ πάτριαι καὶ κατὰ νόμον εἶναι. καὶ ἡ φυλακὴ δὲ βασιλικὴ καὶ οὐ τυραννικὴ διὰ τὴν αὐτὴν αἰτίαν· οἱ γὰρ πολῖται φυλάττουσιν ὅπλοις τοὺς βασιλεῖς, τοὺς δὲ τυράννους ξενικόν. οἱ μὲν γὰρ κατὰ νόμον καὶ ἑκόντων, οἱ δ' ἀκόντων ἄρχουσιν, ὥσθ' οἱ μὲν παρὰ τῶν πολιτῶν οἱ δ' ἐπὶ τοὺς πολίτας ἔχουσι τὴν φυλακήν. δύο μὲν οὖν εἴδη ταῦτα μοναρχίας, ἕτερον δ' ὅπερ ἦν ἐν τοῖς ἀρχαίοις Ἕλλησιν, οὓς καλοῦσιν αἰσυμνήτας. ἔστι δὲ τοῦθ' ὡς ἁπλῶς

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word for the Homeric times, as applied to the βουλή of the chiefs. But did Aristotle recognise, as clearly as modern writers do, the difference between the political system of his day and that of earlier times? Did he not suffer the language of his own times to colour that which he applied to earlier times?

5 *Il.* II. 391.

πὰρ γὰρ ἐμοὶ θάνατος] This, as Mr Grote remarks, II. 86, is not in our present copies. "The Alexandrian critics," he adds, "effaced many traces of old manners."

κατὰ γένος] 'hereditary.'

6 παρ' ἐνίοις τῶν βαρβάρων] is the order.

ἔχουσι δ' αὗται] 'In all of these the power is very similar to that in a tyranny.' On this language, as applicable to the Oriental empires, whether ancient or modern, see Mr Cornewall Lewis' remarks, *On Authority in Matters of Opinion*, pp. 192, 3.

δουλικώτεροι τὰ ἤθη] Comp. below, IV. (VII.) 7, on this distinction of races.

οὐδὲν δυσχεραίνοντες] 'æquo animo,' 'cheerfully.'

7 ἡ φυλακή] 'The guards they employ:' compare, for the prominent position given to this subject, the expression, *Rhet.* I. viii. 5, τυραννίδος τέλος φυλακή.

8 αἰσυμνήτας] On this officer, analogous to the Roman dictator, comp. Grote, III. 86; Thirlw. I. 401, "At Cuma and in other cities, this was the title of an ordinary magistracy, pro-

εἰπεῖν αἱρετὴ τυραννίς, διαφέρουσα δὲ τῆς βαρβαρικῆς οὐ Monarchy.
τῷ μὴ κατὰ νόμον ἀλλὰ τῷ μὴ πάτριος εἶναι μόνον. ἦρχον 9
δ' οἱ μὲν διὰ βίου τὴν ἀρχὴν ταύτην, οἱ δὲ μέχρι τινῶν
ὡρισμένων χρόνων ἢ πράξεων, οἷον εἵλοντό ποτε Μιτυλη-
ναῖοι Πιττακὸν πρὸς τοὺς φυγάδας ὧν προειστήκεσαν Ἀν-
τιμενίδης καὶ Ἀλκαῖος ὁ ποιητής. δηλοῖ δ' Ἀλκαῖος ὅτι 10
τύραννον εἵλοντο τὸν Πιττακὸν ἔν τινι τῶν σκολιῶν μελῶν·
ἐπιτιμᾷ γὰρ ὅτι

> τὸν κακοπάτριδα
> Πιττακὸν πόλεως τᾶς ἀχόλω καὶ βαρυδαίμονος 1285 B
> ἐστάσαντο τύραννον μέγ' ἐπαινέοντες ἀολλέες.

αὗται μὲν οὖν εἰσί τε καὶ ἦσαν διὰ μὲν τὸ τυραννικαὶ εἶναι 11
δεσποτικαί, διὰ δὲ τὸ αἱρεταὶ καὶ ἑκόντων βασιλικαί. Τέ-
ταρτον δ' εἶδος μοναρχίας βασιλικῆς αἱ κατὰ τοὺς ἡρωϊκοὺς
χρόνους ἑκούσιαί τε καὶ πάτριαι γιγνόμεναι κατὰ νόμον.
διὰ γὰρ τὸ τοὺς πρώτους γενέσθαι τοῦ πλήθους εὐεργέτας 12
κατὰ τέχνας ἢ πόλεμον, ἢ διὰ τὸ συναγαγεῖν ἢ πορίσαι
χώραν, ἐγίγνοντο βασιλεῖς ἑκόντων καὶ τοῖς παραλαμβά-
νουσι πάτριοι. κύριοι δ' ἦσαν τῆς τε κατὰ πόλεμον ἡγε-
μονίας καὶ τῶν θυσιῶν, ὅσαι μὴ ἱερατικαί, καὶ πρὸς τούτοις
τὰς δίκας ἔκρινον. τοῦτο δ' ἐποίουν οἱ μὲν οὐχ ὀμνύοντες,
οἱ δ' ὀμνύοντες· ὁ δ' ὅρκος ἦν τοῦ σκήπτρου ἐπανάτασις.
οἱ μὲν οὖν ἐπὶ τῶν ἀρχαίων χρόνων καὶ τὰ κατὰ πόλιν 13

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bably of that which succeeded the hereditary monarchy; but, when applied to an extraordinary office, it was equivalent to the title of protector or dictator."

9 *μεχρὶ τινῶν, κ.τ.λ.*] 'for some definite time named, or for some specified objects.' "Pittacus of Mitylene is the prominent instance." Grote, III. 27, and later, pp. 267, 8.

10 *εἵλοντο*] The stress lies on this word.

σκολιῶν] *σκολίων*, see L. and S.

Alcæus, Fragm. 37, Bergk, 1st Ed. p. 579. The readings there are, *πόλιος* for *πόλεως*; *ζαχόλω* for *ἀχόλω*; *ἐπαίνεντες* for *ἐπαινέοντες*; *ἀχόλω*, 'lacking gall,' *ζαχόλω* is the contrary.

11 They were for the good of those who submitted to them, and consequently not tyrannical.

12 *κατὰ τέχνας*] 'in teaching them arts.'

ὅσαι μὴ ἱερατικαί] 'with the exception of those that required a priest.'

τοῦ σκήπτρου ἐπανάτασις] *Il.* x. 321.

13 The first *καί* I should leave out with St Hilaire. If kept: 'They administered without exception the affairs of the state, whether in the city itself, or in the country, or abroad.' If left out, then it is: 'They admi-

Monarchy. καὶ τὰ ἔνδημα καὶ τὰ ὑπερόρια συνεχῶς ἦρχον· ὕστερον δὲ τὰ μὲν αὐτῶν παριέντων τῶν βασιλέων, τὰ δὲ τῶν ὄχλων παραιρουμένων, ἐν μὲν ταῖς ἄλλαις πόλεσι θυσίαι κατελείφθησαν τοῖς βασιλεῦσι μόνον, ὅπου δ' ἄξιον εἰπεῖν εἶναι βασιλείαν, ἐν τοῖς ὑπερορίοις τῶν πολεμικῶν τὴν ἡγεμονίαν μόνον εἶχον.

14 Βασιλείας μὲν οὖν εἴδη ταῦτα, τέτταρα τὸν ἀριθμόν, [μία μὲν ἡ περὶ τοὺς ἡρωϊκοὺς χρόνους (αὕτη δ' ἦν ἑκόντων μέν, ἐπί τισι δ' ὡρισμένοις· στρατηγὸς γὰρ ἦν καὶ δικαστὴς ὁ βασιλεύς, καὶ τῶν πρὸς τοὺς θεοὺς κύριος), δευτέρα δ' ἡ βαρβαρική (αὕτη δ' ἐστὶν ἐκ γένους ἀρχὴ δεσποτικὴ κατὰ νόμον), τρίτη δ' ἣν αἰσυμνητείαν προσαγορεύουσιν (αὕτη δ' ἐστὶν αἱρετὴ τυραννίς), τετάρτη δ' ἡ Λακωνικὴ τούτων· αὕτη δ' ἐστὶν ὡς εἰπεῖν ἁπλῶς στρατηγία κατὰ γένος ἀΐδιος.

15 Αὗται μὲν οὖν τοῦτον τὸν τρόπον διαφέρουσιν ἀλλήλων,] πέμπτον δ' εἶδος βασιλείας, ὅταν ᾖ πάντων κύριος εἷς ὤν, ὥσπερ ἕκαστον ἔθνος καὶ πόλις ἑκάστη τῶν κοινῶν, τεταγμένη κατὰ τὴν οἰκονομικήν· ὥσπερ γὰρ ἡ οἰκονομικὴ βασιλεία τις οἰκίας ἐστίν, οὕτως ἡ βασιλεία πόλεως καὶ ἔθνους ἑνὸς ἢ πλειόνων οἰκονομία. σχεδὸν δὴ δύο ἐστὶν ὡς εἰπεῖν

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nistered the affairs of the state, both at home and abroad.'

θυσίαι κατελείφθησαν] as at Athens, Cyrene, Rome. Compare also the case of Maeandrius, at Samos. Herod. III. 142.

ἐν τοῖς ὑπερορίοις] 'in foreign affairs they had no more than the command of the army,' as distinct from the general foreign policy.

14 From *μία* to *ἀλλήλων* in § 15, I have enclosed in brackets, not meaning to say it is not genuine, not in fact attaching any importance to it, but simply to clear it out as unnecessary.

ἐπί τισι δ' ὡρισμένοις] This recalls the expression of Thucydides, I. 13. *ἐπὶ ῥητοῖς γέρασι πατρικαὶ βασιλεῖαι.*

ἐκ γένους] = *κατὰ γένος.*

τούτων] sc. *τῶν κατὰ νόμον.* Is the enumeration Aristotle's, with the explanations added in later?

15 *ὅταν ᾖ πάντων, κ.τ.λ.*] 'When the sovereignty, with all that it implies, resides in one, and he has at his disposal all that is national, just as each tribe or each state is supreme in regard to its national property.'

τεταγμένη] to justify this feminine we must consider *εἶδος βασιλείας* as equivalent to *βασιλεία*, 'standing over against, corresponding in the political world, to the rule of the master of a household in the family life.'

XV. 1 *σχεδὸν δή*] It may be said then that there are really but two species of kingly government. In putting the Laconian so low, Mr Grote, II. 104, note, thinks that Ari-

εἴδη βασιλείας περὶ ὧν σκεπτέον, αὕτη τε καὶ ἡ Λακωνική. τῶν γὰρ ἄλλων αἱ πολλαὶ μεταξὺ τούτων εἰσίν· ἐλαττόνων μὲν γὰρ κύριοι τῆς παμβασιλείας, πλειόνων δ' εἰσὶ τῆς Λακωνικῆς. ὥστε τὸ σκέμμα σχεδὸν περὶ δυοῖν ἐστίν, ἓν μὲν 2 πότερον συμφέρει ταῖς πόλεσι στρατηγὸν ἀΐδιον εἶναι, καὶ τοῦτον ἢ κατὰ γένος ἢ κατὰ μέρος, ἢ οὐ συμφέρει· ἓν δὲ πότερον ἕνα συμφέρει κύριον εἶναι πάντων, ἢ οὐ συμφέρει. τὸ μὲν οὖν περὶ τῆς τοιαύτης στρατηγίας ἐπισκοπεῖν νόμων 1286 ἔχει μᾶλλον εἶδος ἢ πολιτείας· ἐν ἁπάσαις γὰρ ἐνδέχεται γίγνεσθαι τοῦτο ταῖς πολιτείαις· ὥστ' ἀφείσθω τὴν πρώτην. ὁ δὲ λοιπὸς τρόπος τῆς βασιλείας πολιτείας εἶδός 3 ἐστιν, ὥστε περὶ τούτου δεῖ θεωρῆσαι καὶ τὰς ἀπορίας ἐπιδραμεῖν τὰς ἐνούσας. Ἀρχὴ δ' ἐστὶ τῆς ζητήσεως αὕτη, πότερον συμφέρει μᾶλλον ὑπὸ τοῦ ἀρίστου ἀνδρὸς ἄρχεσθαι ἢ ὑπὸ τῶν ἀρίστων νόμων. δοκοῦσι δὴ τοῖς νομίζουσι 4 συμφέρειν βασιλεύεσθαι τὸ καθόλου μόνον οἱ νόμοι λέγειν, ἀλλ' οὐ πρὸς τὰ προσπίπτοντα ἐπιτάττειν, ὥστ' ἐν ὁποιαοῦν τέχνῃ τὸ κατὰ γράμματ' ἄρχειν ἠλίθιον· καὶ ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ μετὰ τὴν τετρήμερον κινεῖν ἔξεστι τοῖς ἰατροῖς, ἐὰν δὲ πρότερον, ἐπὶ τῷ αὑτοῦ κινδύνῳ. φανερὸν τοίνυν ὡς οὐκ ἔστιν ἡ κατὰ γράμματα καὶ νόμους ἀρίστη πολιτεία διὰ τὴν αὐτὴν αἰτίαν. Ἀλλὰ μὴν κἀκεῖνον δεῖ ὑπάρχειν 5

Monarchy

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stotle underrates the estimation in which the regal dignity was held at Sparta.

2 *κατὰ μέρος*] This is confessedly difficult. Stahr does not change the reading, but construes it as if it were *αἱρετόν*, which, looking at Ch. XIV. 5, I confess, appears to me the best reading, better than *κατ' ἀρετήν*. St Hilaire, 'électif,' but without changing the text.

νόμων ἔχει μᾶλλον εἶδος] 'is rather a question of institutions than of a constitution.'

τὴν πρώτην] "fürerst," Stahr; 'at once,' 'at first,' 'in the beginning,' Matthiæ, *Gr. Gr.* § 425, 5. Xen. *Mem.* III. vi. 10.

4 *δοκοῦσι δή*] 'It is the opinion then of those who,' &c.

πρὸς τὰ προσπίπτοντα] 'with reference to circumstances as they arise.'

κατὰ γράμματα ἄρχειν] 'to be bound by the strict letter of the rule.'

Αἰγύπτῳ] Herod. II. 84.

μετὰ τὴν τετρήμερον] 'After the fourth day to change the treatment.'

5 *ἀλλὰ μήν*] 'But,' says Aristotle in reply, 'in any case the ruler must be supposed to have that universal principle, which finds its expression in law.' He cannot be governing, merely guided by circumstances as they change.

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τὸν λόγον τὸν καθόλου τοῖς ἄρχουσιν· κρεῖττον δ' ᾧ μὴ πρόσεστι τὸ παθητικὸν ὅλως ἢ ᾧ συμφυές. τῷ μὲν οὖν νόμῳ τοῦτο οὐχ ὑπάρχει, ψυχὴν δ' ἀνθρωπίνην ἀνάγκη τοῦτ' ἔχειν πᾶσαν. Ἀλλ' ἴσως ἂν φαίη τις ὡς ἀντὶ τού-
6 του βουλεύσεται περὶ τῶν καθ' ἕκαστα κάλλιον. ὅτι μὲν τοίνυν ἀνάγκη νομοθέτην αὐτὸν εἶναι, δῆλον, καὶ κεῖσθαι νόμους, ἀλλὰ μὴ κυρίους ᾗ παρεκβαίνουσιν, ἐπεὶ περὶ τῶν γ' ἄλλων εἶναι δεῖ κυρίους. ὅσα δὲ μὴ δυνατὸν τὸν νόμον κρίνειν ἢ ὅλως ἢ εὖ, πότερον ἕνα τὸν ἄριστον δεῖ ἄρχειν ἢ
7 πάντας; καὶ γὰρ νῦν συνιόντες δικάζουσι καὶ βουλεύονται καὶ κρίνουσιν, αὗται δ' αἱ κρίσεις εἰσὶ πᾶσαι περὶ τῶν καθ' ἕκαστον. καθ' ἕνα μὲν οὖν συμβαλλόμενος ὁστισοῦν ἴσως χείρων· ἀλλ' ἐστὶν ἡ πόλις ἐκ πολλῶν, ὥσπερ ἑστίασις συμφορητὸς καλλίων μιᾶς καὶ ἁπλῆς. διὰ τοῦτο καὶ κρίνει
8 ἄμεινον ὄχλος πολλὰ ἢ εἷς ὁστισοῦν. ἔτι μᾶλλον ἀδιάφθορον τὸ πολύ· καθάπερ ὕδωρ τὸ πλεῖον, οὕτω καὶ τὸ πλῆθος τῶν ὀλίγων ἀδιαφθορώτερον· τοῦ δ' ἑνὸς ὑπ' ὀργῆς κρατηθέντος ἤ τινος ἑτέρου πάθους τοιούτου ἀναγκαῖον διεφθάρθαι τὴν κρίσιν· ἐκεῖ δ' ἔργον ἅμα πάντας ὀργισθῆ-

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κρεῖττον δέ] 'and there is an advantage in having that which is absolutely exempt from passion, rather than that in which passion is inherent.' Compare the language of the young patricians in Livy, II. 3. "Regem hominem esse...Leges rem surdam, inexorabilem," &c.

τοῦτο] sc. τὸ παθητικόν.

ἀντὶ τούτου] 'To compensate for this objection.'

6 νομοθέτην] equivalent to τὸν λόγον τὸν καθόλου ὑπάρχειν, above.

κυρίους ᾗ παρεκβαίνουσιν] "wo sie vom Rechten abirren," Stahr. "Là où elles se taisent," St Hil. "Qua parte recta via migrant," Vict. 'In exceptional cases,' is the meaning I attach to the expression, but it is difficult. So far forth as there naturally occur cases in which men's conduct cannot be brought under the general statement. The undeviating language of the law cannot accommodate itself to the infinite variety of human actions.

7 καὶ γὰρ νῦν, κ.τ.λ.] "Experience is in favour of the latter, for, &c." Stahr.

8 ἐκεῖ δέ] 'But with the many, it is difficult for all at once to be angry, and form an erroneous judgment.' On this passage, compare Mr Grote's remarks, IV. 505, on the effect of large assemblies, "which is, to inflame sentiment in every man's bosom by mere contact with a sympathising circle of neighbours." He adds in a note, "It is remarkable that Aristotle, in his *Politica*, takes little or no notice of this attribute belonging to every numerous assembly. He seems

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ναι καὶ ἁμαρτεῖν· ἔστω δὲ τὸ πλῆθος οἱ ἐλεύθεροι, μηδὲν παρὰ τὸν νόμον πράττοντες, ἀλλ' ἢ περὶ ὧν ἐκλείπειν ἀναγ-
καῖον αὐτόν· εἰ δὲ δὴ τοῦτο μὴ ῥᾴδιον ἐν πολλοῖς, ἀλλ' εἰ 9
πλείους εἶεν ἀγαθοὶ καὶ ἄνδρες καὶ πολῖται, πότερον ὁ εἷς ἀδιαφθορώτερος ἄρχων, ἢ μᾶλλον οἱ πλείους μὲν τὸν ἀριθ-
μὸν ἀγαθοὶ δὲ πάντες; ἢ δῆλον ὡς οἱ πλείους; Ἀλλ' οἱ 1286 b
μὲν στασιάζουσιν, ὁ δ' εἷς ἀστασίαστος. ἀλλὰ πρὸς τοῦτ' 10
ἀντιθετέον ἴσως ὅτι σπουδαῖοι τὴν ψυχήν, ὥσπερ κἀκεῖνος ὁ εἷς. εἰ δὴ τὴν μὲν τῶν πλειόνων ἀρχὴν ἀγαθῶν δ' ἀνδρῶν πάντων ἀριστοκρατίαν θετέον, τὴν δὲ τοῦ ἑνὸς βασιλείαν, αἱρετώτερον ἂν εἴη ταῖς πόλεσιν ἀριστοκρατία βασιλείας, καὶ μετὰ δυνάμεως καὶ χωρὶς δυνάμεως οὔσης τῆς ἀρχῆς, ἂν
ᾖ λαβεῖν πλείους ὁμοίους. καὶ διὰ τοῦτ' ἴσως ἐβασιλεύοντο 11
πρότερον, ὅτι σπάνιον ἦν εὑρεῖν ἄνδρας πολὺ διαφέροντας κατ' ἀρετήν, ἄλλως τε καὶ τότε μικρὰς οἰκοῦντας πόλεις. ἔτι δ' ἀπ' εὐεργεσίας καθίστασαν τοὺς βασιλεῖς, ὅπερ ἐστὶν ἔργον τῶν ἀγαθῶν ἀνδρῶν. ἐπεὶ δὲ συνέβαινε γίγνεσθαι πολλοὺς ὁμοίους πρὸς ἀρετήν, οὐκέτι ὑπέμενον ἀλλ' ἐζήτουν
κοινόν τι καὶ πολιτείαν καθίστασαν. ἐπεὶ δὲ χείρους γιγνό- 12
μενοι ἐχρηματίζοντο ἀπὸ τῶν κοινῶν, ἐντεῦθέν ποθεν εὐλο-

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rather to reason as if the aggregate intelligence of the multitude was represented by the sum total of each man's separate intelligence in all the individuals composing it, just as the property of the multitude, taken collectively, would be greater than that of the few rich."

9 *ἔστω δέ, κ.τ.λ.*] 'But let us assume that our people is composed of the free citizens, and that they never act in violation of the law, and only act without it when it, from its nature, must fail them as a guide.'

10 *ἀλλὰ πρὸς τοῦτο*] You state that the one man is not liable to the evil the many are liable to, that of dissension. True, but for the argument's sake, you must assume the many to be good, as good as the one.

11 *καὶ μετὰ δυνάμεως*] 'whether it be provided or not with a force to compel obedience.'

σπάνιον ἦν] "He suspects that in such small communities great merit was very rare, so that the chief had few competitors." Grote, II. 89.

ὅπερ] sc. *εὐεργεσία—ἀρετή* is *δύναμις εὐεργετική — ποριστικὴ ἀγαθῶν καὶ φυλακτική*. *Rhet.* I. ix. 4. p. 1366, 36.

ἐπεὶ δέ] "i.e. after the early kings had had their day." Grote, III. 23, note.

κοινόν τι] 'a commune.' The object of the European towns in the 12th century.

12 This passage valuable as to the order of succession of governments in the Greek states, oligarchy, tyranny, democracy. Comp. Grote, III. 22, 23.

Absolute monarchy.

γον γενέσθαι τὰς ὀλιγαρχίας· ἔντιμον γὰρ ἐποίησαν τὸν πλοῦτον. ἐκ δὲ τούτων πρῶτον εἰς τυραννίδας μετέβαλλον, ἐκ δὲ τῶν τυραννίδων εἰς δημοκρατίαν· ἀεὶ γὰρ εἰς ἐλάττους ἄγοντες δι' αἰσχροκέρδειαν ἰσχυρότερον τὸ πλῆθος κατέστησαν, ὥστ' ἐπιθέσθαι καὶ γενέσθαι δημοκρατίας.
13 ἐπεὶ δὲ καὶ μείζους εἶναι συμβέβηκε τὰς πόλεις, ἴσως οὐδὲ ῥᾴδιον ἔτι γίγνεσθαι πολιτείαν ἑτέραν παρὰ δημοκρατίαν. εἰ δὲ δή τις ἄριστον θείη τὸ βασιλεύεσθαι ταῖς πόλεσιν, πῶς ἕξει τὰ περὶ τῶν τέκνων; πότερον καὶ τὸ γένος δεῖ βασιλεύειν; ἀλλὰ γιγνομένων ὁποῖοί τινες ἔτυχον, βλαβε-
14 ρόν. Ἀλλ' οὐ παραδώσει κύριος ὢν τοῖς τέκνοις. ἀλλ'

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13 πῶς ἕξει τὰ περὶ τῶν τέκνων] This is the great question of hereditary monarchy. It is the difficulty in *monarchical* government, wherever the word is used properly, where the king governs, and does not merely reign. In a system of constitutional fictions like our own, an aristocratical republic, presenting, for certain undefined objects, a monarchical front to the world, the question is not so important. Its importance in this latter case varies with the varying ideas of society, which will increase or limit the influence of the sovereign.

But in the case of monarchy proper, the difficulty is so great as to render it necessary to get rid of the form altogether, as soon as the political experience of the nation rejecting it, is sufficient for the change. The vicious element in the system is incurable. For it is, as it were, bound up with the idea of monarchy, that it should be hereditary. Elective monarchies are practically an idea of the past, though the experience of that past is not so wholly unfavourable to them as is generally supposed. Compare Sismondi, *Études Sociales sur les Constitutions des Peuples libres*, p. 149, and foll. Ed. 1836 Brussels.

In the Roman empire, in certain cases, the danger with regard to the successor was met by adoption, as in the case of Trajan adopted by Nerva. But though not singular, it was a rare piece of good fortune, and the philosophic Marcus Antoninus himself left Commodus as his successor. But to us as to Aristotle the question is in the main, one of theoretic and past interest. It is not probable that the Russian type will spread over Western Europe, or at any rate that it could be durable, if for argument's sake we allowed that its success for a time was not beyond reasonable probability. The more interesting question is, how long the various forms in Western Europe that affect a monarchical exterior, an Empire in France, a constitutional monarchy in England, Holland, Belgium and Piedmont, with the other powers of Western Germany, Scandinavia and the Spanish peninsula, most of them, to say the least, in a very critical position, how long they will hold their present position, what elements of strength they have, what powers dormant to remedy the apparent weakness of their position. But to state the question, is all that I wish to do here.

14 ἀλλ' οὐ παραδώσει] But, says the assertor of monarchy, though he

Hereditary monarchy.

οὐέτι τοῦτο ῥᾴδιον πιστεῦσαι· χαλεπὸν γάρ, καὶ μείζονος ἀρετῆς ἢ κατ' ἀνθρωπίνην φύσιν. Ἔχει δ' ἀποριαν καὶ περὶ τῆς δυνάμεως, πότερον ἔχειν δεῖ τὸν μέλλοντα βασιλεύειν ἰσχύν τινα περὶ αὑτόν, ᾗ δυνήσεται βιάζεσθαι τοὺς μὴ βουλομένους πειθαρχεῖν, ἢ πῶς ἐνδέχεται τὴν ἀρχὴν διοικεῖν; εἰ γὰρ καὶ κατὰ νόμον εἴη κύριος, μηδὲν πράττων 15
κατὰ τὴν αὑτοῦ βούλησιν παρὰ τὸν νόμον, ὅμως ἀναγκαῖον ὑπάρχειν αὐτῷ δύναμιν, ᾗ φυλάξει τοὺς νόμους. τάχα μὲν 16
οὖν τὰ περὶ τὸν βασιλέα τὸν τοιοῦτον οὐ χαλεπὸν διορίσαι· δεῖ γὰρ αὐτὸν μὲν ἔχειν ἰσχύν, εἶναι δὲ τοσαύτην τὴν ἰσχὺν ὥστε ἑκάστου μὲν καὶ ἑνὸς καὶ συμπλειόνων κρείττω, τοῦ δὲ πλήθους ἥττω, καθάπερ οἵ τ' ἀρχαῖοι τὰς φυλακὰς ἐδίδοσαν, ὅτε καθισταῖέν τινα τῆς πόλεως ὃν ἐκάλουν αἰσυμνήτην ἢ τύραννον, καὶ Διονυσίῳ τις, ὅτ' ᾔτει τοὺς φύλακας, συνεβούλευε τοῖς Συρακουσίοις διδόναι τοσούτους τοὺς φύλακας.

Περὶ δὲ τοῦ βασιλέως τοῦ κατὰ τὴν αὑτοῦ βούλησιν 16 1287
πάντα πράττοντος ὅ τε λόγος ἐφέστηκε νῦν καὶ ποιητέον τὴν σκέψιν· [Ὁ μὲν γὰρ κατὰ νόμον λεγόμενος βασιλεὺς οὐκ ἔστιν εἶδος, καθάπερ εἴπομεν, πολιτείας· ἐν πάσαις γὰρ ὑπάρχειν ἐνδέχεται στρατηγίαν ἀΐδιον, οἷον ἐν δημοκρατίᾳ καὶ ἀριστοκρατίᾳ, καὶ πολλοὶ ποιοῦσιν ἕνα κύριον τῆς διοι-

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might, he will not hand his power over to his children. That, says Aristotle, can hardly be entrusted to him. It assumes a virtue beyond man's. Domitian and Commodus are the successors of Vespasian and Marcus Antoninus. — 'Les interêts dynastiques' are extremely strong, as was clear in Louis Philippe's case, and, like true parasites, endanger the real interest of the monarch, which must be identical with that of his nation, or monarchy is absolutely indefensible.

τῆς δυνάμεως] The power to be placed in his hands, 'la force matérielle.'

15 καὶ κατὰ νόμον] 'was perfectly constitutional.'

16 τὸν τοιοῦτον] sc. τὸν κατὰ νόμον.

συμπλειόνων] 'more than one together.'

τοὺς φύλακας] 'his guards.' τοσούτους, only a sufficient number to protect him against any personal enemies, not against the people. Grote, x. 613, 614.

XVI. 1 ὁ λόγος ἐφέστηκε νῦν] 'The discussion naturally follows now.'

ὁ μὲν γάρ . . . βασιλεύς] This passage for clearness' sake, I inclose in brackets. By so doing I wish to shew that the sense is not worse without it; the repetition is avoided, and the δοκεῖ δέ of § 2 becomes clearer.

τῆς διοικήσεως] 'of the executive.'

Absolute monarchy.

κήσεως· τοιαύτη γὰρ ἀρχή τίς ἐστι καὶ περὶ Ἐπίδαμνον,
καὶ περὶ Ὀποῦντα δὲ κατά τι μέρος ἔλαττον. περὶ δὲ τῆς
2 παμβασιλείας καλουμένης, αὕτη δ' ἐστὶ καθ' ἣν ἄρχει πάν-
των κατὰ τὴν ἑαυτοῦ βούλησιν ὁ βασιλεύς,] δοκεῖ δέ τισιν
οὐδὲ κατὰ φύσιν εἶναι τὸ κύριον ἕνα πάντων εἶναι τῶν πολι-
τῶν, ὅπου συνέστηκεν ἐξ ὁμοίων ἡ πόλις· τοῖς γὰρ ὁμοίοις
φύσει τὸ αὐτὸ δίκαιον ἀναγκαῖον καὶ τὴν αὐτὴν ἀξίαν κατὰ
φύσιν εἶναι, ὥστ' εἴπερ καὶ τὸ ἴσην ἔχειν τοὺς ἀνίσους τρο-
φὴν ἢ ἐσθῆτα βλαβερὸν τοῖς σώμασιν, οὕτως ἔχει καὶ τὸ
3 περὶ τὰς τιμάς. ὁμοίως τοίνυν καὶ τὸ ἄνισον τοὺς ἴσους·
διόπερ οὐδὲν μᾶλλον ἄρχειν ἢ ἄρχεσθαι δίκαιον. καὶ τὸ
ἀνὰ μέρος τοίνυν ὡσαύτως· τοῦτο δ' ἤδη νόμος· ἡ γὰρ
τάξις νόμος. τὸν ἄρα νόμον ἄρχειν αἱρετώτερον μᾶλλον ἢ
4 τῶν πολιτῶν ἕνα τινά. κατὰ τὸν αὐτὸν δὲ λόγον τοῦτον,
κἂν εἴ τινας ἄρχειν βέλτιον, τούτους καταστατέον νομοφύ-
λακας καὶ ὑπηρέτας τοῖς νόμοις· ἀναγκαῖον γὰρ εἶναί τινας
ἀρχάς, ἀλλ' οὐχ ἕνα τοῦτον εἶναί φασι δίκαιον ὁμοίων γε
ὄντων πάντων. Ἀλλὰ μὴν ὅσα γε μὴ δοκεῖ δύνασθαι διο-
ρίζειν ὁ νόμος, οὐδ' ἄνθρωπος ἂν δύναιτο γνωρίζειν. ἀλλ'
5 ἐπίτηδες παιδεύσας ὁ νόμος ἐφίστησι τὰ λοιπὰ τῇ δικαιο-
τάτῃ γνώμῃ κρίνειν καὶ διοικεῖν τοὺς ἄρχοντας. ἔτι δ'

ἀρχή τις περὶ Ἐπίδαμνον] the ἄρχων ὁ εἷς of VIII. (V.) 1. 11. At Opus the title was [illegible]. Smith, Geogr. Dict. [illegible]

2 περὶ δὲ] From this to the end of the chapter is a discussion of the question aporematically.

3 καὶ τὸ ἀνὰ μέρος ὡσαύτως] Is it: 'It is just that if the government is taken in turns, it should be provided that all have their turn fairly, not one more than another'?

4 νομοφύλακας] 'mere guardians and servants of the laws.'

οὐχ ἕνα τοῦτον] 'not this one man that you speak of.'

ἀλλὰ μὴν ὅσα γε, κ.τ.λ.] The law, it is urged, cannot go into all possible detail, but neither can a man grasp all possible details—an objection.

5 'True. This is allowed for—and the law expressly trains its rulers, and then sets them to judge to the best of their judgment.'

ὁ μὲν οὖν τὸν νοῦν, κ.τ.λ.] I feel little doubt that the true reading is νόμον; and for τοὺς νόμους, τὸν νοῦν μόνους. 'He who would have law rule, wishes for the rule of God and reason only; whereas he who would have a man supreme, brings in the element of the animal.' The correction is sanctioned by several editors, and by Spengel, p. 44. note 39.

ἄρχοντας] 'when in power.'

ἐπανορθοῦσθαι δίδωσιν, ὅ τι ἂν δόξῃ πειρωμένοις ἄμεινον εἶναι τῶν κειμένων. ὁ μὲν οὖν τὸν νόμον κελεύων ἄρχειν δοκεῖ κελεύειν ἄρχειν τὸν θεὸν καὶ τὸν νοῦν μόνους[a], ὁ δ' ἄνθρωπον κελεύων προστίθησι καὶ θηρίον· ἥ τε γὰρ ἐπιθυμία τοιοῦτον, καὶ ὁ θυμὸς ἄρχοντας διαστρέφει καὶ τοὺς ἀρίστους ἄνδρας. διόπερ ἄνευ ὀρέξεως νοῦς ὁ νόμος ἐστίν. Absolute monarchy.

Τὸ δὲ τῶν τεχνῶν εἶναι δοκεῖ παράδειγμα ψεῦδος, ὅτι τὸ 6
κατὰ γράμματα ἰατρεύεσθαι φαῦλον, ἀλλὰ καὶ αἱρετώτερον χρῆσθαι τοῖς ἔχουσι τὰς τέχνας. οἱ μὲν γὰρ οὐδὲν διὰ 7
φιλίαν παρὰ τὸν λόγον ποιοῦσιν, ἀλλ' ἄρνυνται τὸν μισθὸν τοὺς κάμνοντας ὑγιάσαντες· οἱ δ' ἐν ταῖς πολιτικαῖς ἀρχαῖς πολλὰ πρὸς ἐπήρειαν καὶ χάριν εἰώθασι πράττειν, ἐπεὶ καὶ τοὺς ἰατροὺς ὅταν ὑποπτεύωσι πιστευθέντας τοῖς ἐχθροῖς διαφθείρειν διὰ κέρδος, τότε τὴν ἐκ τῶν γραμμάτων θεραπείαν ζητήσαιεν ἂν μᾶλλον. ἀλλὰ μὴν εἰσάγονταί γ' ἐφ' 8 1287 B
ἑαυτοὺς οἱ ἰατροὶ κάμνοντες ἄλλους ἰατροὺς καὶ οἱ παιδοτρίβαι γυμναζόμενοι παιδοτρίβας, ὡς οὐ δυνάμενοι κρίνειν τὸ ἀληθὲς διὰ τὸ κρίνειν περί τε οἰκείων καὶ ἐν πάθει ὄντες. ὥστε δῆλον ὅτι τὸ δίκαιον ζητοῦντες τὸ μέσον ζητοῦσιν· ὁ γὰρ νόμος τὸ μέσον. ἔτι κυριώτεροι καὶ περὶ κυριωτέρων, 9
τῶν κατὰ γράμματα νόμων, οἱ κατὰ τὰ ἔθη εἰσίν, ὥστε τῶν κατὰ γράμματα ἄνθρωπος ἄρχων ἀσφαλέστερος, ἀλλ' οὐ τῶν κατὰ τὸ ἔθος. ἀλλὰ μὴν οὐδὲ ῥᾴδιον ἐφορᾶν πολλὰ τὸν ἕνα· δεήσει ἄρα πλείονας εἶναι τοὺς ὑπ' αὐτοῦ καθιστα-

[a] νοῦν—τοὺς νόμους Bekker.

ὀρέξεως] The term includes θυμός and ἐπιθυμία—ὀρεκτικὸν μέρος.

7 πρὸς ἐπήρειαν] 'for the annoyance of others.'

8 ἀλλὰ μὴν] 'Nor is it to be forgotten, that in point of fact physicians call in other physicians.'

περὶ οἰκείων] above, IX. II.

ὥστε δῆλον] 'So that it is clear that when men are seeking for what is just they look for that which is in the mean.'

9 οἱ κατὰ τὰ ἔθη] The written laws of a nation are never more than the imperfect transcript of the unwritten laws, its manners, its customs, its modes of social existence. And they are only powerful in proportion as they are the transcript of these. Compare Ch. Comte, *Traité de Législation*, Liv. II. Tom. I. p. 289.

ἀλλὰ μὴν] Another objection. Practically the power cannot be in one man, it is as well to recognise this at once. Again, two good men are better than one.

Absolute monarchy.

μένους ἄρχοντας, ὥστε τί διαφέρει τοῦτο ἐξ ἀρχῆς εὐθὺς ὑπάρχειν ἢ τὸν ἕνα καταστῆσαι τοῦτον τὸν τρόπον; ἔτι, ὃ
10 καὶ πρότερον εἰρημένον ἐστίν, εἴπερ ὁ ἀνὴρ ὁ σπουδαῖος, διότι βελτίων, ἄρχειν δίκαιος, τοῦ δὲ ἑνὸς οἱ δύο ἀγαθοὶ βελτίους· τοῦτο γάρ ἐστι τὸ

σύν τε δύ' ἐρχομένω

καὶ ἡ εὐχὴ τοῦ Ἀγαμέμνονος,

τοιοῦτοι δέκα μοι συμφράδμονες.

εἰσὶ δὲ καὶ νῦν περὶ ἐνίων αἱ ἀρχαὶ κύριαι κρίνειν, ὥσπερ ὁ δικαστής, περὶ ὧν ὁ νόμος ἀδυνατεῖ διορίζειν, ἐπεὶ περὶ ὧν δυνατός, οὐδεὶς ἀμφισβητεῖ περὶ τούτων ὡς οὐκ ἂν ἄριστα
11 ὁ νόμος ἄρξειε καὶ κρίνειεν. ἀλλ' ἐπειδὴ τὰ μὲν ἐνδέχεται περιληφθῆναι τοῖς νόμοις τὰ δ' ἀδύνατα, ταῦτ' ἐστὶν ἃ ποιεῖ διαπορεῖν καὶ ζητεῖν πότερον τὸν ἄριστον νόμον ἄρχειν αἱρετώτερον ἢ τὸν ἄνδρα τὸν ἄριστον. περὶ ὧν γὰρ βουλεύονται νομοθετῆσαι τῶν ἀδυνάτων ἐστίν. οὐ τοίνυν τοῦτό γ' ἀντιλέγουσιν, ὡς οὐκ ἀναγκαῖον ἄνθρωπον εἶναι τὸν κρινοῦντα περὶ τῶν τοιούτων, ἀλλ' ὅτι οὐχ ἕνα μόνον ἀλλὰ
12 πολλούς. κρίνει γὰρ ἕκαστος ἄρχων πεπαιδευμένος ὑπὸ τοῦ νόμου καλῶς, ἄτοπον δ' ἴσως ἂν εἶναι δόξειεν εἰ βέλτιον ἴδοι τις δυοῖν ὄμμασι καὶ δυσὶν ἀκοαῖς κρίνων, καὶ πράττων δυσὶ ποσὶ καὶ χερσίν, ἢ πολλοὶ πολλοῖς, ἐπεὶ καὶ νῦν ὀφθαλμοὺς πολλοὺς οἱ μόναρχοι ποιοῦσιν αὑτῶν καὶ ὦτα καὶ χεῖρας καὶ πόδας. τοὺς γὰρ τῇ ἀρχῇ καὶ αὑτοῦ φίλους
13 ποιοῦνται συνάρχους. μὴ φίλοι μὲν οὖν ὄντες οὐ ποιήσουσι κατὰ τὴν τοῦ μονάρχου προαίρεσιν· εἰ δὲ φίλοι κἀκείνου καὶ τῆς ἀρχῆς, ὅ γε φίλος ἴσος καὶ ὅμοιος· ὥστ' εἰ τούτους

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10 *τοῦ δὲ ἑνός*] The *δέ* marks the apodosis, 'then than the one two are better.' *Il.* x. 224. II. 372.

11 *περιληφθῆναι*] 'can be embraced by the law.'

περὶ ὧν γὰρ βουλεύονται] *Eth.* III. 5. p. 1112, 18.

12 *καλῶς*] to be taken with *κρίνει*.

αὑτοῦ] The Scholiast on the expression in Aristophanes, *Acharn.* 92, *τὸν βασιλέως ὀφθαλμόν*, reads *αὑτοῖς* when quoting this passage; but looking at the *ἐκείνου* in the next line but one, it seems unnecessary to make any change. *αὑτοῦ* must mean the monarch himself.

13 *μὴ φίλοι*] 'If not friends, they are not safe; if friends, they are equal and like.' *ὅ γε φίλος*, 'The friend, it must be allowed, is equal and like.'

Absolute monarchy.

οἴεται δεῖν ἄρχειν, τοὺς ἴσους καὶ ὁμοίους ἄρχειν οἴεται δεῖν
ὁμοίως. ἃ μὲν οὖν οἱ διαμφισβητοῦντες πρὸς τὴν βασι-
λείαν λέγουσι, σχεδὸν ταῦτ' ἐστίν. Ἀλλ' ἴσως ταῦτ' ἐπὶ 17
μέν τινων ἔχει τὸν τρόπον τοῦτον, ἐπὶ δέ τινων οὐχ οὕτως.
ἔστι γάρ τι φύσει δεσποστὸν καὶ ἄλλο βασιλευτὸν καὶ
ἄλλο πολιτικὸν καὶ δίκαιον καὶ συμφέρον· τυραννικὸν δ' οὐκ
ἔστι κατὰ φύσιν, οὐδὲ τῶν ἄλλων πολιτειῶν ὅσαι παρεκβά-
σεις εἰσίν· ταῦτα γὰρ γίγνεται παρὰ φύσιν. ἀλλ' ἐκ τῶν
εἰρημένων γε φανερὸν ὡς ἐν μὲν τοῖς ὁμοίοις καὶ ἴσοις οὔτε 1288
συμφέρον ἐστὶν οὔτε δίκαιον ἕνα κύριον εἶναι πάντων, οὔτε
μὴ νόμων ὄντων, ἀλλ' αὐτὸν ὡς ὄντα νόμον, οὔτε νόμων
ὄντων, οὔτε ἀγαθὸν ἀγαθῶν οὔτε μὴ ἀγαθῶν μὴ ἀγαθόν,
οὐδ' ἂν κατ' ἀρετὴν ἀμείνων ᾖ, εἰ μὴ τρόπον τινά. τίς δ' 3
ὁ τρόπος, λεκτέον· εἴρηται δέ πως ἤδη καὶ πρότερον. πρῶ-
τον δὲ διοριστέον τί τὸ βασιλευτὸν καὶ τί τὸ ἀριστοκρατι-
κὸν καὶ τί τὸ πολιτικόν. Βασιλευτὸν μὲν οὖν τὸ τοιοῦτόν 4
ἐστι πλῆθος ὃ πέφυκε φέρειν γένος ὑπερέχον κατ' ἀρετὴν
πρὸς ἡγεμονίαν πολιτικήν, ἀριστοκρατικὸν δὲ πλῆθος ὃ πέ-
φυκε φέρειν πλῆθος ἄρχεσθαι δυνάμενον τὴν τῶν ἐλευθέρων
ἀρχὴν ὑπὸ τῶν κατ' ἀρετὴν ἡγεμονικῶν πρὸς πολιτικὴν ἀρ-

ὁμοίως] 'equally with himself.'

ἃ μὲν οὖν] Here end the *ἀπορίαι* or discussions, which began in § 2, and Aristotle speaks in his own person in the next chapter throughout.

XVII. 1 *καὶ δίκαιον καὶ συμφέρον*] The simplest way of taking this passage is, with Stahr, to supply *πλῆθος* with *τι*. 'There are men who properly are to be governed as slaves, others who require kingly government, others a free constitution; and in each of these cases the relation is just and for the interest of both parties. There are none who are properly the subjects of a tyrant, or members of the other constitutions—in these cases the relation is not just, nor for the interest of both.'

2 *ἀλλ' ἐκ τῶν, κ.τ.λ.*] 'Allowing for the fact of this difference, it seems at any rate clearly proved from what we have said.'

αὐτὸν ὡς ὄντα νόμον] Compare III. XIII. 14.

εἰ μὴ τρόπον τινά] 'except in one certain case,' the case provided for XIII. 25, and below, § 5, the case in which the virtue of the individual is equal to the virtue of the collective body of citizens.

4 *βασιλευτὸν μὲν οὖν, κ.τ.λ.*] This passage, though apparently redundant and susceptible of improvement by pruning, may yet be construed, as it is, and though Stahr omits parts, I am inclined to retain it entire.

φέρειν γένος] 'To bear or produce a race.'

Monarchy.

ὃν δέ κ' ἐγὼν ἀπάνευθε μάχης,— —οὔ οἱ—
ἄρκιον ἐσσεῖται φυγέειν κύνας ἠδ' οἰωνούς·
(πὰρ γὰρ ἐμοὶ θάνατος.)

ἓν μὲν οὖν τοῦτ' εἶδος βασιλείας, στρατηγία διὰ βίου· τού-
6 των δ' αἱ μὲν κατὰ γένος εἰσίν, αἱ δ' αἱρεταί. Παρὰ ταύτην δ' ἄλλο μοναρχίας εἶδος, οἷαι παρ' ἐνίοις εἰσὶ βασιλεῖαι τῶν βαρβάρων. ἔχουσι δ' αὗται τὴν δύναμιν πᾶσαι παραπλησίαν τυραννικῇ, εἰσὶ δ' ὅμως κατὰ νόμον καὶ πατρικαί· διὰ γὰρ τὸ δουλικώτεροι εἶναι τὰ ἤθη φύσει οἱ μὲν βάρβαροι τῶν Ἑλλήνων, οἱ δὲ περὶ τὴν Ἀσίαν τῶν περὶ τὴν Εὐρώπην, ὑπομένουσι τὴν δεσποτικὴν ἀρχὴν οὐδὲν δυσ-
7 χεραίνοντες. τυραννικαὶ μὲν οὖν διὰ τὸ τοιοῦτόν εἰσιν, ἀσφαλεῖς δὲ διὰ τὸ πάτριαι καὶ κατὰ νόμον εἶναι. καὶ ἡ φυλακὴ δὲ βασιλικὴ καὶ οὐ τυραννικὴ διὰ τὴν αὐτὴν αἰτίαν· οἱ γὰρ πολῖται φυλάττουσιν ὅπλοις τοὺς βασιλεῖς, τοὺς δὲ τυράννους ξενικόν. οἱ μὲν γὰρ κατὰ νόμον καὶ ἑκόντων, οἱ δ' ἀκόντων ἄρχουσιν, ὥσθ' οἱ μὲν παρὰ τῶν πολιτῶν οἱ δ' ἐπὶ τοὺς πολίτας ἔχουσι τὴν φυλακήν. δύο μὲν οὖν εἴδη ταῦτα μοναρχίας, ἕτερον δ' ὅπερ ἦν ἐν τοῖς ἀρχαίοις Ἕλλησιν, οὓς καλοῦσιν αἰσυμνήτας. ἔστι δὲ τοῦθ' ὡς ἁπλῶς

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word for the Homeric times, as applied to the *βουλή* of the chiefs. But did Aristotle recognise, as clearly as modern writers do, the difference between the political system of his day and that of earlier times? Did he not suffer the language of his own times to colour that which he applied to earlier times?

5 *Il.* II. 391.

πὰρ γὰρ ἐμοὶ θάνατος] This, as Mr Grote remarks, II. 86, is not in our present copies. "The Alexandrian critics," he adds, "effaced many traces of old manners."

κατὰ γένος] 'hereditary.'

6 *παρ' ἐνίοις τῶν βαρβάρων*] is the order.

ἔχουσι δ' αὗται] 'In all of these the power is very similar to that in a tyranny.' On this language, as applicable to the Oriental empires, whether ancient or modern, see Mr Cornewall Lewis' remarks, *On Authority in Matters of Opinion*, pp. 192, 3.

δουλικώτεροι τὰ ἤθη] Comp. below, IV. (VII.) 7, on this distinction of races.

οὐδὲν δυσχεραίνοντες] 'æquo animo,' 'cheerfully.'

7 *ἡ φυλακή*] 'The guards they employ:' compare, for the prominent position given to this subject, the expression, *Rhet.* I. viii. 5, *τυραννίδος τέλος φυλακή*.

8 *αἰσυμνήτας*] On this officer, analogous to the Roman dictator, comp. Grote, III. 86; Thirlw. I. 401, "At Cuma and in other cities, this was the title of an ordinary magistracy, pro-

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εἰπεῖν αἱρετὴ τυραννις, διαφέρουσα δὲ τῆς βαρβαρικῆς οὐ
τῷ μὴ κατὰ νόμον ἀλλὰ τῷ μὴ πάτριος εἶναι μόνον. ἦρχον 9
δ' οἱ μὲν διὰ βίου τὴν ἀρχὴν ταύτην, οἱ δὲ μέχρι τινῶν
ὡρισμένων χρόνων ἢ πράξεων, οἷον εἵλοντό ποτε Μιτυλη-
ναῖοι Πιττακὸν πρὸς τοὺς φυγάδας ὧν προειστήκεσαν Ἀν-
τιμενίδης καὶ Ἀλκαῖος ὁ ποιητής. δηλοῖ δ' Ἀλκαῖος ὅτι 10
τύραννον εἵλοντο τὸν Πιττακὸν ἔν τινι τῶν σκολιῶν μελῶν·
ἐπιτιμᾷ γὰρ ὅτι

τὸν κακοπάτριδα
Πιττακὸν πόλεως τᾶς ἀχόλω καὶ βαρυδαίμονος 1285 B
ἐστάσαντο τύραννον μέγ' ἐπαινέοντες ἀολλέες.

αὗται μὲν οὖν εἰσί τε καὶ ἦσαν διὰ μὲν τὸ τυραννικαὶ εἶναι 11
δεσποτικαί, διὰ δὲ τὸ αἱρεταὶ καὶ ἑκόντων βασιλικαί. Τέ-
ταρτον δ' εἶδος μοναρχίας βασιλικῆς αἱ κατὰ τοὺς ἡρωϊκοὺς
χρόνους ἑκούσιαί τε καὶ πάτριαι γιγνόμεναι κατὰ νόμον.
διὰ γὰρ τὸ τοὺς πρώτους γενέσθαι τοῦ πλήθους εὐεργέτας 12
κατὰ τέχνας ἢ πόλεμον, ἢ διὰ τὸ συναγαγεῖν ἢ πορίσαι
χώραν, ἐγίγνοντο βασιλεῖς ἑκόντων καὶ τοῖς παραλαμβά-
νουσι πάτριοι. κύριοι δ' ἦσαν τῆς τε κατὰ πόλεμον ἡγε-
μονίας καὶ τῶν θυσιῶν, ὅσαι μὴ ἱερατικαί, καὶ πρὸς τούτοις
τὰς δίκας ἔκρινον. τοῦτο δ' ἐποίουν οἱ μὲν οὐκ ὀμνύοντες,
οἱ δ' ὀμνύοντες· ὁ δ' ὅρκος ἦν τοῦ σκήπτρου ἐπανάτασις.
οἱ μὲν οὖν ἐπὶ τῶν ἀρχαίων χρόνων καὶ τὰ κατὰ πόλιν 13

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bably of that which succeeded the hereditary monarchy; but, when applied to an extraordinary office, it was equivalent to the title of protector or dictator."

9 *μέχρι τινῶν, κ.τ.λ.*] 'for some definite time named, or for some specified objects.' "Pittacus of Mitylene is the prominent instance." Grote, III. 27, and later, pp. 267, 8.

10 *εἵλοντο*] The stress lies on this word.

σκολιῶν] *σκολίων*, see L. and S.

Alcæus, Fragm. 37, Bergk, 1st Ed. p. 579. The readings there are, *πόλιος* for *πόλεως*; *ζαχόλω* for *ἀχόλω*; *ἐπαίνεντες* for *ἐπαινέοντες*; *ἀχόλω*, 'lacking gall,' *ζαχόλω* is the contrary.

11 They were for the good of those who submitted to them, and consequently not tyrannical.

12 *κατὰ τέχνας*] 'in teaching them arts.'

ὅσαι μὴ ἱερατικαί] 'with the exception of those that required a priest.'

τοῦ σκήπτρου ἐπανάτασις] *Il.* x. 321.

13 The first *καί* I should leave out with St Hilaire. If kept: 'They administered without exception the affairs of the state, whether in the city itself, or in the country, or abroad.' If left out, then it is: 'They admi-

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καὶ τὰ ἔνδημα καὶ τὰ ὑπερόρια συνεχῶς ἦρχον· ὕστερον δὲ τὰ μὲν αὐτῶν παριέντων τῶν βασιλέων, τὰ δὲ τῶν ὄχλων παραιρουμένων, ἐν μὲν ταῖς ἄλλαις πόλεσι θυσίαι κατελείφθησαν τοῖς βασιλεῦσι μόνον, ὅπου δ' ἄξιον εἰπεῖν εἶναι βασιλείαν, ἐν τοῖς ὑπερορίοις τῶν πολεμικῶν τὴν ἡγεμονίαν μόνον εἶχον.

14 Βασιλείας μὲν οὖν εἴδη ταῦτα, τέτταρα τὸν ἀριθμόν, [μία μὲν ἡ περὶ τοὺς ἡρωϊκοὺς χρόνους (αὕτη δ' ἦν ἑκόντων μέν, ἐπί τισι δ' ὡρισμένοις· στρατηγὸς γὰρ ἦν καὶ δικαστὴς ὁ βασιλεύς, καὶ τῶν πρὸς τοὺς θεοὺς κύριος), δευτέρα δ' ἡ βαρβαρική (αὕτη δ' ἐστὶν ἐκ γένους ἀρχὴ δεσποτικὴ κατὰ νόμον), τρίτη δ' ἣν αἰσυμνητείαν προσαγορεύουσιν (αὕτη δ' ἐστὶν αἱρετὴ τυραννίς), τετάρτη δ' ἡ Λακωνικὴ τούτων· αὕτη δ' ἐστὶν ὡς εἰπεῖν ἁπλῶς στρατηγία κατὰ γένος ἀΐδιος.
15 Αὗται μὲν οὖν τοῦτον τὸν τρόπον διαφέρουσιν ἀλλήλων,] πέμπτον δ' εἶδος βασιλείας, ὅταν ᾖ πάντων κύριος εἷς ὤν, ὥσπερ ἕκαστον ἔθνος καὶ πόλις ἑκάστη τῶν κοινῶν, τεταγμένη κατὰ τὴν οἰκονομικήν· ὥσπερ γὰρ ἡ οἰκονομικὴ βασιλεία τις οἰκίας ἐστίν, οὕτως ἡ βασιλεία πόλεως καὶ ἔθνους ἑνὸς ἢ πλειόνων οἰκονομία. σχεδὸν δὴ δύο ἐστὶν ὡς εἰπεῖν

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nistered the affairs of the state, both at home and abroad.'

θυσίαι κατελείφθησαν] as at Athens, Cyrene, Rome. Compare also the case of Mæandrius, at Samos. Herod. III. 142.

ἐν τοῖς ὑπερορίοις] 'in foreign affairs they had no more than the command of the army,' as distinct from the general foreign policy.

14 From *μία* to *ἀλλήλων* in § 15, I have enclosed in brackets, not meaning to say it is not genuine, not in fact attaching any importance to it, but simply to clear it out as unnecessary.

ἐπί τισι δ' ὡρισμένοις] This recalls the expression of Thucydides, I. 13, *ἐπὶ ῥητοῖς γέρασι πατρικαὶ βασιλεῖαι*.

ἐκ γένους] = *κατὰ γένος*.

τούτων] sc. *τῶν κατὰ νόμον*. Is the enumeration Aristotle's, with the explanations added in later?

15 *ὅταν ᾖ πάντων, κ.τ.λ.*] 'When the sovereignty, with all that it implies, resides in one, and he has at his disposal all that is national, just as each tribe or each state is supreme in regard to its national property.'

τεταγμένη] to justify this feminine we must consider *εἶδος βασιλείας* as equivalent to *βασιλεία*, 'standing over against, corresponding in the political world, to the rule of the master of a household in the family life.'

XV. 1 *σχεδὸν δή*] It may be said then that there are really but two species of kingly government. In putting the Laconian so low, Mr Grote, II. 104, note, thinks that Ari-

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εἴδη βασιλείας περὶ ὧν σκεπτέον, αὕτη τε καὶ ἡ Λακωνική.
τῶν γὰρ ἄλλων αἱ πολλαὶ μεταξὺ τούτων εἰσίν· ἐλαττόνων
μὲν γὰρ κύριοι τῆς παμβασιλείας, πλειόνων δ' εἰσὶ τῆς Λα-
κωνικῆς. ὥστε τὸ σκέμμα σχεδὸν περὶ δυοῖν ἐστίν, ἓν μὲν 2
πότερον συμφέρει ταῖς πόλεσι στρατηγὸν ἀΐδιον εἶναι, καὶ
τοῦτον ἢ κατὰ γένος ἢ κατὰ μέρος, ἢ οὐ συμφέρει· ἓν δὲ
πότερον ἕνα συμφέρει κύριον εἶναι πάντων, ἢ οὐ συμφέρει.
τὸ μὲν οὖν περὶ τῆς τοιαύτης στρατηγίας ἐπισκοπεῖν νόμων 1286
ἔχει μᾶλλον εἶδος ἢ πολιτείας· ἐν ἁπάσαις γὰρ ἐνδέχεται
γίγνεσθαι τοῦτο ταῖς πολιτείαις· ὥστ' ἀφείσθω τὴν πρώ-
την. ὁ δὲ λοιπὸς τρόπος τῆς βασιλείας πολιτείας εἶδός 3
ἐστιν, ὥστε περὶ τούτου δεῖ θεωρῆσαι καὶ τὰς ἀπορίας ἐπι-
δραμεῖν τὰς ἐνούσας. Ἀρχὴ δ' ἐστὶ τῆς ζητήσεως αὕτη,

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πότερον συμφέρει μᾶλλον ὑπὸ τοῦ ἀρίστου ἀνδρὸς ἄρχε-
σθαι ἢ ὑπὸ τῶν ἀρίστων νόμων. δοκοῦσι δὴ τοῖς νομίζουσι 4
συμφέρειν βασιλεύεσθαι τὸ καθόλου μόνον οἱ νόμοι λέγειν,
ἀλλ' οὐ πρὸς τὰ προσπίπτοντα ἐπιτάττειν, ὥστ' ἐν ὁποιᾳ-
οῦν τέχνῃ τὸ κατὰ γράμματ' ἄρχειν ἠλίθιον· καὶ ἐν Αἰ-
γύπτῳ μετὰ τὴν τετρήμερον κινεῖν ἔξεστι τοῖς ἰατροῖς, ἐὰν
δὲ πρότερον, ἐπὶ τῷ αὐτοῦ κινδύνῳ. φανερὸν τοίνυν ὡς
οὐκ ἔστιν ἡ κατὰ γράμματα καὶ νόμους ἀρίστη πολιτεία
διὰ τὴν αὐτὴν αἰτίαν. Ἀλλὰ μὴν κἀκεῖνον δεῖ ὑπάρχειν 5

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stotle underrates the estimation in which the regal dignity was held at Sparta.

2 κατὰ μέρος] This is confessedly difficult. Stahr does not change the reading, but construes it as if it were αἱρετόν, which, looking at Ch. XIV. 5, I confess, appears to me the best reading, better than κατ' ἀρετήν. St Hilaire, 'électif,' but without changing the text.

νόμων ἔχει μᾶλλον εἶδος] 'is rather a question of institutions than of a constitution.'

τὴν πρώτην] "fürerst," Stahr; 'at once,' 'at first,' 'in the beginning,' Matthiæ, *Gr. Gr.* § 425, 5. Xen. *Mem.* III. vi. 10.

4 δοκοῦσι δή] 'It is the opinion then of those who,' &c.

πρὸς τὰ προσπίπτοντα] 'with reference to circumstances as they arise.'

κατὰ γράμματα ἄρχειν] 'to be bound by the strict letter of the rule.'

Αἰγύπτῳ] Herod. II. 84.

μετὰ τὴν τετρήμερον] 'After the fourth day to change the treatment.'

5 ἀλλὰ μήν] 'But,' says Aristotle in reply, 'in any case the ruler must be supposed to have that universal principle, which finds its expression in law.' He cannot be governing, merely guided by circumstances as they change.

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τὸν λόγον τὸν καθόλου τοῖς ἄρχουσιν· κρεῖττον δ' ᾧ μὴ
πρόσεστι τὸ παθητικὸν ὅλως ἢ ᾧ συμφυές. τῷ μὲν οὖν
νόμῳ τοῦτο οὐχ ὑπάρχει, ψυχὴν δ' ἀνθρωπίνην ἀνάγκη
τοῦτ' ἔχειν πᾶσαν. Ἀλλ' ἴσως ἂν φαίη τις ὡς ἀντὶ τού-
6 του βουλεύσεται περὶ τῶν καθ' ἕκαστα κάλλιον. ὅτι μὲν
τοίνυν ἀνάγκη νομοθέτην αὐτὸν εἶναι, δῆλον, καὶ κεῖσθαι
νόμους, ἀλλὰ μὴ κυρίους ᾗ παρεκβαίνουσιν, ἐπεὶ περὶ τῶν
γ' ἄλλων εἶναι δεῖ κυρίους. ὅσα δὲ μὴ δυνατὸν τὸν νόμον
κρίνειν ἢ ὅλως ἢ εὖ, πότερον ἕνα τὸν ἄριστον δεῖ ἄρχειν ἢ
7 πάντας; καὶ γὰρ νῦν συνιόντες δικάζουσι καὶ βουλεύονται
καὶ κρίνουσιν, αὗται δ' αἱ κρίσεις εἰσὶ πᾶσαι περὶ τῶν καθ'
ἕκαστον. καθ' ἕνα μὲν οὖν συμβαλλόμενος ὁστισοῦν ἴσως
χείρων· ἀλλ' ἐστὶν ἡ πόλις ἐκ πολλῶν, ὥσπερ ἑστίασις
συμφορητὸς καλλίων μιᾶς καὶ ἁπλῆς. διὰ τοῦτο καὶ κρίνει
8 ἄμεινον ὄχλος πολλὰ ἢ εἷς ὁστισοῦν. ἔτι μᾶλλον ἀδιά-
φθορον τὸ πολύ· καθάπερ ὕδωρ τὸ πλεῖον, οὕτω καὶ τὸ
πλῆθος τῶν ὀλίγων ἀδιαφθορώτερον· τοῦ δ' ἑνὸς ὑπ' ὀργῆς
κρατηθέντος ἤ τινος ἑτέρου πάθους τοιούτου ἀναγκαῖον
διεφθάρθαι τὴν κρίσιν· ἐκεῖ δ' ἔργον ἅμα πάντας ὀργισθῆ-

κρεῖττον δέ] 'and there is an advantage in having that which is absolutely exempt from passion, rather than that in which passion is inherent.' Compare the language of the young patricians in Livy, II. 3, "Regem hominem esse...Leges rem surdam, inexorabilem," &c.

τοῦτο] sc. τὸ παθητικόν.

ἀντὶ τούτου] 'To compensate for this objection.'

6 νομοθέτην] equivalent to τὸν λόγον τὸν καθόλου ὑπάρχειν, above.

κυρίους ᾗ παρεκβαίνουσιν] "wo sie rom Rechten abirren," Stahr. "Là où elles se taisent," St Hil. "Qua parte recta via migrant," Vict. 'In exceptional cases,' is the meaning I attach to the expression, but it is difficult. So far forth as there naturally occur cases in which men's conduct cannot be brought under the general statement. The undeviating language of the law cannot accommodate itself to the infinite variety of human actions.

7 καὶ γὰρ νῦν, κ.τ.λ.] "Experience is in favour of the latter, for, &c." Stahr.

8 ἐκεῖ δέ] 'But with the many, it is difficult for all at once to be angry, and form an erroneous judgment.' On this passage, compare Mr Grote's remarks, IV. 505, on the effect of large assemblies, "which is, to inflame sentiment in every man's bosom by mere contact with a sympathising circle of neighbours." He adds in a note, "It is remarkable that Aristotle, in his *Politica*, takes little or no notice of this attribute belonging to every numerous assembly. He seems

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ναι καὶ ἁμαρτεῖν· ἔστω δὲ τὸ πλῆθος οἱ ἐλεύθεροι, μηδὲν
παρὰ τὸν νόμον πράττοντες, ἀλλ' ἢ περὶ ὧν ἐκλείπειν ἀναγ-
καῖον αὐτόν. εἰ δὲ δὴ τοῦτο μὴ ῥᾴδιον ἐν πολλοῖς, ἀλλ' εἰ 9
πλείους εἶεν ἀγαθοὶ καὶ ἄνδρες καὶ πολῖται, πότερον ὁ εἷς
ἀδιαφθορώτερος ἄρχων, ἢ μᾶλλον οἱ πλείους μὲν τὸν ἀριθ-
μὸν ἀγαθοὶ δὲ πάντες; ἢ δῆλον ὡς οἱ πλείους; Ἀλλ' οἱ 1286 b
μὲν στασιάζουσιν, ὁ δ' εἷς ἀστασίαστος. ἀλλὰ πρὸς τοῦτ' 10
ἀντιθετέον ἴσως ὅτι σπουδαῖοι τὴν ψυχήν, ὥσπερ κἀκεῖνος
ὁ εἷς. εἰ δὴ τὴν μὲν τῶν πλειόνων ἀρχὴν ἀγαθῶν δ' ἀνδρῶν
πάντων ἀριστοκρατίαν θετέον, τὴν δὲ τοῦ ἑνὸς βασιλείαν,
αἱρετώτερον ἂν εἴη ταῖς πόλεσιν ἀριστοκρατία βασιλείας,
καὶ μετὰ δυνάμεως καὶ χωρὶς δυνάμεως οὔσης τῆς ἀρχῆς, ἂν
ᾖ λαβεῖν πλείους ὁμοίους. καὶ διὰ τοῦτ' ἴσως ἐβασιλεύοντο 11
πρότερον, ὅτι σπάνιον ἦν εὑρεῖν ἄνδρας πολὺ διαφέροντας
κατ' ἀρετήν, ἄλλως τε καὶ τότε μικρὰς οἰκοῦντας πόλεις.
ἔτι δ' ἀπ' εὐεργεσίας καθίστασαν τοὺς βασιλεῖς, ὅπερ ἐστὶν
ἔργον τῶν ἀγαθῶν ἀνδρῶν. ἐπεὶ δὲ συνέβαινε γίγνεσθαι
πολλοὺς ὁμοίους πρὸς ἀρετήν, οὐκέτι ὑπέμενον ἀλλ' ἐζήτουν
κοινόν τι καὶ πολιτείαν καθίστασαν. ἐπεὶ δὲ χείρους γιγνό- 12
μενοι ἐχρηματίζοντο ἀπὸ τῶν κοινῶν, ἐντεῦθέν ποθεν εὔλο-

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rather to reason as if the aggregate intelligence of the multitude was represented by the sum total of each man's separate intelligence in all the individuals composing it, just as the property of the multitude, taken collectively, would be greater than that of the few rich."

9 ἔστω δέ, κ.τ.λ.] 'But let us assume that our people is composed of the free citizens, and that they never act in violation of the law, and only act without it when it, from its nature, must fail them as a guide.'

10 ἀλλὰ πρὸς τοῦτο] You state that the one man is not liable to the evil the many are liable to, that of dissension. True, but for the argument's sake, you must assume the many to be good, as good as the one.

11 καὶ μετὰ δυνάμεως] 'whether it be provided or not with a force to compel obedience.'

σπάνιον ἦν] "He suspects that in such small communities great merit was very rare, so that the chief had few competitors." Grote, II. 89.

ὅπερ] sc. εὐεργεσία—ἀρετὴ is δύναμις εὐεργετικὴ — ποριστικὴ ἀγαθῶν καὶ φυλακτική. *Rhet.* I. ix. 4. p. 1366, 36.

ἐπεὶ δέ] "i.e. after the early kings had had their day." Grote, III. 23, note.

κοινόν τι] 'a commune.' The object of the European towns in the 12th century.

12 This passage valuable as to the order of succession of governments in the Greek states, oligarchy, tyranny, democracy. Comp. Grote, III. 22, 23.

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γον γενέσθαι τὰς ὀλιγαρχίας· ἔντιμον γὰρ ἐποίησαν τὸν πλοῦτον. ἐκ δὲ τούτων πρῶτον εἰς τυραννίδας μετέβαλλον, ἐκ δὲ τῶν τυραννίδων εἰς δημοκρατίαν· ἀεὶ γὰρ εἰς ἐλάττους ἄγοντες δι' αἰσχροκέρδειαν ἰσχυρότερον τὸ πλῆθος κατέστησαν, ὥστ' ἐπιθέσθαι καὶ γενέσθαι δημοκρατίας.
13 ἐπεὶ δὲ καὶ μείζους εἶναι συμβέβηκε τὰς πόλεις, ἴσως οὐδὲ ῥᾴδιον ἔτι γίγνεσθαι πολιτείαν ἑτέραν παρὰ δημοκρατίαν. εἰ δὲ δή τις ἄριστον θείη τὸ βασιλεύεσθαι ταῖς πόλεσιν, πῶς ἕξει τὰ περὶ τῶν τέκνων; πότερον καὶ τὸ γένος δεῖ βασιλεύειν; ἀλλὰ γιγνομένων ὁποῖοί τινες ἔτυχον, βλαβε-
14 ρόν. Ἀλλ' οὐ παραδώσει κύριος ὢν τοῖς τέκνοις. ἀλλ'

13 πῶς ἕξει τὰ περὶ τῶν τέκνων] This is the great question of hereditary monarchy. It is the difficulty in *monarchical* government, wherever the word is used properly, where the king governs, and does not merely reign. In a system of constitutional fictions like our own, an aristocratical republic, presenting, for certain undefined objects, a monarchical front to the world, the question is not so important. Its importance in this latter case varies with the varying ideas of society, which will increase or limit the influence of the sovereign.

But in the case of monarchy proper, the difficulty is so great as to render it necessary to get rid of the form altogether, as soon as the political experience of the nation rejecting it, is sufficient for the change. The vicious element in the system is incurable. For it is, as it were, bound up with the idea of monarchy, that it should be hereditary. Elective monarchies are practically an idea of the past, though the experience of that past is not so wholly unfavourable to them as is generally supposed. Compare Sismondi, *Études Sociales sur les Constitutions des Peuples libres*, p. 149, and foll. Ed. 1836 Brussels.

In the Roman empire, in certain cases, the danger with regard to the successor was met by adoption, as in the case of Trajan adopted by Nerva. But though not singular, it was a rare piece of good fortune, and the philosophic Marcus Antoninus himself left Commodus as his successor. But to us as to Aristotle the question is in the main, one of theoretic and past interest. It is not probable that the Russian type will spread over Western Europe, or at any rate that it could be durable, if for argument's sake we allowed that its success for a time was not beyond reasonable probability. The more interesting question is, how long the various forms in Western Europe that affect a monarchical exterior, an Empire in France, a constitutional monarchy in England, Holland, Belgium and Piedmont, with the other powers of Western Germany, Scandinavia and the Spanish peninsula, most of them, to say the least, in a very critical position, how long they will hold their present position, what elements of strength they have, what powers dormant to remedy the apparent weakness of their position. But to state the question, is all that I wish to do here.

14 ἀλλ' οὐ παραδώσει] But, says the assertor of monarchy, though he

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οὐέτι τοῦτο ῥᾴδιον πιστεῦσαι· χαλεπὸν γάρ, καὶ μείζονος ἀρετῆς ἢ κατ' ἀνθρωπίνην φύσιν. Ἔχει δ' ἀποριαν καὶ περὶ τῆς δυνάμεως, πότερον ἔχειν δεῖ τὸν μέλλοντα βασιλεύειν ἰσχύν τινα περὶ αὑτόν, ᾗ δυνήσεται βιάζεσθαι τοὺς μὴ βουλομένους πειθαρχεῖν, ἢ πῶς ἐνδέχεται τὴν ἀρχὴν διοικεῖν; εἰ γὰρ καὶ κατὰ νόμον εἴη κύριος, μηδὲν πράττων 15
κατὰ τὴν αὑτοῦ βούλησιν παρὰ τὸν νόμον, ὅμως ἀναγκαῖον ὑπάρχειν αὐτῷ δύναμιν, ᾗ φυλάξει τοὺς νόμους. τάχα μὲν 16
οὖν τὰ περὶ τὸν βασιλέα τὸν τοιοῦτον οὐ χαλεπὸν διορίσαι· δεῖ γὰρ αὐτὸν μὲν ἔχειν ἰσχύν, εἶναι δὲ τοσαύτην τὴν ἰσχὺν ὥστε ἑκάστου μὲν καὶ ἑνὸς καὶ συμπλειόνων κρείττω, τοῦ δὲ πλήθους ἥττω, καθάπερ οἵ τ' ἀρχαῖοι τὰς φυλακὰς ἐδίδοσαν, ὅτε καθισταῖέν τινα τῆς πόλεως ὃν ἐκάλουν αἰσυμνήτην ἢ τύραννον, καὶ Διονυσίῳ τις, ὅτ' ᾔτει τοὺς φύλακας, συνεβούλευε τοῖς Συρακουσίοις διδόναι τοσούτους τοὺς φύλακας.

Περὶ δὲ τοῦ βασιλέως τοῦ κατὰ τὴν αὑτοῦ βούλησιν 16 1287
πάντα πράττοντος ὅ τε λόγος ἐφέστηκε νῦν καὶ ποιητέον τὴν σκέψιν· [Ὁ μὲν γὰρ κατὰ νόμον λεγόμενος βασιλεὺς οὐκ ἔστιν εἶδος, καθάπερ εἴπομεν, πολιτείας· ἐν πάσαις γὰρ ὑπάρχειν ἐνδέχεται στρατηγίαν ἀΐδιον, οἷον ἐν δημοκρατίᾳ καὶ ἀριστοκρατίᾳ, καὶ πολλοὶ ποιοῦσιν ἕνα κύριον τῆς διοι-

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might, he will not hand his power over to his children. That, says Aristotle, can hardly be entrusted to him. It assumes a virtue beyond man's. Domitian and Commodus are the successors of Vespasian and Marcus Antoninus. — 'Les interêts dynastiques' are extremely strong, as was clear in Louis Philippe's case, and, like true parasites, endanger the real interest of the monarch, which must be identical with that of his nation, or monarchy is absolutely indefensible.

τῆς δυνάμεως] The power to be placed in his hands, 'la force matérielle.'

15 καὶ κατὰ νόμον] 'was perfectly constitutional.'

16 τὸν τοιοῦτον] sc. τὸν κατὰ νόμον.

συμπλειόνων] 'more than one together.'

τοὺς φύλακας] 'his guards.' τοσούτους, only a sufficient number to protect him against any personal enemies, not against the people. Grote, x. 613, 614.

XVI. 1 ὁ λόγος ἐφέστηκε νῦν] 'The discussion naturally follows now.'

ὁ μὲν γὰρ . . . βασιλεύς] This passage for clearness' sake, I inclose in brackets. By so doing I wish to shew that the sense is not worse without it; the repetition is avoided, and the δοκεῖ δέ of § 2 becomes clearer.

τῆς διοικήσεως] 'of the executive.'

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χησεως· τοιαύτη γὰρ ἀρχή τίς ἐστι καὶ περὶ Ἐπίδαμνον, καὶ περὶ Ὀποῦντα δὲ κατά τι μέρος ἔλαττον.
2 περὶ δὲ τῆς παμβασιλείας καλουμένης, αὕτη δ' ἐστὶ καθ' ἣν ἄρχει πάντων κατὰ τὴν ἑαυτοῦ βούλησιν ὁ βασιλεύς,] δοκεῖ δέ τισιν οὐδὲ κατὰ φύσιν εἶναι τὸ κύριον ἕνα πάντων εἶναι τῶν πολιτῶν, ὅπου συνέστηκεν ἐξ ὁμοίων ἡ πόλις· τοῖς γὰρ ὁμοίοις φύσει τὸ αὐτὸ δίκαιον ἀναγκαῖον καὶ τὴν αὐτὴν ἀξίαν κατὰ φύσιν εἶναι, ὥστ' εἴπερ καὶ τὸ ἴσην ἔχειν τοὺς ἀνίσους τροφὴν ἢ ἐσθῆτα βλαβερὸν τοῖς σώμασιν, οὕτως ἔχει καὶ τὸ
3 περὶ τὰς τιμάς. ὁμοίως τοίνυν καὶ τὸ ἄνισον τοὺς ἴσους· διόπερ οὐδὲν μᾶλλον ἄρχειν ἢ ἄρχεσθαι δίκαιον. καὶ τὸ ἀνὰ μέρος τοίνυν ὡσαύτως· τοῦτο δ' ἤδη νόμος· ἡ γὰρ τάξις νόμος. τὸν ἄρα νόμον ἄρχειν αἱρετώτερον μᾶλλον ἢ
4 τῶν πολιτῶν ἕνα τινά. κατὰ τὸν αὐτὸν δὲ λόγον τοῦτον, κἂν εἴ τινας ἄρχειν βέλτιον, τούτους καταστατέον νομοφύλακας καὶ ὑπηρέτας τοῖς νόμοις· ἀναγκαῖον γὰρ εἶναί τινας ἀρχάς, ἀλλ' οὐχ ἕνα τοῦτον εἶναί φασι δίκαιον ὁμοίων γε ὄντων πάντων. Ἀλλὰ μὴν ὅσα γε μὴ δοκεῖ δύνασθαι διορίζειν ὁ νόμος, οὐδ' ἄνθρωπος ἂν δύναιτο γνωρίζειν. ἀλλ'
5 ἐπίτηδες παιδεύσας ὁ νόμος ἐφίστησι τὰ λοιπὰ τῇ δικαιοτάτῃ γνώμῃ κρίνειν καὶ διοικεῖν τοὺς ἄρχοντας. ἔτι δ'

ἀρχή τις περὶ Ἐπίδαμνον] the ἄρχων ὁ εἷς of VIII. (V.) I. 11. At Opus the title was Cosmopolis. Smith, *Geogr. Dict.* 796, A.

2 δοκεῖ δέ] From this to the end of the chapter is a discussion of the question aporematically.

3 καὶ τὸ ἀνὰ μέρος ὡσαύτως] Is it: 'It is just that if the government is taken in turns, it should be provided that all have their turn fairly, not one more than another'?

4 νομοφύλακας] 'mere guardians and servants of the laws.'

οὐχ ἕνα τοῦτον] 'not this one man that you speak of.'

ἀλλὰ μὴν ὅσα γε, κ.τ.λ.] The law, it is urged, cannot go into all possible detail, but neither can a man grasp all possible details—an objection.

5 'True. This is allowed for—and the law expressly trains its rulers, and then sets them to judge to the best of their judgment.'

ὁ μὲν οὖν τὸν νοῦν, κ.τ.λ.] I feel little doubt that the true reading is νόμον; and for τοὺς νόμους, τὸν νοῦν μόνους. 'He who would have law rule, wishes for the rule of God and reason only; whereas he who would have a man supreme, brings in the element of the animal.' The correction is sanctioned by several editors, and by Spengel, p. 44, note 39.

ἄρχοντας] 'when in power.'

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ἐπανορθοῦσθαι δίδωσιν, ὅ τι ἂν δόξῃ πειρωμένοις ἄμεινον εἶναι τῶν κειμένων. ὁ μὲν οὖν τὸν νόμον κελεύων ἄρχειν δοκεῖ κελεύειν ἄρχειν τὸν θεὸν καὶ τὸν νοῦν μόνους[a], ὁ δ' ἄνθρωπον κελεύων προστίθησι καὶ θηρίον· ἥ τε γὰρ ἐπιθυμία τοιοῦτον, καὶ ὁ θυμὸς ἄρχοντας διαστρέφει καὶ τοὺς ἀρίστους ἄνδρας. διόπερ ἄνευ ὀρέξεως νοῦς ὁ νόμος ἐστίν.
Τὸ δὲ τῶν τεχνῶν εἶναι δοκεῖ παράδειγμα ψεῦδος, ὅτι τὸ 6
κατὰ γράμματα ἰατρεύεσθαι φαῦλον, ἀλλὰ καὶ αἱρετώτερον
χρῆσθαι τοῖς ἔχουσι τὰς τέχνας. οἱ μὲν γὰρ οὐδὲν διὰ 7
φιλίαν παρὰ τὸν λόγον ποιοῦσιν, ἀλλ' ἄρνυνται τὸν μισθὸν τοὺς κάμνοντας ὑγιάσαντες· οἱ δ' ἐν ταῖς πολιτικαῖς ἀρχαῖς πολλὰ πρὸς ἐπήρειαν καὶ χάριν εἰώθασι πράττειν, ἐπεὶ καὶ τοὺς ἰατροὺς ὅταν ὑποπτεύωσι πιστευθέντας τοῖς ἐχθροῖς διαφθείρειν διὰ κέρδος, τότε τὴν ἐκ τῶν γραμμάτων θεραπείαν ζητήσαιεν ἂν μᾶλλον. ἀλλὰ μὴν εἰσάγονταί γ' ἐφ' 8 1287 B
ἑαυτοὺς οἱ ἰατροὶ κάμνοντες ἄλλους ἰατροὺς καὶ οἱ παιδοτρίβαι γυμναζόμενοι παιδοτρίβας, ὡς οὐ δυνάμενοι κρίνειν τὸ ἀληθὲς διὰ τὸ κρίνειν περί τε οἰκείων καὶ ἐν πάθει ὄντες. ὥστε δῆλον ὅτι τὸ δίκαιον ζητοῦντες τὸ μέσον ζητοῦσιν· ὁ γὰρ νόμος τὸ μέσον. ἔτι κυριώτεροι καὶ περὶ κυριωτέρων 9
τῶν κατὰ γράμματα νόμων οἱ κατὰ τὰ ἔθη εἰσίν, ὥστε τῶν κατὰ γράμματα ἄνθρωπος ἄρχων ἀσφαλέστερος, ἀλλ' οὐ τῶν κατὰ τὸ ἔθος. ἀλλὰ μὴν οὐδὲ ῥᾴδιον ἐφορᾶν πολλὰ τὸν ἕνα· δεήσει ἄρα πλείονας εἶναι τοὺς ὑπ' αὐτοῦ καθιστα-

[a] *νοῦν—τοὺς νόμους* Bekker.

ὀρέξεως] The term includes *θυμός* and *ἐπιθυμία—ὀρεκτικὸν μέρος.*

7 *πρὸς ἐπήρειαν*] 'for the annoyance of others.'

8 *ἀλλὰ μὴν*] 'Nor is it to be forgotten, that in point of fact physicians call in other physicians.'

περὶ οἰκείων] above, IX. II.

ὥστε δῆλον] 'So that it is clear that when men are seeking for what is just they look for that which is in the mean.'

9 *οἱ κατὰ τὰ ἔθη*] The written laws of a nation are never more than the imperfect transcript of the unwritten laws, its manners, its customs, its modes of social existence. And they are only powerful in proportion as they are the transcript of these. Compare Ch. Comte, *Traité de Législation*, Liv. II. Tom. I. p. 289.

ἀλλὰ μὴν] Another objection. Practically the power cannot be in one man, it is as well to recognise this at once. Again, two good men are better than one.

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μένους ἄρχοντας, ὥστε τί διαφέρει τοῦτο ἐξ ἀρχῆς εὐθὺς ὑπάρχειν ἢ τὸν ἕνα καταστῆσαι τοῦτον τὸν τρόπον; ἔτι, ὃ
10 καὶ πρότερον εἰρημένον ἐστίν, εἴπερ ὁ ἀνὴρ ὁ σπουδαῖος, διότι βελτίων, ἄρχειν δίκαιος, τοῦ δὲ ἑνὸς οἱ δύο ἀγαθοὶ βελτίους· τοῦτο γάρ ἐστι τὸ

σύν τε δύ' ἐρχομένω

καὶ ἡ εὐχὴ τοῦ Ἀγαμέμνονος,

τοιοῦτοι δέκα μοι συμφράδμονες.

εἰσὶ δὲ καὶ νῦν περὶ ἐνίων αἱ ἀρχαὶ κύριαι κρίνειν, ὥσπερ ὁ δικαστής, περὶ ὧν ὁ νόμος ἀδυνατεῖ διορίζειν, ἐπεὶ περὶ ὧν δυνατός, οὐδεὶς ἀμφισβητεῖ περὶ τούτων ὡς οὐκ ἂν ἄριστα
11 ὁ νόμος ἄρξειε καὶ κρίνειεν. ἀλλ' ἐπειδὴ τὰ μὲν ἐνδέχεται περιληφθῆναι τοῖς νόμοις τὰ δ' ἀδύνατα, ταῦτ' ἐστὶν ἃ ποιεῖ διαπορεῖν καὶ ζητεῖν πότερον τὸν ἄριστον νόμον ἄρχειν αἱρετώτερον ἢ τὸν ἄνδρα τὸν ἄριστον. περὶ ὧν γὰρ βουλεύονται νομοθετῆσαι τῶν ἀδυνάτων ἐστίν. οὐ τοίνυν τοῦτό γ' ἀντιλέγουσιν, ὡς οὐκ ἀναγκαῖον ἄνθρωπον εἶναι τὸν κρινοῦντα περὶ τῶν τοιούτων, ἀλλ' ὅτι οὐχ ἕνα μόνον ἀλλὰ
12 πολλούς. κρίνει γὰρ ἕκαστος ἄρχων πεπαιδευμένος ὑπὸ τοῦ νόμου καλῶς, ἄτοπον δ' ἴσως ἂν εἶναι δόξειεν εἰ βέλτιον ἴδοι τις δυοῖν ὄμμασι καὶ δυσὶν ἀκοαῖς κρίνων, καὶ πράττων δυσὶ ποσὶ καὶ χερσίν, ἢ πολλοὶ πολλοῖς, ἐπεὶ καὶ νῦν ὀφθαλμοὺς πολλοὺς οἱ μόναρχοι ποιοῦσιν αὑτῶν καὶ ὦτα καὶ χεῖρας καὶ πόδας. τοὺς γὰρ τῇ ἀρχῇ καὶ αὑτοῦ φίλους
13 ποιοῦνται συνάρχους. μὴ φίλοι μὲν οὖν ὄντες οὐ ποιήσουσι κατὰ τὴν τοῦ μονάρχου προαίρεσιν· εἰ δὲ φίλοι κἀκείνου καὶ τῆς ἀρχῆς, ὅ γε φίλος ἴσος καὶ ὅμοιος· ὥστ' εἰ τούτους

10 τοῦ δέ ἑνός] The δέ marks the apodosis, 'then than the one two are better.' *Il.* x. 224. ii. 372.

11 περιληφθῆναι] 'can be embraced by the law.'

περὶ ὧν γὰρ βουλεύονται] *Eth.* iii. 5. p. 1112, 18.

12 καλῶς] to be taken with κρίνει.

αὑτοῦ] The Scholiast on the expression in Aristophanes, *Acharn.* 92, τὸν βασιλέως ὀφθαλμόν, reads αὑτοῖς when quoting this passage; but looking at the ἐκείνου in the next line but one, it seems unnecessary to make any change. αὑτοῦ must mean the monarch himself.

13 μὴ φίλοι] 'If not friends, they are not safe; if friends, they are equal and like.' ὅ γε φίλος, 'The friend, it must be allowed, is equal and like.'

οἴεται δεῖν ἄρχειν, τοὺς ἴσους καὶ ὁμοίους ἄρχειν οἴεται δεῖν ὁμοίως. ἃ μὲν οὖν οἱ διαμφισβητοῦντες πρὸς τὴν βασιλείαν λέγουσι, σχεδὸν ταῦτ' ἐστίν. Ἀλλ' ἴσως ταῦτ' ἐπὶ 17
μέν τινων ἔχει τὸν τρόπον τοῦτον, ἐπὶ δέ τινων οὐχ οὕτως. ἔστι γάρ τι φύσει δεσποστὸν καὶ ἄλλο βασιλευτὸν καὶ ἄλλο πολιτικὸν καὶ δίκαιον καὶ συμφέρον· τυραννικὸν δ' οὐκ ἔστι κατὰ φύσιν, οὐδὲ τῶν ἄλλων πολιτειῶν ὅσαι παρεκβάσεις εἰσίν· ταῦτα γὰρ γίγνεται παρὰ φύσιν. ἀλλ' ἐκ τῶν εἰρημένων γε φανερὸν ὡς ἐν μὲν τοῖς ὁμοίοις καὶ ἴσοις οὔτε 1288
συμφέρον ἐστὶν οὔτε δίκαιον ἕνα κύριον εἶναι πάντων, οὔτε μὴ νόμων ὄντων, ἀλλ' αὐτὸν ὡς ὄντα νόμον, οὔτε νόμων ὄντων, οὔτε ἀγαθὸν ἀγαθῶν οὔτε μὴ ἀγαθῶν μὴ ἀγαθόν, οὐδ' ἂν κατ' ἀρετὴν ἀμείνων ᾖ, εἰ μὴ τρόπον τινά. τίς δ' 3
ὁ τρόπος, λεκτέον· εἴρηται δέ πως ἤδη καὶ πρότερον. πρῶτον δὲ διοριστέον τί τὸ βασιλευτὸν καὶ τί τὸ ἀριστοκρατικὸν καὶ τί τὸ πολιτικόν. Βασιλευτὸν μὲν οὖν τὸ τοιοῦτόν 4
ἐστι πλῆθος ὃ πέφυκε φέρειν γένος ὑπερέχον κατ' ἀρετὴν πρὸς ἡγεμονίαν πολιτικήν, ἀριστοκρατικὸν δὲ πλῆθος ὃ πέφυκε φέρειν πλῆθος ἄρχεσθαι δυνάμενον τὴν τῶν ἐλευθέρων ἀρχὴν ὑπὸ τῶν κατ' ἀρετὴν ἡγεμονικῶν πρὸς πολιτικὴν ἀρ-

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ὁμοίως] 'equally with himself.'

ἃ μὲν οὖν] Here end the ἀπορίαι or discussions, which began in § 2, and Aristotle speaks in his own person in the next chapter throughout.

XVII. 1 καὶ δίκαιον καὶ συμφέρον] The simplest way of taking this passage is, with Stahr, to supply πλῆθος with τι. 'There are men who properly are to be governed as slaves, others who require kingly government, others a free constitution; and in each of these cases the relation is just and for the interest of both parties. There are none who are properly the subjects of a tyrant, or members of the other constitutions—in these cases the relation is not just, nor for the interest of both.'

2 ἀλλ' ἐκ τῶν, κ.τ.λ.] 'Allowing for the fact of this difference, it seems at any rate clearly proved from what we have said.'

αὐτὸν ὡς ὄντα νόμον] Compare III. XIII. 14.

εἰ μὴ τρόπον τινά] 'except in one certain case,' the case provided for XIII. 25, and below, § 5, the case in which the virtue of the individual is equal to the virtue of the collective body of citizens.

4 βασιλευτὸν μὲν οὖν, κ.τ.λ.] This passage, though apparently redundant and susceptible of improvement by pruning, may yet be construed, as it is, and though Stahr omits parts, I am inclined to retain it entire.

φέρειν γένος] 'To bear or produce a race.'

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χήν, πολιτικὸν δὲ πλῆθος ἐν ᾧ πέφυκεν[a] ἐγγίνεσθαι πλῆθος πολεμικόν, δυνάμενον ἄρχεσθαι καὶ ἄρχειν κατὰ νόμον τὸν
5 κατ' ἀξίαν διανέμοντα τοῖς εὐπόροις τὰς ἀρχάς. ὅταν οὖν ἢ γένος ὅλον ἢ καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ἕνα τινὰ συμβῇ διαφέροντα γενέσθαι κατ' ἀρετὴν τοσοῦτον ὥσθ' ὑπερέχειν τὴν ἐκείνου τῆς τῶν ἄλλων πάντων, τότε δίκαιον τὸ γένος εἶναι τοῦτο βασιλικὸν καὶ κύριον πάντων καὶ βασιλέα τὸν ἕνα τοῦτον.
6 καθάπερ γὰρ εἴρηται πρότερον, οὐ μόνον οὕτως ἔχει κατὰ τὸ δίκαιον, ὃ προφέρειν εἰώθασιν οἱ τὰς πολιτείας καθιστάντες, οἵ τε τὰς ἀριστοκρατικὰς καὶ οἱ τὰς ὀλιγαρχικὰς καὶ πάλιν οἱ τὰς δημοκρατικάς· πάντες γὰρ καθ' ὑπεροχὴν ἀξιοῦσιν, ἀλλ' ὑπεροχὴν οὐ τὴν αὐτήν· ἀλλὰ κατὰ τὸ πρό-
7 τερον λεχθέν. οὔτε γὰρ κτείνειν ἢ φυγαδεύειν οὐδ' ὀστρακίζειν δή που τὸν τοιοῦτον πρέπον ἐστίν, οὔτ' ἀξιοῦν ἄρχεσθαι κατὰ μέρος· οὐ γὰρ πέφυκε τὸ μέρος ὑπερέχειν τοῦ παντός, τῷ δὲ τηλικαύτην ὑπερβολὴν ἔχοντι τοῦτο
8 συμβέβηκεν. ὥστε λείπεται μόνον τὸ πείθεσθαι τῷ τοιούτῳ, καὶ κύριον εἶναι μὴ κατὰ μέρος τοῦτον ἀλλ' ἁπλῶς. Περὶ μὲν οὖν βασιλείας, τίνας ἔχει διαφοράς, καὶ πότερον

[a] Bekker reads [καὶ ἐν].

τοῖς εὐπόροις] Stahr suggests that τοῖς ἀπόροις should be inserted. In sense it seems needed at first sight. And yet if we recollect the language of *Eth.* VIII. xii. 1. p. 1160, 33, where the third form of constitution is said to be ἡ ἀπὸ τιμημάτων, ἣν τιμοκρατικὴν λέγειν οἰκεῖον φαίνεται, πολιτείαν δ' αὐτὴν εἰώθασιν οἱ πλεῖστοι καλεῖν, and compare the rest of the same chapter, we shall not be surprised at Aristotle, in this passage, putting very prominently forward the holders of property, the τὸ εὔπορον: cf. IV. (VII.) 8, 9.

6 προφέρειν] 'to put forward, præ se ferre.'

πάντες γάρ...οὐ τὴν αὐτήν] This remark is parenthetical, and in ἀλλὰ κατὰ τὸ πρότερον λεχθέν, we have the clause answering to κατὰ τὸ δίκαιον.

7 τοῦτο συμβέβηκεν, sc. τὸ εἶναι ὡς τὸ πᾶν πρὸς τὸ μέρος. He stands in the relation of the part to the whole.

8 κατὰ μέρος] 'in turn.'

περὶ μὲν οὖν βασιλείας] Kings were for Aristotle an institution of the past, or a characteristic in the present of a lower stage of social development. So, I believe, they were for Plato too. His treating of the monarchical form then, is a complement of his theory; it was not to be dwelt on at length, but still necessarily to be dwelt on to make his ground quite clear. With chapter XVIII. he enters on the treatment of his own ideal form, his ἀριστοκρατία or ἀρίστη πολιτεία. Compare Spengel, pp. 16, 17.

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οὐ συμφέρει ταῖς πόλεσιν ἢ συμφέρει, καὶ τίσι, καὶ πῶς,
διωρίσθω τὸν τρόπον τοῦτον. Ἐπεὶ δὲ τρεῖς φαμὲν εἶναι
τὰς ὀρθὰς πολιτείας, τούτων δ' ἀναγκαῖον ἀρίστην εἶναι 18
τὴν ὑπὸ τῶν ἀρίστων οἰκονομουμένην, τοιαύτη δ' ἐστὶν ἐν ᾗ
συμβέβηκεν ἢ ἕνα τινὰ συμπάντων ἢ γένος ὅλον ἢ πλῆθος
ὑπερέχον εἶναι κατ' ἀρετήν, τῶν μὲν ἄρχεσθαι δυναμένων
τῶν δ' ἄρχειν πρὸς τὴν αἱρετωτάτην ζωήν, ἐν δὲ τοῖς πρώ-
τοις ἐδείχθη λόγοις ὅτι τὴν αὐτὴν ἀναγκαῖον ἀνδρὸς ἀρετὴν
εἶναι καὶ πολίτου τῆς πόλεως τῆς ἀρίστης, φανερὸν ὅτι τὸν
αὐτὸν τρόπον καὶ διὰ τῶν αὐτῶν ἀνήρ τε γίνεται σπουδαῖος
καὶ πόλιν συστήσειεν ἄν τις ἀριστοκρατουμένην ἢ βασιλευο-
μένην, ὥστ' ἔσται καὶ παιδεία καὶ ἔθη ταὐτὰ σχεδὸν τὰ 1288 B
ποιοῦντα σπουδαῖον ἄνδρα καὶ τὰ ποιοῦντα πολιτικὸν καὶ
βασιλικόν. διωρισμένων δὲ τούτων περὶ τῆς πολιτείας ἤδη 2
πειρατέον λέγειν τῆς ἀρίστης, τίνα πέφυκε γίνεσθαι τρόπον
καὶ καθίστασθαι πῶς.

XVIII. 1 *τούτων*] This, I suppose, is only clear by considering that in the next line he means to refer to only two constitutions, the monarchical and aristocratical, that, in fact, here as elsewhere, whilst he allows that in theory the three are equal (*τρεῖς ὀρθαί*), he practically puts the third lower than the other two.

ἕνα τινὰ συμπάντων ἢ γένος ὅλον] These two expressions are both meant for the monarchical form, and *πλῆθος* is a certain number, *πλείους μὲν ἑνὸς ὀλίγους δέ*, see Ch. VII.

τῶν μὲν ἄρχεσθαι] Spengel, p. 17, note 19, wishes to insert *καὶ ἄρχειν*, but I do not see that it is necessary. I should rather refer this whole clause simply to the *πλῆθος ὑπερέχον*, and not take into account the monarchical form at all.

τοῖς πρώτοις λόγοις] Ch. IV. of this book.

πολιτικόν] A true statesman in the ideal form, the ruler, for the time, of free and equal citizens, among whom he is in turn to take his place. Compare Ch. V. 10, *ὁ πολιτικὸς καὶ κύριος ἢ δυνάμενος εἶναι κύριος*. Spengel condemns *βασιλικόν*, note 20, and suggests *ἀγαθὸν* or *σπουδαῖον*, but looking at the context, I do not feel inclined to change the reading. The man must be trained for his post of King. Pericles or Alexander both equally require the true education which shall make them good men and good rulers.

2 *ἀνάγκη δή*] With the altered arrangement of the books these words may be left out.

BOOK IV. SUMMARY.

THE book opens with three introductory chapters, a prelude as Aristotle calls it. They are by no means very clear, and in great part might have been dispensed with, as they are the reassertions of principles already established in the tenth book of the Ethics.

Two questions are started, What is the best life? and is it the same for the state and for the individual?

The happiness of the individual depends on moral and intellectual excellence. The happiness of the state will depend on the same. And with his master Plato he asserts that there is a correspondence between the moral virtues as they exist in the individual, and as they exist in the state. It would follow from this, naturally, that the state and the individual stand on the same ground; the qualifications for the best life in each are analogous, the best life of each will also be analogous.

Is the life of action, that of the citizen mixing with his fellow-citizens, and discharging his share of the public duties, the better life? or are we to prefer that of the man who stands aloof, who lives as a stranger and alien, so far as political life goes, and devotes himself to pure speculation? And if we solve this question for the individual, shall we adopt that solution for the state? The very name of the science we are studying assumes that the individual must live as a citizen, and not stand apart from the political society. It implies an affirmative answer to the first question. But it is not at the same time quite clear, that the state must equally with the individual, live a social life, and be brought into intimate connection with other states. For the citizen, whether he choose the life of action or of contemplation, lives yet on equal terms with his fellow-citizens, he may avoid actual office and power, the whirl of political life, as interfering with truer objects; but he may still take his share in the real duties of a citizen, and guide by the results of his intellectual exertion the more busy and practical mass around him. But it is not so with the states. Intercourse between states is even now mainly reducible to two heads, war and commerce. In the

ancient world commerce was not a bond on the same scale as at present, in the theories of Aristotle and other philosophers it could not constitute a bond at all. There was left war, or its result, empire. The connection of states was not that of equals, but of ruler and subject. Hence the immense importance attached to war by the legislations and customs of different states. But war for the state was the same obstacle to the real furtherance of the true interest of the social union, that political struggles were for the individual. And neither for the one nor the other are they essential to action. Standing alone, a state, as an organic whole, finds sufficient action in the healthy working of its different parts in their relations to one another. The single citizen, as we said above, may, with the quiet exercise of the philosophic intellect, combine a most real influence on the welfare of his country. He may be the architect of the political system, whilst his plans are carried out by others. The edifice is his building, though others reduce his plan into action and find the labour necessary for its completion (Ch. I—III.).

The prelude over, Aristotle passes to the consideration of the state that he intends to sketch. Certain points must be granted, the conditions under which it must be formed. First of all there must be citizens, next there must be a place for them to inhabit. What is to be the number of those citizens? Mere largeness of number does not make a state great. In fact, the limit is very easily reached in point of number, and is fixed by the difficulty of managing large numbers. Vividly embodying the Greek notion of a state, Aristotle says, its army must be under one general, its people capable of hearing one herald, its citizens must know one another to secure good elections to offices, for the only guarantee of such good elections lies in real personal knowledge, in short, the limit of number must be fixed at the point when, complete satisfaction of all the wants of man being attained, the body passes out of the range of the eye, as it were, and ceases to be manageable (Ch. IV.).

The country these citizens are to inhabit must be as complete in itself as possible. It must be favourable to all military operations, it must be convenient for the transport of commodities. Its capital, the city, must be well situated for intercourse, both with the sea and land (Ch. V.).

Some would exclude the former, and urge the dangers of maritime intercourse. Care may remedy what dangers exist, and the advantages are, in Aristotle's opinion, very considerable (Ch. VI.).

For the character of the citizens, its type must be the Greek type in its best form, combining high spirit and energy with quick intellectual powers. Such are the most favourable material for the lawgiver to mould (Ch. VII.).

But in any city there will be a distinction between the inhabitants. They will not all be citizens in the true sense, even though necessary adjuncts to the state. It is necessary for every state to be supplied with food, with the conveniences of life and with labour. But the classes which respectively supply it with these are not, therefore, members of the state. They cannot be so. We find the true members of the state in those who defend it in arms, who deliberate on its policy, who administer justice. The first function naturally falls to the younger, the two others to the older, and the care of religious worship shall be entrusted to the members of this elder body who have retired from more active duties on the ground of age (Ch. VIII. IX.).

Such is our body politic. It will need, as it has ever needed, some articulation and organization. This, from the earliest recorded times, has been the characteristic of civilized man, witness the caste system in Egypt, the public mess of Crete and Italy. Such institutions so far as they are useful, must be adopted, and Aristotle formally adopts the syssitia. To these all citizens must be admitted, but the poor cannot be so without some assistance; the service of the gods, too, requires some property for its maintenance. For both these objects there must be public land set apart to be cultivated by public slaves, as the best course, if not, by a dependent population, as submissive and unconnected in itself as possible (Ch. X.).

For the actual city. It must occupy a position favourable to health, with good air and water. It must have good street arrangements, and walls well built and carefully maintained by proper officers. In these walls and in the towers the syssitia may be held for the majority. Those of the magistrates must be in a conspicuous place, and near the temple of the gods. Two large public places will be necessary, the Agora for freemen, and the ordinary market-place (Ch. XI. XII.).

All such points are within the province of fortune. He then passes to the strict province of the legislator. What we have gone through are the basis for the social fabric, on it may be raised a good or a bad state. A state is good by its citizens being good, and men are good by a combination of three causes, nature, discipline, and instruction. The nature is given, it is beyond man's control. The other two are within his control. In the Ethics we have had the theory for the individual man elaborately sketched out. Educa-

tion is what is wanted (Ch. XIII.). And here the first question is, shall the education given be one and uniform for the governed and for the governor, or, in the form the question takes in Aristotle, shall the two be distinct for life? If we accept our previous position, and make the distinction one of age merely, then, under its guidance, the education presents no difficulty. Man is a complex being, made up of body and soul, this last divisible again into affections and reason. Reason, again, is either practical or speculative, and according as we follow one or the other, we lean to action or to contemplation. All these distinctions must be carefully kept in view, in our discussion of education as a state question; and the one principle that must guide us is, that the lower end must always be in due subordination to the higher. It is open to question, of course, which is the lower and which is the higher; and in discussing this, Aristotle is led to a criticism on Sparta, and a statement of the legitimate objects of war: self-defence, power for the good of the subject, rule over those who naturally require it (Ch. XIV.).

But it is always war for the sake of peace—exertion for the sake of leisure, and all that leisure enables man to accomplish—the active virtues for the sake of the contemplative—the political life for the sake of the theoretic. Some of the virtues may be neglected, all are wanted to guarantee the possession of leisure and the right use of it.

Shall we train first by habits, by discipline, or by reason? The answer is, by discipline. And the true order in education is, first, the body, then the instincts, then the intellect (Ch. XV.).

The first step in the bodily training, is to make proper regulations as to the marriage of the parents. The age of the parties, the time of the marriage, the bodily conditions, the care during pregnancy: all that may be said to be prior to the birth must be attended to. No deformed children must be allowed to live, and there must be no children born after the parents have reached a certain age (Ch. XVI.).

When born there must be a careful attention paid to diet and health. Till two the children are merely cared for in this matter; from two to five their amusements must be carefully studied. From five to seven they may look on, as spectators, at that which they are subsequently to learn. The subsequent period till twenty-one, with its natural division into the time before the age of puberty and that after it, requires all attention. And this forms the subject of the fragmentary book which follows (Ch. XVII.).

ΠΟΛΙΤΙΚΩΝ Δ. (Η.)

What is the best life?

ΑΝΑΓΚΗ δὴ τὸν μέλλοντα περὶ αὐτῆς ποιήσασθαι τὴν προσήκουσαν σκέψιν διορίσασθαι πρῶτον τίς αἱρετώτατος βίος. ἀδήλου γὰρ ὄντος τούτου καὶ τὴν ἀρίστην ἀναγκαῖον ἄδηλον εἶναι πολιτείαν· ἄριστα γὰρ πράττειν προσήκει τοὺς ἄριστα πολιτευομένους ἐκ τῶν ὑπαρ-
2 χόντων αὐτοῖς, ἐὰν μή τι γίγνηται παράλογον. διὸ δεῖ
πρῶτον ὁμολογεῖσθαι τίς ὁ πᾶσιν ὡς εἰπεῖν αἱρετώτατος
βίος, μετὰ δὲ τοῦτο πότερον κοινῇ καὶ χωρὶς ὁ αὐτὸς ἢ
ἕτερος. Νομίσαντας οὖν ἱκανῶς πολλὰ λέγεσθαι καὶ τῶν
ἐν τοῖς ἐξωτερικοῖς λόγοις περὶ τῆς ἀρίστης ζωῆς, καὶ νῦν
3 χρηστέον αὐτοῖς. ὡς ἀληθῶς γὰρ πρός γε μίαν διαίρεσιν
οὐδεὶς ἀμφισβητήσειεν ἂν ὡς οὐ, τριῶν οὐσῶν μερίδων, τῶν
τε ἐκτὸς καὶ τῶν ἐν τῷ σώματι καὶ τῶν ἐν τῇ ψυχῇ, πάντα
4 ταῦτα ὑπάρχειν τοῖς μακαρίοις δεῖ. οὐδεὶς γὰρ ἂν φαίη

I. 1 The alteration of the arrangement leaves it optional which of the two sentences shall be adopted, that at the end of Book III. or beginning of Book IV. I prefer the former, as more immediately connecting with the preceding remarks.

ἐκ τῶν ὑπαρχόντων αὐτοῖς] These words may be taken either with ἄριστα πράττειν, or with πολιτευομένους. With Stahr I take them with πράττειν, "in Folge der ihnen daraus entspringenden Vortheile," 'as a consequence of the advantages they derive from it.' In this case the sense of the expression is not the same as that which it bears, *Eth.* I. xi. 13. pp. 1101, 2: ἐκ τῶν ὑπαρχόντων ἀεὶ τὰ κάλλιστα πράττειν. But the context here seems to require a different sense.

παράλογον] here as *Eth.* v. x. 73. p. 1135, b. 17, where its adverb παραλόγως means, 'contrary to what you have a fair right to expect.'

2 κοινῇ καὶ χωρὶς] 'For the state and for the individual.'

νομίσαντας] This accusative construction not uncommon. Compare III. III. 9, λεκτέον βλέποντας.

ἐξωτερικοῖς] Comp. note on I. v. 4.

3 μίαν διαίρεσιν] This division is given, *Eth.* I. viii. 2. p. 1098, b. 12, and is there spoken of as δόξαν παλαιὰν οὖσαν καὶ ὁμολογουμένην ὑπὸ τῶν φιλοσοφούντων.

ὡς οὔ] With Stahr I place a comma after these words.

4 Avoiding all unnecessary detail he takes the four great cardinal virtues, the virtues of Plato in his *Re-*

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μακάριον τὸν μηθὲν μόριον ἔχοντα ἀνδρίας μηδὲ σωφροσύνης
μηδὲ δικαιοσύνης μηδὲ φρονήσεως, ἀλλὰ δεδιότα μὲν τὰς
παραπετομένας μυίας, ἀπεχόμενον δὲ μηθενός, ἂν ἐπιθυμήσῃ
τοῦ φαγεῖν ἢ πιεῖν, τῶν ἐσχάτων, ἕνεκα δὲ τεταρτημορίου
διαφθείροντα τοὺς φιλτάτους φίλους, ὁμοίως δὲ καὶ τὰ
περὶ τὴν διάνοιαν οὕτως ἄφρονα καὶ διεψευσμένον ὥσπερ τι
παιδίον ἢ μαινόμενον. Ἀλλὰ ταῦτα μὲν λεγόμενα ὥσπερ 5
πάντες ἂν συγχωρήσειαν, διαφέρονται δ' ἐν τῷ ποσῷ καὶ
ταῖς ὑπεροχαῖς. τῆς μὲν γὰρ ἀρετῆς ἔχειν, ἱκανὸν εἶναι,
νομίζουσιν ὁποσονοῦν, πλούτου δὲ καὶ χρημάτων καὶ δυνά-
μεως καὶ δόξης καὶ πάντων τῶν τοιούτων εἰς ἄπειρον ζητοῦσι
τὴν ὑπερβολήν. ἡμεῖς δὲ αὐτοῖς ἐροῦμεν ὅτι ῥᾴδιον μὲν 6
περὶ τούτων καὶ διὰ τῶν ἔργων διαλαμβάνειν τὴν πίστιν,
ὁρῶντας ὅτι κτῶνται καὶ φυλάττουσιν οὐ τὰς ἀρετὰς τοῖς
ἐκτὸς ἀλλ' ἐκεῖνα ταύταις, καὶ τὸ ζῆν εὐδαιμόνως, εἴτ' ἐν τῷ 1323 B
χαίρειν ἐστὶν εἴτ' ἐν ἀρετῇ τοῖς ἀνθρώποις εἴτ' ἐν ἀμφοῖν,
ὅτι μᾶλλον ὑπάρχει τοῖς τὸ ἦθος μὲν καὶ τὴν διάνοιαν κεκο-
σμημένοις εἰς ὑπερβολήν, περὶ δὲ τὴν ἔξω κτῆσιν τῶν ἀγαθῶν
μετριάζουσιν, ἢ τοῖς ἐκεῖνα μὲν κεκτημένοις πλείω τῶν χρη-
σίμων, ἐν δὲ τούτοις ἐλλείπουσιν· οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ καὶ κατὰ τὸν
λόγον σκοπουμένοις εὐσύνοπτόν ἐστιν. τὰ μὲν γὰρ ἐκτὸς 7

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public, Cicero in his *Offices*, and with the same names as Plato.

τεταρτημορίου] The fourth of an obolus.

διεψευσμένον] 'False in his judgments,' "verwirrt," Stahr.

5 ὥσπερ πάντες] 'But although this, when stated, is language which nearly all would allow, yet they differ as to degree and the relative superiority,' viz., of virtue and the other advantages. This is one way of taking the ὥσπερ, and so taken, it qualifies the πάντες. In the other way, Stahr's, the passage runs, '*as* all agree, so they differ.' Compare, in support of this last, Ch. VII. 3, ὥσπερ μεσεύει—οὕτως μετέχει.

ἔχειν ἱκανόν, κ.τ.λ.] The order is, ἔχειν ὁποσονοῦν ἀρετῆς ἱκανὸν εἶναι νομίζουσιν.

6 διαλαμβάνειν τὴν πίστιν] 'To attain complete conviction.'

ἐν τῷ χαίρειν] 'in enjoyment.'

τὴν ἔξω κτῆσιν τῶν ἀγαθῶν] 'The outward acquisition of the goods of life,' or is the ἔξω displaced, and the meaning 'the acquisition of the external goods?'

οὐ μὴν ἀλλά, κ.τ.λ.] 'Not but that when we also consider the question on grounds of strict reason, it is an easy one to decide.'

7 τὰ μὲν γάρ, κ.τ.λ.—τῶν δέ] Such is the connection, the sentence πᾶν δὲ τὸ χρήσιμον—ἔχουσιν is parenthetical.

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ἔχει πέρας, ὥσπερ ὄργανόν τι· πᾶν δὲ τὸ χρήσιμόν ἐστιν, ὧν τὴν ὑπερβολὴν ἢ βλάπτειν ἀναγκαῖον ἢ μηθὲν ὄφελος εἶναι αὐτῶν τοῖς ἔχουσιν· τῶν δὲ περὶ ψυχὴν ἕκαστον ἀγαθῶν, ὅσῳ περ ἂν ὑπερβάλλῃ, τοσούτῳ μᾶλλον χρήσιμον εἶναι, εἰ δεῖ καὶ τούτοις ἐπιλέγειν μὴ μόνον τὸ καλὸν ἀλλὰ
8 καὶ τὸ χρήσιμον. ὅλως τε δῆλον ὡς ἀκολουθεῖν φήσομεν τὴν διάθεσιν τὴν ἀρίστην ἑκάστου πράγματος πρὸς ἄλληλα κατὰ τὴν ὑπεροχήν, ἥνπερ εἴληφε διάστασιν ὧν φαμὲν αὐτὰς εἶναι διαθέσεις ταύτας. ὥστ' εἴπερ ἐστὶν ἡ ψυχὴ καὶ τῆς κτήσεως καὶ τοῦ σώματος τιμιώτερον καὶ ἁπλῶς καὶ ἡμῖν, ἀνάγκη καὶ τὴν διάθεσιν τὴν ἀρίστην ἑκάστου ἀνάλογον τούτων ἔχειν. ἔτι δὲ τῆς ψυχῆς ἕνεκεν ταῦτα πέφυκεν αἱρετὰ καὶ δεῖ πάντας αἱρεῖσθαι τοὺς εὖ φρονοῦντας, ἀλλ'
10 οὐκ ἐκείνων ἕνεκεν τὴν ψυχήν. ὅτι μὲν οὖν ἑκάστῳ τῆς

'For whilst external goods have a limit—those which depend on the mind.'

ὥσπερ ὄργανόν τι] οὐδὲν ὄργανον ἄπειρον. Compare I. VIII. 14, 15.

πᾶν δὲ τὸ χρήσιμον, or πάντα ὄργανα] 'all good things which are useful, as instrumental, are such that in excess they must either do harm, or there can be no advantage from them to their possessors.' Nickes, p. 14, note 4, dwells on this passage as marking the strong distinction that exists between χρήσιμα and συμφέροντα.

χρήσιμον εἶναι] depends on ἀναγκαῖον.

ἐπιλέγειν] *Eth.* II. ix. 6. p. 1109, b. 11.

8 ὅλως τε δῆλον] 'And generally it is clear that we shall allow that the difference between two things in their highest perfection will depend on, and be in exact proportion to, the difference that exists between them in their ordinary state.' The interval between the two superlatives will be the same as that between the two positives. Compare his language in the *Rhetoric*, I. vii. 4. p. 1363, b. 21, καὶ ἐὰν τὸ μέγιστον τοῦ μεγίστου ὑπερέχῃ καὶ αὐτὰ αὐτῶν . . . οἷον εἰ ὁ μέγιστος ἀνὴρ γυναικὸς τῆς μεγίστης μείζων καὶ ὅλως οἱ ἄνδρες τῶν γυναικῶν μείζους.

From this it follows that mental excellence, when compared with bodily excellence and all external advantages, such as wealth, will be in the same relation of superiority to them, as the mind is with regard to the body and property. If we allow the mind's superiority, we must allow the superiority of virtue and wisdom.

ἑκάστου τούτων ἀνάλογον ἔχειν] Such is the order.

9 τῆς ψυχῆς ἕνεκεν] 'It is only for the sake of the soul that these, τὰ ἔξω ἀγαθὰ καὶ τὰ σωματικά,' &c.

10 ἀρετῆς καὶ φρονήσεως] The respective excellencies of the ἦθος and διάνοια, 'moral and intellectual virtue.'

ἐξωτερικῶν] here evidently this word is equivalent to the simpler ἔξω, 'outward.'

τὴν εὐτυχίαν] The state of the man who is in all points well endowed,

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εὐδαιμονίας ἐπιβάλλει τοσοῦτον ὅσον περ ἀρετῆς καὶ φρονήσεως καὶ τοῦ πράττειν κατὰ ταύτας, ἔστω συνωμολογημένον ἡμῖν, μάρτυρι τῷ θεῷ χρωμένοις, ὃς εὐδαίμων μέν ἐστι καὶ μακάριος, δι' οὐθὲν δὲ τῶν ἐξωτερικῶν ἀγαθῶν ἀλλὰ δι' αὑτὸν αὐτὸς καὶ τῷ ποιός τις εἶναι τὴν φύσιν· ἐπεὶ καὶ τὴν εὐτυχίαν τῆς εὐδαιμονίας διὰ ταῦτ' ἀναγκαῖον ἑτέραν εἶναι· τῶν μὲν γὰρ ἐκτὸς ἀγαθῶν τῆς ψυχῆς αἴτιον ταὐτόματον καὶ ἡ τύχη, δίκαιος δ' οὐδεὶς οὐδὲ σώφρων ἀπὸ τύχης οὐδὲ διὰ τὴν τύχην ἐστίν. 'Εχόμενον δ' ἐστὶ καὶ τῶν αὐτῶν λόγων δεόμενον 11
καὶ πόλιν εὐδαίμονα τὴν ἀρίστην εἶναι καὶ πράττουσαν καλῶς. 'Αδύνατον δὲ καλῶς πράττειν τοῖς μὴ τὰ καλὰ πράττουσιν. οὐθὲν δὲ καλὸν ἔργον οὔτ' ἀνδρὸς οὔτε πόλεως χωρὶς ἀρετῆς καὶ φρονήσεως. ἀνδρία δὲ πόλεως καὶ δικαιοσύνη καὶ φρό- 12
νησις τὴν αὐτὴν ἔχει δύναμιν καὶ μορφήν, ὧν μετασχὼν ἕκαστος τῶν ἀνθρώπων λέγεται δίκαιος καὶ φρόνιμος καὶ σώφρων. ἀλλὰ γὰρ ταῦτα μὲν ἐπὶ τοσοῦτον ἔστω πεφροι- 13
μιασμένα τῷ λόγῳ (οὔτε γὰρ μὴ θιγγάνειν αὐτῶν δυνατόν, οὔτε πάντας τοὺς οἰκείους ἐπεξελθεῖν ἐνδέχεται λόγους· ἑτέρας γάρ ἐστιν ἔργον σχολῆς ταῦτα)· νῦν δ' ὑποκείσθω τοσοῦτον, ὅτι βίος μὲν ἄριστος, καὶ χωρὶς ἑκάστῳ καὶ κοινῇ ταῖς πόλεσιν, ὁ μετὰ ἀρετῆς κεχορηγημένης ἐπὶ τοσοῦτον ὥστε μετέ- 1324
χειν τῶν κατ' ἀρετὴν πράξεων. πρὸς δὲ τοὺς ἀμφισβη- 14

so far as outward advantages are concerned.

τῆς ψυχῆς] depends on ἐκτός.

ταὐτόματον καὶ ἡ τύχη] They come to a man without any efforts of his own, spontaneously and from fortune.

ἀπὸ τύχης] 'as a gift of fortune.' διὰ τὴν τύχην, 'on the ground of his fortune.' The former excludes τύχη as the giving power, the latter excludes it as the constituent of happiness.

11 ἐχόμενον δέ] 'Closely connected with this, and requiring no other arguments, is the statement,' &c.

πράττουσαν καλῶς] is a simple ambiguity.

12 ἀνδρία, κ. τ. λ.] 'Courage in a state and justice and wisdom are, in their force and form, the same as in the individual, when, by virtue of his participation in them, he is called just, wise, and temperate.'

13 τοὺς οἰκείους] 'proper to the subject.'

ἑτέρας σχολῆς] "un autre ouvrage," St. Hil.: "einen andern Vortrag," Stahr: "discussion:" but it may be simply 'leisure,' as he says ἄλλων καιρῶν.

ὁ μετὰ ἀρετῆς] Compare *Eth.* x. ix. p. 1178, b. 33.

14 πρὸς δὲ τοὺς ἀμφισβητοῦντας] Spengel, p. 46, says, "So redet Aristoteles sonst nicht." The expression

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τοῦντας, ἐάσαντας ἐπὶ τῆς νῦν μεθόδου, διασκεπτέον ὕστερον, εἴ τις τοῖς εἰρημένοις τυγχάνει μὴ πειθόμενος.

2

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Πότερον δὲ τὴν εὐδαιμονίαν τὴν αὐτὴν εἶναι φατέον ἑνός τε ἑκάστου τῶν ἀνθρώπων καὶ πόλεως ἢ μὴ τὴν αὐτήν, λοιπόν ἐστιν εἰπεῖν. φανερὸν δὲ καὶ τοῦτο· πάντες γὰρ ἂν ὁμολογήσειαν εἶναι τὴν αὐτήν. ὅσοι γὰρ ἐν πλούτῳ τὸ
2 ζῆν εὖ τίθενται ἐφ' ἑνός, οὗτοι καὶ τὴν πόλιν ὅλην, ἐὰν ᾖ πλουσία, μακαρίζουσιν· ὅσοι τε τὸν τυραννικὸν βίον μάλιστα τιμῶσιν, οὗτοι καὶ πόλιν τὴν πλείστων ἄρχουσαν εὐδαιμονεστάτην ἂν εἶναι φαῖεν· εἴ τέ τις τὸν ἕνα δι' ἀρετὴν ἀποδέχεται, καὶ πόλιν εὐδαιμονεστέραν φήσει τὴν σπουδαιοτέραν.
3 Ἀλλὰ ταῦτ' ἤδη δύο ἐστὶν ἃ δεῖται σκέψεως, ἓν μὲν πότερος αἱρετώτερος βίος, ὁ διὰ τοῦ συμπολιτεύεσθαι καὶ κοινωνεῖν πόλεως ἢ μᾶλλον ὁ ξενικὸς καὶ τῆς πολιτικῆς κοινωνίας ἀπολελυμένος, ἔτι δὲ τίνα πολιτείαν θετέον καὶ ποίαν διάθεσιν πόλεως ἀρίστην, εἴτε πᾶσιν ὄντος αἱρετοῦ κοινωνεῖν
4 πόλεως εἴτε καὶ τισὶ μὲν μή, τοῖς δὲ πλείστοις. ἐπεὶ δὲ

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is quite singular in his works. Spengel, not doubting the genuineness of these introductory chapters, thinks that the different parts are probably not of the same date, pp. 47, 48.

ἐπὶ τῆς νῦν μεθόδου] 'in our present treatise.'

II. 1 It is difficult certainly to see how these two first sections are to be distinguished from the last chapter. If a distinction is drawn it must be in this, that in Ch. I. he has been directing attention mainly to virtue, and has decided that in the individual and the state it is analogous. Here, on the other hand, he more especially dwells on happiness, which, by general consent, he says, is clearly the same for both; or they may be treated simply as an introductory résumé.

2 τὸν ἕνα ἀποδέχεται] 'allows the individual to be happy, on the ground of his being virtuous.'

3 ὁ ξενικός, κ.τ.λ.] 'The life of an alien and of one who stands aloof from all interference in the political association,' ξένοι καὶ παρεπίδημοι ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς, *Heb.* xi. 13.

εἴτε πᾶσιν, κ.τ.λ.] 'in either supposition, be it that for all equally it is desirable, or, though for some particular cases not, yet for the majority.'

4 τοῦτο] might be taken as equivalent to τὸ τοῖς πλείστοις αἱρετόν, but it seems better to take it as 'this second question,' viz.: what constitution is to be formed? The stress in the sentence lies on πολιτικῆς. 'But since this second question is the proper object of political reflexion and political science, and it is this political inquiry (ταύτην τὴν σκέψιν) that I have now chosen, the first is superfluous,' &c. This I believe to be the rendering of the passage, and yet it is quite true that Aristotle at once goes on to

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τῆς πολιτικῆς διανοίας καὶ θεωρίας τοῦτ' ἐστὶν ἔργον, ἀλλ' οὐ τὸ περὶ ἕκαστον αἱρετόν, ἡμεῖς δὲ ταύτην προῃρήμεθα νῦν τὴν σκέψιν, ἐκεῖνο μὲν πάρεργον ἂν εἴη τοῦτο δ' ἔργον τῆς μεθόδου ταύτης. ὅτι μὲν οὖν ἀναγκαῖον εἶναι πολιτείαν ἀρίστην ταύτην καθ' ἣν τάξιν κἂν ὁστισοῦν ἄριστα πράττοι 5
καὶ ζῴη μακαρίως, φανερόν ἐστιν· ἀμφισβητεῖται δὲ παρ' αὐτῶν τῶν ὁμολογούντων τὸν μετ' ἀρετῆς εἶναι βίον αἱρετώτατον, πότερον ὁ πολιτικὸς καὶ πρακτικὸς βίος αἱρετὸς ἢ μᾶλλον ὁ πάντων τῶν ἐκτὸς ἀπολελυμένος, οἷον θεωρητικός τις, ὃν μόνον τινές φασιν εἶναι φιλόσοφον. σχεδὸν γὰρ 6
τούτους τοὺς δύο βίους τῶν ἀνθρώπων οἱ φιλοτιμότατοι πρὸς ἀρετὴν φαίνονται προαιρούμενοι, καὶ τῶν προτέρων καὶ τῶν νῦν· λέγω δὲ δύω τόν τε πολιτικὸν καὶ τὸν φιλόσοφον. διαφέρει δὲ οὐ μικρὸν ποτέρως ἔχει τὸ ἀληθές· ἀνάγκη γὰρ τόν [τε][a] εὖ φρονοῦντα, πρὸς τὸν βελτίω σκοπόν, συντάττεσθαι καὶ τῶν ἀνθρώπων ἕκαστον καὶ κοινῇ τὴν πολιτείαν. νομί- 7
ζουσι δ' οἱ μὲν τὸ τῶν πέλας ἄρχειν δεσποτικῶς μὲν γιγνόμενον μετ' ἀδικίας τινὸς εἶναι τῆς μεγίστης, πολιτικῶς δὲ τὸ μὲν ἄδικον οὐκ ἔχειν, ἐμπόδιον δὲ ἔχειν τῇ περὶ αὐτὸν εὐημερίᾳ. τούτων δ' ὥσπερ ἐξ ἐναντίας ἕτεροι τυγχάνουσι δοξάζοντες· μόνον γὰρ ἀνδρὸς τὸν πρακτικὸν εἶναι βίον καὶ πολιτικόν· ἐφ' ἑκάστης γὰρ ἀρετῆς οὐκ εἶναι πράξεις μᾶλ- 1324 B

[a] Bekker does not bracket this.

consider the question of the relative value, both for the state and for the individual, of the two kinds of life, the philosophic or contemplative, and the political or practical, a question fully discussed and settled by him, *Eth.* x. vii. 8. pp. 1177, 8.

5 *τῶν ὁμολογούντων, κ. τ. λ.*] —*τῶν τὸν ἕνα δι' ἀρετὴν ἀποδεχομένων* from § 2.

οἷον θεωρητικός] 'I mean, a life of contemplation,' I. vii. 5, *οἷον ἡ δικαία.*

6 *οἱ φιλοτιμότατοι πρὸς ἀρετήν*] "die am meisten nach Tugend strebenden," Stahr. 'Those who are most keen in the pursuit of virtue.'

τόν τε] This *τε* seems meaningless. Stahr keeps it, but does not translate it.

συντάττεσθαι] 'arrange himself for, discipline himself for.'

7 *δεσποτικῶς γινόμενον*] 'If it wear the character of a despotism or tyranny.'

ἐμπόδιον δὲ ἔχειν] Compare II. vi. 22, *ἔχει ἐπικίνδυνον*, and note. Here *ἐμπόδιον εἶναι* would be more natural.

αὐτόν] se ipsum, Vet. Tr. Several editors change the *αὐτόν*, though disagreeing as to its substitute. There is no necessity for the change, looking at the general use of the word.

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λον τοῖς ἰδιώταις ἢ τοῖς τὰ κοινὰ πράττουσι καὶ πολιτευο-
μένοις. Οἱ μὲν οὖν οὕτως ὑπολαμβάνουσιν, οἱ δὲ τὸν δεσπο-
τικὸν καὶ τυραννικὸν τρόπον τῆς πολιτείας εἶναι μόνον
εὐδαίμονά φασιν. παρ' ἐνίοις δὲ καὶ τῆς πολιτείας οὗτος
9 ὅρος καὶ[a] τῶν νόμων, ὅπως δεσπόζωσι τῶν πέλας. διὸ καὶ
τῶν πλείστων νομίμων χύδην ὡς εἰπεῖν κειμένων παρὰ τοῖς
πλείστοις, ὅμως εἴ πού τι πρὸς ἓν οἱ νόμοι βλέπουσι, τοῦ
κρατεῖν στοχάζονται πάντες, ὥσπερ ἐν Λακεδαίμονι καὶ
Κρήτῃ πρὸς τοὺς πολέμους συντέτακται σχεδὸν ἥ τε παιδεία
10 καὶ τὸ τῶν νόμων πλῆθος. ἔτι δ' ἐν τοῖς ἔθνεσι πᾶσι τοῖς
δυναμένοις πλεονεκτεῖν ἡ τοιαύτη τετίμηται δύναμις, οἷον ἐν
Σκύθαις καὶ Πέρσαις καὶ Θρᾳξὶ καὶ Κελτοῖς. ἐν ἐνίοις γὰρ
καὶ νόμοι τινές εἰσι παροξύνοντες πρὸς τὴν ἀρετὴν ταύτην,
καθάπερ ἐν Καρχηδόνι φασὶ τὸν ἐκ τῶν κρίκων κόσμον
11 λαμβάνειν ὅσας ἂν στρατεύσωνται στρατείας. ἦν δέ ποτε
καὶ περὶ Μακεδονίαν νόμος τὸν μηθένα ἀπεκταγκότα πολέ-
μιον ἄνδρα περιεζῶσθαι τὴν φορβειάν. ἐν δὲ Σκύθαις οὐκ
ἐξῆν πίνειν ἐν ἑορτῇ τινὶ σκύφον περιφερόμενον τῷ μηθένα
ἀπεκταγκότι πολέμιον. ἐν δὲ τοῖς Ἴβηρσιν, ἔθνει πολεμικῷ,
τοσούτους τὸν ἀριθμὸν ὀβελίσκους καταπηγνύουσι περὶ τὸν
12 τάφον ὅσους ἂν διαφθείρῃ τῶν πολεμίων. καὶ ἕτερα δὴ
παρ' ἑτέροις ἐστὶ τοιαῦτα πολλά, τὰ μὲν νόμοις κατειλημ-

[a] I have inserted *καί*.

οὐκ εἶναι πράξεις, κ.τ.λ.] 'The man who keeps aloof from political life has not so much scope for practising them as they have who mix in it.'

8 *οἱ μὲν οὖν οὕτως*] The meaning must be carried back past the last sentence, and the *οὕτως* must be the view taken in § 7, the view adverse to the political life.

οὗτος ὅρος τῶν νόμων] Vet. Tr. reads *καὶ* before *νόμων*. Stahr approves of this change, and the context requires it. 'This is the sole end both of the constitution and the separate laws.' I have therefore inserted *καί*.

9 *χύδην*] 'promiscuously,' 'without order,' the Latin 'temere.'

10 *ἐν τοῖς ἔθνεσι*] as distinct from the *πόλεις*. They had no *πολιτεία*.

Σκύθαις, κ.τ.λ.] The great divisions of the non-Hellenic world to Aristotle.

11 *περὶ Μακεδονίαν*] Compare Grote, IV. 11; XI. 397.

τὴν φορβειάν] a "mouthband of leather," L. and S.

ἐν Σκύθαις] Herod. IV. 66.

12 *κατειλημμένα*] 'established.'

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μένα τὰ δὲ ἔθεσιν. καίτοι δόξειεν ἂν ἄγαν ἄτοπον ἴσως
εἶναι τοῖς βουλομένοις ἐπισκοπεῖν, εἰ τοῦτ' ἐστὶν ἔργον τοῦ
πολιτικοῦ, τὸ δύνασθαι θεωρεῖν ὅπως ἄρχῃ καὶ δεσπόζῃ τῶν
πλησίον καὶ βουλομένων καὶ μὴ βουλομένων. πῶς γὰρ ἂν
εἴη τοῦτο πολιτικὸν ἢ νομοθετικόν, ὅ γε μηδὲ νόμιμόν ἐστιν; 13
οὐ νόμιμον δὲ τὸ μὴ μόνον δικαίως ἀλλὰ καὶ ἀδίκως ἄρχειν,
κρατεῖν δ' ἔστι καὶ μὴ δικαίως. ἀλλὰ μὴν οὐδ' ἐν ταῖς
ἄλλαις ἐπιστήμαις τοῦτο ὁρῶμεν· οὔτε γὰρ τοῦ ἰατροῦ οὔτε
τοῦ κυβερνήτου ἔργον ἐστὶ τὸ ἢ πεῖσαι ἢ βιάσασθαι τοῦ μὲν
τοὺς θεραπευομένους τοῦ δὲ τοὺς πλωτῆρας. ἀλλ' ἐοίκασιν 14
οἱ πολλοὶ τὴν δεσποτικὴν πολιτικὴν οἴεσθαι εἶναι, καὶ ὅπερ
αὑτοῖς ἕκαστοι οὔ φασιν εἶναι δίκαιον οὐδὲ συμφέρον, τοῦτ'
οὐκ αἰσχύνονται πρὸς τοὺς ἄλλους ἀσκοῦντες· αὐτοὶ μὲν γὰρ
παρ' αὑτοῖς τὸ δικαίως ἄρχειν ζητοῦσι, πρὸς δὲ τοὺς ἄλλους
οὐδὲν μέλει τῶν δικαίων. ἄτοπον δὲ εἰ μὴ φύσει τὸ μὲν 15
δεσπόζον ἐστὶ τὸ δὲ οὐ δεσπόζον, ὥστε εἴπερ ἔχει τὸν τρό-
πον τοῦτον, οὐ δεῖ πάντων πειρᾶσθαι δεσπόζειν, ἀλλὰ τῶν
δεσποστῶν, ὥσπερ οὐδὲ θηρεύειν ἐπὶ θοίνην ἢ θυσίαν ἀνθρώ-
πους, ἀλλὰ τὸ πρὸς τοῦτο θηρευτόν· ἔστι δὲ θηρευτὸν ὃ
ἂν ἄγριον ᾖ ἐδεστὸν ζῷον. ἀλλὰ μὴν εἴη γ' ἂν καὶ καθ' 16 1325
ἑαυτὴν μία πόλις εὐδαίμων, ἣ πολιτεύεται δηλονότι καλῶς,

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13 πολιτικὸν ἢ νομοθετικόν] 'within the scope of the statesman or the lawgiver.'

κρατεῖν] 'The mere assertion of superior strength involves no consideration of justice.'

οὔτε γάρ, κ.τ.λ.] The patient submits to the physician, the crew to the pilot, the citizen must submit to the lawgiver. This must be taken for granted.

14 ἀλλ' ἐοίκασιν] 'Still, strange though it be, it would seem that the many.'

ὅπερ αὑτοῖς, κ.τ.λ.] *Eth.* v. iii. 15, p. 1129, b. 32; compare also Thuc. v. 105, Λακεδαιμόνιοι γὰρ πρὸς σφᾶς μὲν αὐτούς, κ.τ.λ.

15 ἄτοπον δέ] sc. τὸ δεσποτικῶς ἄρχειν.

τὸ μὲν δέσποζον—τὸ δὲ οὐ δέσποζον] Stahr reads δεσποστόν in both places, and refers to III. xvii. 1. But there does not seem any necessity for the change, the required distinction may be elicited from the present reading, though it certainly would be simpler the other way.

τούτον] 'as the majority think.'

16 Again there might be no opportunity for a state to exercise this power of conquering and ruling over others as a despot state, for it might stand alone. Such a state would be allowed to be happy.

ἣ πολιτεύεται] 'granting of course that it be well governed.'

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εἴπερ ἐνδέχεται πόλιν οἰκεῖσθαί που καθ' ἑαυτὴν νόμοις χρωμένην σπουδαίοις, ἧς τῆς πολιτείας ἡ σύνταξις οὐ πρὸς πόλεμον οὐδὲ πρὸς τὸ κρατεῖν ἔσται τῶν πολεμίων· μηθὲν γὰρ ὑπαρχέτω τοιοῦτον. δῆλον ἄρα ὅτι πάσας τὰς πρὸς
17 τὸν πόλεμον ἐπιμελείας καλὰς μὲν θετέον, οὐχ ὡς τέλος δὲ πάντων ἀκρότατον, ἀλλ' ἐκείνου χάριν ταύτας. τοῦ δὲ νομοθέτου τοῦ σπουδαίου ἐστὶ τὸ θεάσασθαι πόλιν καὶ γένος ἀνθρώπων καὶ πᾶσαν ἄλλην κοινωνίαν, ζωῆς ἀγαθῆς
18 πῶς μεθέξουσι καὶ τῆς ἐνδεχομένης αὐτοῖς εὐδαιμονίας. διοίσει μέντοι τῶν ταττομένων ἔνια νομίμων· καὶ τοῦτο τῆς νομοθετικῆς ἐστὶν ἰδεῖν, ἐάν τινες ὑπάρχωσι γειτνιῶντες, ποῖα προς ποίους ἀσκητέον ἢ πῶς τοῖς καθήκουσι πρὸς ἑκάστους χρηστέον. Ἀλλὰ τοῦτο μὲν κἂν ὕστερον τύχοι τῆς προσηκούσης σκέψεως, πρὸς τί τέλος δεῖ τὴν ἀρίστην πολιτείαν
3 συντείνειν· πρὸς δὲ τοὺς ὁμολογοῦντας μὲν τὸν μετ' ἀρετῆς εἶναι βίον αἱρετώτατον, διαφερομένους δὲ περὶ τῆς χρήσεως αὐτοῦ, λεκτέον ἡμῖν πρὸς ἀμφοτέρους αὐτούς (οἱ μὲν γὰρ ἀποδοκιμάζουσι τὰς πολιτικὰς ἀρχάς, νομίζοντες τόν τε τοῦ ἐλευθέρου βίον ἕτερόν τινα εἶναι τοῦ πολιτικοῦ καὶ πάντων αἱρετώτατον, οἱ δὲ τοῦτον ἄριστον· ἀδύνατον γὰρ τὸν μηθὲν πράττοντα πράττειν εὖ, τὴν δ' εὐπραγίαν καὶ τὴν εὐδαιμονίαν εἶναι ταὐτόν) ὅτι τὰ μὲν ἀμφότεροι λέγουσιν ὀρθῶς τὰ δ' οὐκ ὀρθῶς, οἱ μὲν ὅτι ὁ τοῦ ἐλευθέρου βίος τοῦ
2 δεσποτικοῦ ἀμείνων. τοῦτο γὰρ ἀληθές· οὐθὲν γὰρ τό γε δούλῳ, ᾗ δοῦλος, χρῆσθαι σεμνόν· ἡ γὰρ ἐπίταξις ἡ περὶ τῶν

17 *γένος ἀνθρώπων*] seems an equivalent expression to *ἔθνος*.

ἐνδεχομένης αὐτοῖς] 'open to them.'

18 *τοῖς καθήκουσι*] St. Hil. and Stahr agree in translating this "duties," Vict. "quæ ad officia pertinent." I rather take it in the sense of what is 'fitting,' 'appropriate,' and not in a technical sense.

συντείνειν] 'direct all its efforts.'

III. 1 *οἱ μὲν γάρ*] 'I say both, for the one,' &c.

ἐλευθέρου] equivalent to the *ξενικὸς καὶ τῆς πολιτικῆς κοινωνίας ἀπολελυμένος* of 2, 3. The words *ἀπράγμων*, *ἰδιώτης* would also express the same notion.

ἀδύνατον γάρ] 'For they urge that it is impossible.'

δεσποτικοῦ] This word is emphatic. If *the rule over slaves* is all that is open to a man, to keep clear of all power is the wiser course.

2 *οὐθὲν γάρ*] Compare I. vii. 4, as also for what follows the earlier part of the same chapter.

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ἀναγκαίων οὐδενὸς μετέχει τῶν καλῶν. τὸ μέντοι νομίζειν
πᾶσαν ἀρχὴν εἶναι δεσποτείαν οὐκ ὀρθόν· οὐ γὰρ ἔλαττον
διέστηκεν ἡ τῶν ἐλευθέρων ἀρχὴ τῆς τῶν δούλων ἢ αὐτὸ τὸ
φύσει ἐλεύθερον τοῦ φύσει δούλου. διώρισται δὲ περὶ
αὐτῶν ἱκανῶς ἐν τοῖς πρώτοις λόγοις. τὸ δὲ μᾶλλον 3
ἐπαινεῖν τὸ ἀπρακτεῖν τοῦ πράττειν οὐκ ἀληθές· ἡ γὰρ
εὐδαιμονία πρᾶξίς ἐστιν. ἔτι δὲ πολλῶν καὶ καλῶν τέλος
ἔχουσιν αἱ τῶν δικαίων καὶ σωφρόνων πράξεις. Καίτοι
τάχ' ἂν ὑπολάβοι τις τούτων οὕτω διωρισμένων ὅτι τὸ
κύριον εἶναι πάντων ἄριστον· οὕτω γὰρ ἂν πλείστων καὶ
καλλίστων κύριος εἴη πράξεων. ὥστε οὐ δεῖ τὸν δυνάμενον 4
ἄρχειν παριέναι τῷ πλησίον, ἀλλὰ μᾶλλον ἀφαιρεῖσθαι, καὶ
μήτε πατέρα παίδων μήτε παῖδας πατρὸς μήθ' ὅλως φίλον
φίλου μηθένα ὑπολογεῖν μηδὲ πρὸς τοῦτο φροντίζειν· τὸ
γὰρ ἄριστον αἱρετώτατον, τὸ δ' εὖ πράττειν ἄριστον.
τοῦτο μὲν οὖν ἀληθῶς ἴσως λέγουσιν, εἴπερ ὑπάρξει τοῖς
ἀποστεροῦσι καὶ βιαζομένοις τὸ τῶν ὄντων αἱρετώτατον. 1325 b
ἀλλ' ἴσως οὐχ οἷόν τε ὑπάρχειν, ἀλλ' ὑποτίθενται τοῦτο 5
ψεῦδος· οὐ γὰρ ἔτι καλὰς τὰς πράξεις ἐνδέχεται εἶναι τῷ
μὴ διαφέροντι τοσοῦτον ὅσον ἀνὴρ γυναικὸς ἢ πατὴρ τέκνων
ἢ δεσπότης δούλων. ὥστε ὁ παραβαίνων οὐθὲν ἂν τηλικοῦτον
κατορθώσειεν ὕστερον ὅσον ἤδη παρεκβέβηκε τῆς ἀρετῆς. τοῖς
γὰρ ὁμοίοις τὸ καλὸν καὶ τὸ δίκαιον ἐν τῷ μέρει· τοῦτο γὰρ
ἴσον καὶ ὅμοιον. τὸ δὲ μὴ ἴσον τοῖς ἴσοις καὶ τὸ μὴ ὅμοιον 6
τοῖς ὁμοίοις παρὰ φύσιν· οὐδὲν δὲ τῶν παρὰ φύσιν καλόν.
διὸ κἂν ἄλλος τις ᾖ κρείττων κατ' ἀρετὴν καὶ κατὰ δύναμιν τὴν

3 τέλος ἔχουσιν] 'involve the accomplishment of.'

4 παριέναι] 'to give way to.'

ὑπολογεῖν] 'take account of, nor, as compared with this, bestow a thought upon them.' The kindred form ὑπολογίζεσθαι, with a similar sense, is not uncommon in Plato.

5 ὑποτίθενται τοῦτο ψεῦδος] 'here lies the fallacy of their assumption.'

ὅσον ἀνήρ, κ.τ.λ.] The cases given are instances of great natural differences, and in them there is no opening for that ἀρχὴ πολιτική, that rule over equal and free citizens, which, in the reasoning, the objector is supposed to aim at destroying.

ὥστε ὁ παραβαίνων] 'He then, who, by nature on a level with others, endeavours to place himself above them as their master, commits an error which no subsequent success can redeem. If men are equal, right and justice for them consist in their being governors and governed in turn.'

6 διὸ κἂν ἄλλος, κ.τ.λ.] Indeed, so

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πρακτικὴν τῶν ἀρίστων, τούτῳ καλὸν ἀκολουθεῖν καὶ τούτῳ πείθεσθαι δίκαιον. δεῖ δ' οὐ μόνον ἀρετὴν ἀλλὰ καὶ δύναμιν ὑπάρχειν, καθ' ἣν ἔσται πρακτικός. Ἀλλ' εἰ ταῦτα λέγεται καλῶς καὶ τὴν εὐδαιμονίαν εὐπραγίαν θετέον, καὶ
7 κοινῇ πάσης πόλεως ἂν εἴη καὶ καθ' ἕκαστον ἄριστος βίος ὁ
8 πρακτικός. ἀλλὰ τὸν πρακτικὸν οὐκ ἀναγκαῖον εἶναι πρὸς ἑτέρους, καθάπερ οἴονταί τινες, οὐδὲ τὰς διανοίας εἶναι μόνας ταύτας πρακτικὰς τὰς τῶν ἀποβαινόντων χάριν γιγνομένας ἐκ τοῦ πράττειν, ἀλλὰ πολὺ μᾶλλον τὰς αὐτοτελεῖς καὶ τὰς αὑτῶν ἕνεκεν θεωρίας καὶ διανοήσεις· ἡ γὰρ εὐπραξία τέλος, ὥστε καὶ πρᾶξίς τις· μάλιστα δὲ καὶ πράττειν λέγομεν κυρίως καὶ τῶν ἐξωτερικῶν πράξεων τοὺς ταῖς διανοίαις
9 ἀρχιτέκτονας. ἀλλὰ μὴν οὐδ' ἀπρακτεῖν ἀναγκαῖον τὰς καθ' αὑτὰς πόλεις ἱδρυμένας καὶ ζῆν οὕτω προῃρημένας· ἐνδέχεται γὰρ κατὰ μέρη καὶ τοῦτο συμβαίνειν· πολλαὶ γὰρ
10 κοινωνίαι πρὸς ἄλληλα τοῖς μέρεσι τῆς πόλεώς εἰσιν. ὁμοίως

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far is it from being true that each man should grasp at power, on any ground, even on this, that he will make a good use of it, that he ought to see that it is the right thing and the noble for him to retire before any one who is his superior, and yield him obedience.

7 δεῖ δ' οὐ μόνον, κ.τ.λ.] 'I use both terms, virtue and ability (δύναμιν), for both are necessary. Virtue alone does not guarantee the skill to use it rightly.'

8 ἀλλὰ τὸν πρακτικόν] But in taking up this position we must attend to the sense of the word πρακτικός.

τὰς τῶν ἀποβαινόντων] The order is, τὰς γιγνομένας χάριν τῶν ἀποβαινόντων ἐκ τοῦ πράττειν.

αὐτοτελεῖς] 'sui juris,' 'independent,' 'self-complete,' the opposite of ὑποτελεῖς.

ἡ γάρ] 'That there are such is clear, for,' &c.

ἐξωτερικῶν] 'external actions.'

τοὺς ἀρχτέκτονας] Compare *Metaph.* I. v. p. 981, διὸ καὶ τοὺς ἀρχιτέκτονας περὶ ἕκαστον τιμιωτέρους καὶ μᾶλλον εἰδέναι νομίζομεν τῶν χειροτεχνῶν καὶ σοφωτέρους.

9 ἀλλὰ μήν] 'Nor again, putting aside these considerations and taking action in the common sense, is it necessary to condemn to inaction the states which are placed alone, and which choose a life answering to this their isolation.'

καὶ τοῦτο] This καὶ seems out of place. Its more natural position is before the κατά. 'For it is possible even within themselves and with reference to their several parts, that there should be action,' τοῦτο sc. τὸ πράττειν.

10 ὑπάρχει] 'is true of.'

σχολῇ γάρ] 'else hardly.'

οἷς οὐκ εἰσίν] For this language, as far as it applies to the gods, compare *Eth.* x. viii. 7, 8, p. 1178, b. 8.

τοῖς ἀνθρώποις] seems equivalent to

δὲ τοῦτο ὑπάρχει καὶ καθ' ἑνὸς ὁτουοῦν τῶν ἀνθρώπων· σχολῇ γὰρ ἂν ὁ θεὸς ἔχοι καλῶς καὶ πᾶς ὁ κόσμος, οἷς οὐκ εἰσὶν ἐξωτερικαὶ πράξεις παρὰ τὰς οἰκείας τὰς αὐτῶν. Ὅτι μὲν οὖν τὸν αὐτὸν βίον ἀναγκαῖον εἶναι τὸν ἄριστον ἑκάστῳ τε τῶν ἀνθρώπων καὶ κοινῇ ταῖς πόλεσι καὶ τοῖς ἀνθρώποις, φανερόν ἐστιν.

Is happiness the same for the man and for the state?

Ἐπεὶ δὲ πεφροιμίασται τὰ νῦν εἰρημένα περὶ αὐτῶν, καὶ 4
περὶ τὰς ἄλλας πολιτείας ἡμῖν τεθεώρηται πρότερον, ἀρχὴ τῶν λοιπῶν εἰπεῖν πρῶτον ποίας τινὰς δεῖ τὰς ὑποθέσεις εἶναι περὶ τῆς μελλούσης κατ' εὐχὴν συνεστάναι πόλεως. οὐ 2
γὰρ οἷόν τε πολιτείαν γενέσθαι τὴν ἀρίστην ἄνευ συμμέτρου χορηγίας. διὸ δεῖ πολλὰ προϋποτεθεῖσθαι καθάπερ εὐχομένους, εἶναι μέντοι μηθὲν τούτων ἀδύνατον. λέγω δὲ οἷον περί τε πλήθους πολιτῶν καὶ χώρας. ὥσπερ γὰρ καὶ 3
τοῖς ἄλλοις δημιουργοῖς, οἷον ὑφάντῃ καὶ ναυπηγῷ, δεῖ τὴν ὕλην ὑπάρχειν ἐπιτηδείαν οὖσαν πρὸς τὴν ἐργασίαν (ὅσῳ 1326
γὰρ ἂν αὐτὴ τυγχάνῃ παρεσκευασμένη βέλτιον, ἀνάγκη καὶ τὸ γιγνόμενον ὑπὸ τῆς τέχνης εἶναι κάλλιον), οὕτω καὶ τῷ πολιτικῷ καὶ τῷ νομοθέτῃ δεῖ τὴν οἰκείαν ὕλην ὑπάρχειν ἐπιτηδείως ἔχουσαν. ἔστι δὲ πολιτικῆς χορηγίας πρῶτον 4
τό τε πλῆθος τῶν ἀνθρώπων, πόσους τε καὶ ποίους τινὰς ὑπάρχειν δεῖ φύσει, καὶ κατὰ τὴν χώραν ὡσαύτως, ὅσην τε

The number of citizens.

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the γένος ἀνθρώπων of II. 17, and I see no reason for omitting them, as Spengel wishes to do, XLVII. note 43.

IV. 1 So far by way of prelude or introduction. He proceeds more directly to his task of forming a constitution, and to the conditions, first of all, which he requires. He must have a certain number of citizens, and a country in which to place them.

καὶ περὶ τὰς ἄλλας] This is one of the passages which is necessarily omitted if the order of the books is changed, as I have changed it.

τὰς ὑποθέσεις] 'the primary assumptions,' the conditions under which we can form our state.

2 συμμέτρου χορηγίας] 'adequate appliances.'

προϋποτεθεῖσθαι] 'we must presuppose many things.' I take the verb in an active sense, looking at the accusative εὐχομένους. We have ὑποτίθεσθαι in the parallel passage, II. 6, 7.

3 ἐπιτηδείαν οὖσαν] 'in a right state for their work.'

τὴν οἰκείαν ὕλην] 'Their peculiar material.'

4 πολιτικῆς χορηγίας] 'The first point in the statesman's arguments.'

φύσει] depends on ποίους τινάς

The number of citizens.

εἶναι καὶ ποίαν τινὰ ταύτην. Οἴονται μὲν οὖν οἱ πλεῖστοι
προσήκειν μεγάλην εἶναι τὴν εὐδαίμονα πόλιν· εἰ δὲ τοῦτ'
5 ἀληθές, ἀγνοοῦσι ποία μεγάλη καὶ ποία μικρὰ πόλις. κατ'
ἀριθμοῦ γὰρ πλῆθος τῶν ἐνοικούντων κρίνουσι τὴν μεγάλην,
δεῖ δὲ μᾶλλον μὴ εἰς τὸ πλῆθος εἰς δὲ δύναμιν ἀποβλέπειν.
ἔστι γάρ τι καὶ πόλεως ἔργον, ὥστε τὴν δυναμένην τοῦτο
μάλιστ' ἀποτελεῖν, ταύτην οἰητέον εἶναι μεγίστην, οἷον Ἱπ-
ποκράτην οὐκ ἄνθρωπον ἀλλ' ἰατρὸν εἶναι μείζω φήσειεν ἄν
6 τις τοῦ διαφέροντος κατὰ τὸ μέγεθος τοῦ σώματος. οὐ
μὴν ἀλλὰ κἂν εἰ δεῖ κρίνειν πρὸς τὸ πλῆθος ἀποβλέποντας,
οὐ κατὰ τὸ τυχὸν πλῆθος τοῦτο οἰητέον (ἀναγκαῖον γὰρ ἐν
ταῖς πόλεσιν ἴσως ὑπάρχειν καὶ δούλων ἀριθμὸν πολλῶν
καὶ μετοίκων καὶ ξένων,) ἀλλ' ὅσοι πόλεώς εἰσι μέρος καὶ
ἐξ ὧν συνίσταται πόλις οἰκείων μορίων· ἡ γὰρ τούτων
ὑπεροχὴ τοῦ πλήθους μεγάλης πόλεως σημεῖον, ἐξ ἧς δὲ
βάναυσοι μὲν ἐξέρχονται πολλοὶ τὸν ἀριθμὸν ὁπλῖται δὲ
ὀλίγοι, ταύτην ἀδύνατον εἶναι μεγάλην· οὐ γὰρ ταὐτὸν με-
7 γάλη τε πόλις καὶ πολυάνθρωπος. ἀλλὰ μὴν καὶ τοῦτό
γε ἐκ τῶν ἔργων φανερὸν ὅτι χαλεπόν, ἴσως δ' ἀδύνατον,
εὐνομεῖσθαι τὴν λίαν πολυάνθρωπον. τῶν γοῦν δοκουσῶν
πολιτεύεσθαι καλῶς οὐδεμίαν ὁρῶμεν οὖσαν ἀνειμένην πρὸς
τὸ πλῆθος. τοῦτο δὲ δῆλον καὶ διὰ τῆς τῶν λόγων πίστεως.
8 ὅ τε γὰρ νόμος τάξις τίς ἐστι, καὶ τὴν εὐνομίαν ἀναγκαῖον
εὐταξίαν εἶναι, ὁ δὲ λίαν ὑπερβάλλων ἀριθμὸς οὐ δύναται
μετέχειν τάξεως· θείας γὰρ δὴ τοῦτο δυνάμεως ἔργον, ἥτις

εἰ δὲ τοῦτ' ἀληθές] 'This may be true, but they do not know.'

5 ἔστι γάρ, κ.τ.λ.] 'For the state, the collective personality, as well as the individual artificer, has its work.'

6 οὐ μὴν ἀλλά, κ.τ.λ.] 'or change the view and take number also into account, yet quality must be considered.'

[illegible], κ.τ.λ.] This passage [illegible] distinctly. Compare [illegible] note.

οἰκείων μορίων] 'parts proper to it.' This is dwelt on later, Ch. VIII. 1.

τούτων] depends on πλήθους.

7 ἐκ τῶν ἔργων] 'from practical experience.'

ἀνειμένην πρὸς τὸ πλῆθος] 'without any check on the increase in point of number.'

8 These next two sections are not easy to arrange. The sense seems to require us to look on the words θείας γὰρ —— ἀναγκαῖον as a parenthesis. 'Law is an arrangement, good law a

The number of citizens.

καὶ τόδε συνέχει τὸ πᾶν· ἐπεὶ δὲ τὸ καλὸν ἐν πλήθει καὶ
μεγέθει εἴωθε γίνεσθαι, καὶ πόλιν ἧς μετὰ μεγέθους ὁ λεχθεὶς
ὅρος ὑπάρχει, ταύτην εἶναι καλλίστην ἀναγκαῖον. ἀλλ' 9
ἔστι τι καὶ πόλεσι μεγέθους μέτρον, ὥσπερ καὶ τῶν ἄλλων
πάντων, ζῴων φυτῶν ὀργάνων. καὶ γὰρ τούτων ἕκαστον 10
οὔτε λίαν μικρὸν οὔτε κατὰ μέγεθος ὑπερβάλλον ἕξει τὴν
αὑτοῦ δύναμιν, ἀλλ' ὁτὲ μὲν ὅλως ἐστερημένον ἔσται τῆς
φύσεως, ὁτὲ δὲ φαύλως ἔχον, οἷον πλοῖον σπιθαμιαῖον μὲν
οὐκ ἔσται πλοῖον ὅλως, οὐδὲ δυοῖν σταδίοιν, εἰς δέ τι μέγε-
θος ἐλθὸν ὁτὲ μὲν διὰ σμικρότητα φαύλην ποιήσει τὴν ναυ- 1326 B.
τιλίαν, ὁτὲ δὲ διὰ τὴν ὑπερβολήν. ὁμοίως δὲ καὶ πόλις 11
ἡ μὲν ἐξ ὀλίγων λίαν οὐκ αὐτάρκης (ἡ δὲ πόλις αὔταρκες), ἡ
δὲ ἐκ πολλῶν ἄγαν ἐν τοῖς μὲν ἀναγκαίοις αὐτάρκης, ὥσπερ
ἔθνος, ἀλλ' οὐ πόλις· πολιτείαν γὰρ οὐ ῥᾴδιον ὑπάρχειν·
τίς γὰρ στρατηγὸς ἔσται τοῦ λίαν ὑπερβάλλοντος πλήθους,
ἢ τίς κῆρυξ μὴ Στεντόρειος; διὸ πρώτην μὲν εἶναι πόλιν
ἀναγκαῖον τὴν ἐκ τοσούτου πλήθους ὃ πρῶτον πλῆθος αὔτ-
αρκες πρὸς τὸ εὖ ζῆν ἐστὶ κατὰ τὴν πολιτικὴν κοινωνίαν.

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good arrangement, but a very excessive number is not susceptible of arrangement, but there must be for states as for everything else some limit of size, so that they may be susceptible of arrangement.' This seems the course of the argument. But, granting this, there still remains the intermediate passage, of which, as it stands, I do not see the meaning clearly. I should put a colon at τὸ πᾶν. 'For this, the ordering of a very large number, is a task above the strength of man, it requires a divine power, a power like that which keeps together the whole universe of things.' ἐπεὶ δὲ τὸ καλὸν ἐν πλήθει καὶ μεγέθει εἴωθε γίνεσθαι, καὶ πόλιν ἧς μετὰ μεγέθους λεχθεὶς ὅρος ὑπάρχει, ταύτην εἶναι καλλίστην ἀναγκαῖον. 'Since beauty requires size as one of its conditions (πλήθει καὶ μεγέθει, not meant to convey more than simply μεγέθει), so in states also, that which combines with a certain size good order (ὁ λεχθεὶς ὅρος = εὐταξία), must necessarily be the most beautiful.' Compare *Poct.* VII. viii. p. 1450, b. 37: τὸ γὰρ καλὸν ἐν μεγέθει καὶ τάξει ἐστι. *Eth.* IV. vii. 5, p. 1123, b. 8: τὸ κάλλος ἐν μεγάλῳ σώματι.

10 τῆς φύσεως] nature, in the sense given, I. II. 8.

εἰς δέ τι μέγεθος, κ.τ.λ.] 'It may attain a certain size, and yet, at one time, impair its sailing power by its smallness, at another by its excessive greatness.'

11 ἐν τοῖς μὲν ἀναγκαίοις] 'Though in all mere necessaries it be complete, yet it is not a state:' οὐ μετέχει τάξεως, wants, therefore, the καλόν.

πρώτην μὲν εἶναι] 'Then, first, is there a state, where you have arrived, in reference to number, exactly at the

The number of citizens.

ἐνδέχεται δὲ καὶ τὴν ταύτης ὑπερβάλλουσαν κατὰ πλῆθος εἶναι μείζω πόλιν· ἀλλὰ τοῦτ' οὐκ ἔστιν, ὥσπερ εἴπομεν,
12 ἀόριστον. τίς δ' ἐστὶν ὁ τῆς ὑπερβολῆς ὅρος, ἐκ τῶν ἔργων ἰδεῖν ῥᾴδιον. εἰσὶ γὰρ αἱ πράξεις τῆς πόλεως τῶν μὲν ἀρχόντων τῶν δ' ἀρχομένων, ἄρχοντος δ' ἐπίταξις καὶ κρίσις
13 ἔργον. πρὸς δὲ τὸ κρίνειν περὶ τῶν δικαίων καὶ πρὸς το τὰς ἀρχὰς διανέμειν κατ' ἀξίαν ἀναγκαῖον γνωρίζειν ἀλλήλους, ποῖοί τινές εἰσι, τοὺς πολίτας, ὡς ὅπου τοῦτο μὴ συμβαίνει γίγνεσθαι, φαύλως ἀνάγκη γίγνεσθαι τὰ περὶ τὰς ἀρχὰς καὶ τὰς κρίσεις· περὶ ἀμφότερα γὰρ οὐ δίκαιον αὐτοσχεδιάζειν, ὅπερ ἐν τῇ πολυανθρωπίᾳ τῇ λίαν ὑπάρχει φανε-
14 ρῶς. ἔτι δὲ ξένοις καὶ μετοίκοις ῥᾴδιον μεταλαμβάνειν τῆς πολιτείας· οὐ γὰρ χαλεπὸν τὸ λανθάνειν διὰ τὴν ὑπερβολὴν τοῦ πλῆθους. δῆλον τοίνυν ὡς οὗτός ἐστι πόλεως ὅρος ἄριστος, ἡ μεγίστη τοῦ πλήθους ὑπερβολὴ πρὸς αὐτάρκειαν ζωῆς εὐσύνοπτος. Περὶ μὲν οὖν μεγέθους πόλεως διωρίσθω τὸν τρόπον τοῦτον.

The country.

5 Παραπλησίως δὲ καὶ τὰ περὶ τῆς χώρας ἔχει. περὶ μὲν γὰρ τοῦ ποίαν τινά, δῆλον ὅτι τὴν αὐταρκεστάτην πᾶς τις ἂν ἐπαινέσειεν· τοιαύτην δ' ἀναγκαῖον εἶναι τὴν παντοφόρον· τὸ γὰρ πάντα ὑπάρχειν καὶ δεῖσθαι μηθενὸς αὔταρκες. πλήθει δὲ καὶ μεγέθει τοσαύτην ὥστε δύνασθαι τοὺς οἰκοῦντας ζῆν σχολάζοντας ἐλευθερίως ἅμα καὶ σω-

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point where first completeness is secured.'

12 **τῶν μέν**] It would be better if it were **αἱ μὲν τῶν ἀρχόντων αἱ δὲ τῶν ἀρχομένων.**

ἐπίταξις] in their political and executive capacity. **κρίσις** in their judicial; otherwise **κρίσις** is more properly the function **τῶν ἀρχομένων**

13 The magistrates, then, are very important, but how can they be rightly elected, if those who elect them cannot judge of them; and the requisite knowledge is difficult when the numbers are very large. The choice of the governor is always the great difficulty of government.

γνωρίζειν ἀλλήλους] 'mutual knowledge is requisite.'

αὐτοσχεδιάζειν] Thuc. I. 138.

ὑπάρχει φανερῶς] 'evidently cannot be escaped.'

εὐσύνοπτος] 'easily seen as a whole,' 'not too large for the eye to comprehend.'

V. 1 **ζῆν σχολάζοντας, κ.τ.λ.**] Compare II. VI. 9. He gives shortly all the requirements of the Greek freeman.

φρόνως. τοῦτον δὲ τὸν ὅρον εἰ καλῶς ἢ μὴ καλῶς λέγο- *The country.*
μεν, ὕστερον ἐπισκεπτέον ἀκριβέστερον, ὅταν ὅλως περὶ
κτήσεως καὶ τῆς περὶ τὴν οὐσίαν εὐπορίας συμβαίνῃ ποιεῖσθαι 2
μνείαν, πῶς δεῖ καὶ τίνα τρόπον ἔχειν πρὸς τὴν χρῆσιν
αὐτήν· πολλαὶ γὰρ περὶ τὴν σκέψιν ταύτην εἰσὶν ἀμφισ-
βητήσεις διὰ τοὺς ἕλκοντας ἐφ' ἑκατέραν τοῦ βίου τὴν ὑπερ-
βολήν, τοὺς μὲν ἐπὶ τὴν γλισχρότητα τοὺς δὲ ἐπὶ τὴν τρυ-
φήν. Τὸ δ' εἶδος τῆς χώρας οὐ χαλεπὸν εἰπεῖν, δεῖ δ' ἔνια 3
πείθεσθαι καὶ τοῖς περὶ τὴν στρατηγίαν ἐμπείροις, ὅτι χρὴ
μὲν τοῖς πολεμίοις εἶναι δυσέμβολον, αὐτοῖς δ' εὐέξοδον.
ἔτι δ' ὥσπερ τὸ πλῆθος τὸ τῶν ἀνθρώπων εὐσύνοπτον ἔφα- 1327
μεν εἶναι δεῖν, οὕτω καὶ τὴν χώραν. τὸ δ' εὐσύνοπτον τὸ εὐ-
βοήθητον εἶναι τὴν χώραν ἐστίν. τῆς δὲ πόλεως τὴν θέσιν
εἰ χρὴ ποιεῖν κατ' εὐχήν, πρός τε τὴν θάλατταν προσήκει
κεῖσθαι καλῶς πρός τε τὴν χώραν. εἷς μὲν ὁ λεχθεὶς ὅρος· 4
δεῖ γὰρ πρὸς τὰς ἐκβοηθείας κοινὴν εἶναι τῶν τόπων ἁπάν-
των· ὁ δὲ λοιπὸς πρὸς τὰς τῶν γιγνομένων καρπῶν παρα-
πομπάς, ἔτι δὲ τῆς περὶ ξύλα ὕλης, κἂν εἴ τινα ἄλλην
ἐργασίαν ἡ χώρα τυγχάνοι κεκτημένη τοιαύτην, εὐπαρα-
κόμιστον.

Περὶ δὲ τῆς πρὸς τὴν θάλατταν κοινωνίας, πότερον 6
ὠφέλιμος ταῖς εὐνομουμέναις πόλεσιν ἢ βλαβερά, πολλὰ *Should the state be maritime?*

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2 τὸν ὅρον τοῦτον] must be referred, not to αὐταρκεστάτην, but to what immediately precedes.

ὕστερον] Spengel, p. 10, note, thinks this is done in this same Book, Chs. VII. (VIII. rather) and XV. It seems to me one of the portions that are lost. From the point of view of the family it has been treated in the first book, but it yet remains to be considered as a political question.

αὐτήν] to be taken with ἔχειν.

διὰ τοὺς ἕλκοντας, κ.τ.λ.] 'because of those who, in the conduct of life, pull different ways, the one towards the one extreme, the other towards the other.'

3 τὸ δ' εἶδος] 'But as for the form.' The δὲ answers to the μὲν in περὶ μὲν γάρ.

4 ὁ λεχθεὶς] sc. that it should be εὐβοήθητον or εὐσύνοπτον. The second is, that it should be εὐπαρακόμιστον.

I place only a comma at παραπομπάς, and consider the genitive ὕλης to depend on it, just as much as καρπῶν does. 'The other requirement left is, that the country should be easy of access, for the conveyance of the produce generally, and also of its material in timber or any other similar object that it may possess.'

VI. 1 τῆς πρὸς θάλατταν] This

Maritime intercourse.

τυγχάνουσιν ἀμφισβητοῦντες. τό τε γὰρ ἐπιξενοῦσθαί τινας ἐν ἄλλοις τεθραμμένους νόμοις ἀσύμφορον εἶναί φασι πρὸς τὴν εὐνομίαν, καὶ τὴν πολυανθρωπίαν· γίνεσθαι μὲν γὰρ ἐκ τοῦ χρῆσθαι τῇ θαλάσσῃ διαπέμποντας καὶ δεχομένους ἐμπόρων πλῆθος, ὑπεναντίαν δ' εἶναι πρὸς τὸ πολιτεύεσθαι
2 καλῶς. ὅτι μὲν οὖν, εἰ ταῦτα μὴ συμβαίνει, βέλτιον καὶ πρὸς ἀσφάλειαν καὶ πρὸς εὐπορίαν τῶν ἀναγκαίων μετέχειν
3 τὴν πόλιν καὶ τὴν χώραν τῆς θαλάττης, οὐκ ἄδηλον. καὶ γὰρ πρὸς τὸ ῥᾷον φέρειν τοὺς πολέμους εὐβοηθήτους εἶναι δεῖ κατ' ἀμφότερα τοὺς σωθησομένους, καὶ κατὰ γῆν καὶ κατὰ θάλατταν· καὶ πρὸς τὸ βλάψαι τοὺς ἐπιτιθεμένους, εἰ μὴ κατ' ἄμφω δυνατόν, ἀλλὰ κατὰ θάτερον ὑπάρξει, μᾶλλον
4 ἀμφοτέρων μετέχουσιν. ὅσα τ' ἂν μὴ τυγχάνῃ παρ' αὐτοῖς ὄντα, δέξασθαι ταῦτα καὶ τὰ πλεονάζοντα τῶν γιγνομένων ἐκπέμψασθαι τῶν ἀναγκαίων ἐστίν· αὑτῇ γὰρ ἐμπορικήν, ἀλλ' οὐ τοῖς ἄλλοις δεῖ εἶναι τὴν πόλιν. οἱ δὲ παρέχοντες σφᾶς αὐτοὺς πᾶσιν ἀγορὰν προσόδου χάριν ταῦτα

point suggested by his statement in the last chapter, κεῖσθαι καλῶς πρὸς τὴν θάλατταν.

ἐπιξενοῦσθαί τινας] "Die fortwährende Anwesenheit der Fremden," Stahr. 'That there should be resident a body of foreigners brought up in other laws and customs.'

ἐν ἄλλοις νόμοις] In III. III. 6, the same point was mooted, the same in principle, that is, πότερον ἔθνος ἓν ἢ πλείω συμφέρει.

καὶ τὴν πολυανθρωπίαν] sc. ἀσύμφορον εἶναι.

ἐμπόρων πλῆθος] depend on the participles διαπέμποντας καὶ δεχομένους.

2 εἰ ταῦτα μὴ συμβαίνει] 'If these results do not arise.'

εὐπορίαν τῶν ἀναγκαίων] 'a ready and large supply of all the necessaries of life.'

4 τὰ πλεονάζοντα τῶν γιγνομένων] 'Their surplus produce.'

αὑτῇ γὰρ ἐμπορικήν] A singular statement. He was led into it by his dislike of commerce, which he would restrict, therefore, within as narrow limits as possible, and make as selfish as possible for each state. This is a conclusion quite alien to the genuine spirit of commerce, which is, in the largest and freest sense, the connection for mutual support and for the supply of mutual wants, of the whole human family. And any theory like this of Aristotle's—such as the mercantile and protective system of later times,—which aims at exclusiveness, is to be condemned as a direct attack on the real interests of mankind,—a substitution of the provisional and fictitious virtue of patriotism or national selfishness, for the true idea of a common union between all the members of the great family which mankind forms.

ταῦτα πράττουσιν] 'do so for the sake of revenue.'

Maritime intercourse.

πράττουσιν· ἣν δὲ μὴ δεῖ πόλιν τοιαύτης μετέχειν πλεονεξίας, οὐδ' ἐμπόριον δεῖ κεκτῆσθαι τοιοῦτον. Ἐπεὶ δὲ καὶ νῦν ὁρῶμεν πολλαῖς ὑπάρχοντα[a] χώραις καὶ πόλεσιν ἐπίνεια 5
καὶ λιμένας εὐφυῶς κείμενα πρὸς τὴν πόλιν, ὥστε μήτε τὸ αὐτὸ νέμειν ἄστυ μήτε πόρρω λίαν, ἀλλὰ κρατεῖσθαι τείχεσι καὶ τοιούτοις ἄλλοις ἐρύμασι, φανερὸν ὡς εἰ μὲν ἀγαθόν τι συμβαίνει γίγνεσθαι διὰ τῆς κοινωνίας αὐτῶν, ὑπάρξει τῇ πόλει τοῦτο τὸ ἀγαθόν, εἰ δέ τι βλαβερόν, φυλάξασθαι ῥᾴδιον τοῖς νόμοις φράζοντας καὶ διορίζοντας τίνας οὐ δεῖ καὶ τίνας ἐπιμίσγεσθαι δεῖ πρὸς ἀλλήλους. περὶ δὲ τῆς 6
ναυτικῆς δυνάμεως, ὅτι μὲν βέλτιστον ὑπάρχειν μέχρι τινὸς πλήθους, οὐκ ἄδηλον· οὐ γὰρ μόνον αὐτοῖς ἀλλὰ καὶ τῶν 1327 B
πλησίον τισὶ δεῖ καὶ φοβεροὺς εἶναι καὶ δύνασθαι βοηθεῖν, ὥσπερ κατὰ γῆν, καὶ κατὰ θάλατταν. περὶ δὲ πλήθους 7
ἤδη καὶ μεγέθους τῆς δυνάμεως ταύτης πρὸς τὸν βίον ἀποσκεπτέον τῆς πόλεως· εἰ μὲν γὰρ ἡγεμονικὸν καὶ πολιτικὸν ζήσεται βίον, ἀναγκαῖον καὶ ταύτην τὴν δύναμιν ὑπάρχειν πρὸς τὰς πράξεις σύμμετρον. τὴν δὲ πολυανθρωπίαν τὴν γιγνομένην περὶ τὸν ναυτικὸν ὄχλον οὐκ ἀναγκαῖον ὑπάρχειν ταῖς πόλεσιν· οὐθὲν γὰρ αὐτοὺς μέρος εἶναι δεῖ τῆς πόλεως. τὸ μὲν γὰρ ἐπιβατικὸν ἐλεύθερον καὶ 8

[a] ὕπαρχον καὶ Bekker.

τοιαύτης πλεονεξίας] 'such a desire of gain.' This would be true if one nation's gain were another's loss, but this has already been stated to be inadmissible.

5 *ὑπάρχον*] If kept, must be made to agree with *ἐμπόριον*, supplied. But the sentence seems faulty. Schneider, with Coray, wishes to read *ὑπάρχειν*. I should prefer *ὑπάρχοντα*, leaving out the *καί*.

εὐφυῶς κείμενα] 'advantageously situated as regards the city.'

νέμειν] 'inhabit.' *δόμους νέμοιμι σούς*, Soph. *Aj.* 1016.

διὰ τῆς κοινωνίας αὐτῶν] 'by the intercourse with them,' the *ἐπίνεια καὶ λιμένας*.

φράζοντας, κ.τ.λ.] 'stating and defining.'

6 *αὐτοῖς*] 'with regard to themselves only.'

7 *ἡγεμονικὸν καὶ πολιτικόν*] 'an imperial and social life,' mixed up with other states that is. The opposite to *πολιτικόν* here would be *ξενικόν*, Ch. II. 3.

τὴν γιγνομένην περί] 'Involved by.'

οὐθὲν γάρ, κ.τ.λ.] 'For they ought not to be any part of the state.'

8 *τῆς ναυτιλίας*] "im Seewesen," Stahr; 'directs the navigation,' III. IV. 2.

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εἴπερ ἐνδέχεται πόλιν οἰκεῖσθαί που καθ' ἑαυτὴν νόμοις χρωμένην σπουδαίοις, ἧς τῆς πολιτείας ἡ σύνταξις οὐ πρὸς πόλεμον οὐδὲ πρὸς τὸ κρατεῖν ἔσται τῶν πολεμίων· μηθὲν γὰρ ὑπαρχέτω τοιοῦτον. δῆλον ἄρα ὅτι πάσας τὰς πρὸς
17 τὸν πόλεμον ἐπιμελείας καλὰς μὲν θετέον, οὐχ ὡς τέλος δὲ πάντων ἀκρότατον, ἀλλ' ἐκείνου χάριν ταύτας. τοῦ δὲ νομοθέτου τοῦ σπουδαίου ἐστὶ τὸ θεάσασθαι πόλιν καὶ γένος ἀνθρώπων καὶ πᾶσαν ἄλλην κοινωνίαν, ζωῆς ἀγαθῆς
18 πῶς μεθέξουσι καὶ τῆς ἐνδεχομένης αὐτοῖς εὐδαιμονίας. διοίσει μέντοι τῶν ταττομένων ἔνια νομίμων· καὶ τοῦτο τῆς νομοθετικῆς ἐστὶν ἰδεῖν, ἐάν τινες ὑπάρχωσι γειτνιῶντες, ποῖα προς ποίους ἀσκητέον ἢ πῶς τοῖς καθήκουσι πρὸς ἑκάστους χρηστέον. Ἀλλὰ τοῦτο μὲν κἂν ὕστερον τύχοι τῆς προσηκούσης σκέψεως, πρὸς τί τέλος δεῖ τὴν ἀρίστην πολιτείαν
3 συντείνειν· πρὸς δὲ τοὺς ὁμολογοῦντας μὲν τὸν μετ' ἀρετῆς εἶναι βίον αἱρετώτατον, διαφερομένους δὲ περὶ τῆς χρήσεως αὐτοῦ, λεκτέον ἡμῖν πρὸς ἀμφοτέρους αὐτούς (οἱ μὲν γὰρ ἀποδοκιμάζουσι τὰς πολιτικὰς ἀρχάς, νομίζοντες τόν τε τοῦ ἐλευθέρου βίον ἕτερόν τινα εἶναι τοῦ πολιτικοῦ καὶ πάντων αἱρετώτατον, οἱ δὲ τοῦτον ἄριστον· ἀδύνατον γὰρ τὸν μηθὲν πράττοντα πράττειν εὖ, τὴν δ' εὐπραγίαν καὶ τὴν εὐδαιμονίαν εἶναι ταὐτόν) ὅτι τὰ μὲν ἀμφότεροι λέγουσιν ὀρθῶς τὰ δ' οὐκ ὀρθῶς, οἱ μὲν ὅτι ὁ τοῦ ἐλευθέρου βίος τοῦ
2 δεσποτικοῦ ἀμείνων. τοῦτο γὰρ ἀληθές· οὐθὲν γὰρ τό γε δούλῳ, ᾗ δοῦλος, χρῆσθαι σεμνόν· ἡ γὰρ ἐπίταξις ἡ περὶ τῶν

17 *γένος ἀνθρώπων*] seems an equivalent expression to *ἔθνος*.

ἐνδεχομένης αὐτοῖς] 'open to them.'

18 *τοῖς καθήκουσι*] St. Hil. and Stahr agree in translating this "duties," Vict. "quæ ad officia pertinent." I rather take it in the sense of what is 'fitting,' 'appropriate,' and not in a technical sense.

συντείνειν] 'direct all its efforts.'

III. 1 *οἱ μὲν γάρ*] 'I say both, for the one,' &c.

ἐλευθέρου] equivalent to the *ξενικὸς καὶ τῆς πολιτικῆς κοινωνίας ἀπολελυμένος* of 2, 3. The words *ἀπράγμων*, *ἰδιώτης* would also express the same notion.

ἀδύνατον γάρ] 'For they urge that it is impossible.'

δεσποτικοῦ] This word is emphatic. If *the rule over slaves* is all that is open to a man, to keep clear of all power is the wiser course.

2 *οὐθὲν γάρ*] Compare I. vii. 4, as also for what follows the earlier part of the same chapter.

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ἀναγκαίων οὐδενὸς μετέχει τῶν καλῶν. τὸ μέντοι νομίζειν
πᾶσαν ἀρχὴν εἶναι δεσποτείαν οὐκ ὀρθόν· οὐ γὰρ ἔλαττον
διέστηκεν ἡ τῶν ἐλευθέρων ἀρχὴ τῆς τῶν δούλων ἢ αὐτὸ τὸ
φύσει ἐλεύθερον τοῦ φύσει δούλου. διώρισται δὲ περὶ
αὐτῶν ἱκανῶς ἐν τοῖς πρώτοις λόγοις. τὸ δὲ μᾶλλον 3
ἐπαινεῖν τὸ ἀπρακτεῖν τοῦ πράττειν οὐκ ἀληθές· ἡ γὰρ
εὐδαιμονία πρᾶξίς ἐστιν. ἔτι δὲ πολλῶν καὶ καλῶν τέλος
ἔχουσιν αἱ τῶν δικαίων καὶ σωφρόνων πράξεις. Καίτοι
τάχ' ἂν ὑπολάβοι τις τούτων οὕτω διωρισμένων ὅτι τὸ
κύριον εἶναι πάντων ἄριστον· οὕτω γὰρ ἂν πλείστων καὶ
καλλίστων κύριος εἴη πράξεων. ὥστε οὐ δεῖ τὸν δυνάμενον 4
ἄρχειν παριέναι τῷ πλησίον, ἀλλὰ μᾶλλον ἀφαιρεῖσθαι, καὶ
μήτε πατέρα παίδων μήτε παῖδας πατρὸς μήθ' ὅλως φίλον
φίλου μηθένα ὑπολογεῖν μηδὲ πρὸς τοῦτο φροντίζειν· τὸ
γὰρ ἄριστον αἱρετώτατον, τὸ δ' εὖ πράττειν ἄριστον.
τοῦτο μὲν οὖν ἀληθῶς ἴσως λέγουσιν, εἴπερ ὑπάρξει τοῖς
ἀποστεροῦσι καὶ βιαζομένοις τὸ τῶν ὄντων αἱρετώτατον. 1325 B
ἀλλ' ἴσως οὐχ οἷόν τε ὑπάρχειν, ἀλλ' ὑποτίθενται τοῦτο 5
ψεῦδος· οὐ γὰρ ἔτι καλὰς τὰς πράξεις ἐνδέχεται εἶναι τῷ
μὴ διαφέροντι τοσοῦτον ὅσον ἀνὴρ γυναικὸς ἢ πατὴρ τέκνων
ἢ δεσπότης δούλων. ὥστε ὁ παραβαίνων οὐθὲν ἂν τηλικοῦτον
κατορθώσειεν ὕστερον ὅσον ἤδη παρεκβέβηκε τῆς ἀρετῆς. τοῖς
γὰρ ὁμοίοις τὸ καλὸν καὶ τὸ δίκαιον ἐν τῷ μέρει· τοῦτο γὰρ
ἴσον καὶ ὅμοιον. τὸ δὲ μὴ ἴσον τοῖς ἴσοις καὶ τὸ μὴ ὅμοιον 6
τοῖς ὁμοίοις παρὰ φύσιν· οὐδὲν δὲ τῶν παρὰ φύσιν καλόν.
διὸ κἂν ἄλλος τις ᾖ κρείττων κατ' ἀρετὴν καὶ κατὰ δύναμιν τὴν

3 τέλος ἔχουσιν] 'involve the accomplishment of.'

4 παριέναι] 'to give way to.'

ὑπολογεῖν] 'take account of, nor, as compared with this, bestow a thought upon them.' The kindred form ὑπολογίζεσθαι, with a similar sense, is not uncommon in Plato.

5 ὑποτίθενται τοῦτο ψεῦδος] 'here lies the fallacy of their assumption.'

ὅσον ἀνήρ, κ.τ.λ.] The cases given are instances of great natural differences, and in them there is no opening for that ἀρχὴ πολιτική, that rule over equal and free citizens, which, in the reasoning, the objector is supposed to aim at destroying.

ὥστε ὁ παραβαίνων] 'He then, who, by nature on a level with others, endeavours to place himself above them as their master, commits an error which no subsequent success can redeem. If men are equal, right and justice for them consist in their being governors and governed in turn.'

6 διὸ κἂν ἄλλος, κ.τ.λ.] Indeed, so

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πρακτικὴν τῶν ἀρίστων, τούτῳ καλὸν ἀκολουθεῖν καὶ τούτῳ πείθεσθαι δίκαιον. δεῖ δ' οὐ μόνον ἀρετὴν ἀλλὰ καὶ δύναμιν ὑπάρχειν, καθ' ἣν ἔσται πρακτικός. Ἀλλ' εἰ ταῦτα λέγεται καλῶς καὶ τὴν εὐδαιμονίαν εὐπραγίαν θετέον, καὶ
7 κοινῇ πάσης πόλεως ἂν εἴη καὶ καθ' ἕκαστον ἄριστος βίος ὁ
8 πρακτικός. ἀλλὰ τὸν πρακτικὸν οὐκ ἀναγκαῖον εἶναι πρὸς ἑτέρους, καθάπερ οἴονταί τινες, οὐδὲ τὰς διανοίας εἶναι μόνας ταύτας πρακτικὰς τὰς τῶν ἀποβαινόντων χάριν γιγνομένας ἐκ τοῦ πράττειν, ἀλλὰ πολὺ μᾶλλον τὰς αὐτοτελεῖς καὶ τὰς αὑτῶν ἕνεκεν θεωρίας καὶ διανοήσεις· ἡ γὰρ εὐπραξία τέλος, ὥστε καὶ πρᾶξίς τις· μάλιστα δὲ καὶ πράττειν λέγομεν κυρίως καὶ τῶν ἐξωτερικῶν πράξεων τοὺς ταῖς διανοίαις
9 ἀρχιτέκτονας. ἀλλὰ μὴν οὐδ' ἀπρακτεῖν ἀναγκαῖον τὰς καθ' αὑτὰς πόλεις ἱδρυμένας καὶ ζῆν οὕτω προῃρημένας· ἐνδέχεται γὰρ κατὰ μέρη καὶ τοῦτο συμβαίνειν· πολλαὶ γὰρ
10 κοινωνίαι πρὸς ἄλληλα τοῖς μέρεσι τῆς πόλεώς εἰσιν. ὁμοίως

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far is it from being true that each man should grasp at power, on any ground, even on this, that he will make a good use of it, that he ought to see that it is the right thing and the noble for him to retire before any one who is his superior, and yield him obedience.

7 *δεῖ δ' οὐ μόνον, κ.τ.λ.*] 'I use both terms, virtue and ability (*δύναμιν*), for both are necessary. Virtue alone does not guarantee the skill to use it rightly.'

8 *ἀλλὰ τὸν πρακτικόν*] But in taking up this position we must attend to the sense of the word *πρακτικός*.

τὰς τῶν ἀποβαινόντων] The order is, *τὰς γιγνομένας χάριν τῶν ἀποβαινόντων ἐκ τοῦ πράττειν*.

αὐτοτελεῖς] 'sui juris,' 'independent,' 'self-complete,' the opposite of *ὑποτελεῖς*.

ἡ γάρ] 'That there are such is clear, for,' &c.

ἐξωτερικῶν] 'external actions.'

τοὺς ἀρχιτέκτονας] Compare *Metaph.* I. v. p. 981, *διὸ καὶ τοὺς ἀρχιτέκτονας περὶ ἕκαστον τιμιωτέρους καὶ μᾶλλον εἰδέναι νομίζομεν τῶν χειροτεχνῶν καὶ σοφωτέρους*.

9 *ἀλλὰ μήν*] 'Nor again, putting aside these considerations and taking action in the common sense, is it necessary to condemn to inaction the states which are placed alone, and which choose a life answering to this their isolation.'

καὶ τοῦτο] This *καὶ* seems out of place. Its more natural position is before the *κατά*. 'For it is possible even within themselves and with reference to their several parts, that there should be action,' *τοῦτο* sc. *τὸ πράττειν*.

10 *ὑπάρχει*] 'is true of.'

σχολῇ γάρ] 'else hardly.'

οἷς οὐκ εἰσίν] For this language, as far as it applies to the gods, compare *Eth.* x. viii. 7, 8, p. 1178, b. 8.

τοῖς ἀνθρώποις] seems equivalent to

δὲ τοῦτο ὑπάρχει καὶ καθ' ἑνὸς ὁτουοῦν τῶν ἀνθρώπων· σχολῇ γὰρ ἂν ὁ θεὸς ἔχοι καλῶς καὶ πᾶς ὁ κόσμος, οἷς οὐκ εἰσὶν ἐξωτερικαὶ πράξεις παρὰ τὰς οἰκείας τὰς αὐτῶν. Ὅτι μὲν οὖν τὸν αὐτὸν βίον ἀναγκαῖον εἶναι τὸν ἄριστον ἑκάστῳ τε τῶν ἀνθρώπων καὶ κοινῇ ταῖς πόλεσι καὶ τοῖς ἀνθρώποις, φανερόν ἐστιν.

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Ἐπεὶ δὲ πεφροιμίασται τὰ νῦν εἰρημένα περὶ αὐτῶν, καὶ 4
περὶ τὰς ἄλλας πολιτείας ἡμῖν τεθεώρηται πρότερον, ἀρχὴ τῶν λοιπῶν εἰπεῖν πρῶτον ποίας τινὰς δεῖ τὰς ὑποθέσεις εἶναι περὶ τῆς μελλούσης κατ' εὐχὴν συνεστάναι πόλεως. οὐ 2
γὰρ οἷόν τε πολιτείαν γενέσθαι τὴν ἀρίστην ἄνευ συμμέτρου χορηγίας. διὸ δεῖ πολλὰ προϋποτεθεῖσθαι καθάπερ εὐχομένους, εἶναι μέντοι μηθὲν τούτων ἀδύνατον. λέγω δὲ οἷον περί τε πλήθους πολιτῶν καὶ χώρας. ὥσπερ γὰρ καὶ 3
τοῖς ἄλλοις δημιουργοῖς, οἷον ὑφάντῃ καὶ ναυπηγῷ, δεῖ τὴν ὕλην ὑπάρχειν ἐπιτηδείαν οὖσαν πρὸς τὴν ἐργασίαν (ὅσῳ 1326
γὰρ ἂν αὐτὴ τυγχάνῃ παρεσκευασμένη βέλτιον, ἀνάγκη καὶ τὸ γιγνόμενον ὑπὸ τῆς τέχνης εἶναι κάλλιον), οὕτω καὶ τῷ πολιτικῷ καὶ τῷ νομοθέτῃ δεῖ τὴν οἰκείαν ὕλην ὑπάρχειν ἐπιτηδείως ἔχουσαν. ἔστι δὲ πολιτικῆς χορηγίας πρῶτον 4
τό τε πλῆθος τῶν ἀνθρώπων, πόσους τε καὶ ποίους τινὰς ὑπάρχειν δεῖ φύσει, καὶ κατὰ τὴν χώραν ὡσαύτως, ὅσην τε

The number of citizens.

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the *γένος ἀνθρώπων* of II. 17, and I see no reason for omitting them, as Spengel wishes to do, XLVII. note 43.

IV. 1 So far by way of prelude or introduction. He proceeds more directly to his task of forming a constitution, and to the conditions, first of all, which he requires. He must have a certain number of citizens, and a country in which to place them.

καὶ περὶ τὰς ἄλλας] This is one of the passages which is necessarily omitted if the order of the books is changed, as I have changed it.

τὰς ὑποθέσεις] 'the primary assumptions,' the conditions under which we can form our state.

2 *συμμέτρου χορηγίας*] 'adequate appliances.'

προϋποτεθεῖσθαι] 'we must presuppose many things.' I take the verb in an active sense, looking at the accusative *εὐχομένους*. We have *ὑποτίθεσθαι* in the parallel passage, II. 6, 7.

3 *ἐπιτηδείαν οὖσαν*] 'in a right state for their work.'

τὴν οἰκείαν ὕλην] 'Their peculiar material.'

4 *πολιτικῆς χορηγίας*] 'The first point in the statesman's arguments.'

φύσει] depends on *ποίους τινάς*

The number of citizens.

εἶναι καὶ ποίαν τινὰ ταύτην. Οἴονται μὲν οὖν οἱ πλεῖστοι
προσήκειν μεγάλην εἶναι τὴν εὐδαίμονα πόλιν· εἰ δὲ τοῦτ'
5 ἀληθές, ἀγνοοῦσι ποία μεγάλη καὶ ποία μικρὰ πόλις. κατ'
ἀριθμοῦ γὰρ πλῆθος τῶν ἐνοικούντων κρίνουσι τὴν μεγάλην,
δεῖ δὲ μᾶλλον μὴ εἰς τὸ πλῆθος εἰς δὲ δύναμιν ἀποβλέπειν.
ἔστι γάρ τι καὶ πόλεως ἔργον, ὥστε τὴν δυναμένην τοῦτο
μάλιστ' ἀποτελεῖν, ταύτην οἰητέον εἶναι μεγίστην, οἷον Ἱπ-
ποκράτην οὐκ ἄνθρωπον ἀλλ' ἰατρὸν εἶναι μείζω φήσειεν ἂν
6 τις τοῦ διαφέροντος κατὰ τὸ μέγεθος τοῦ σώματος. οὐ
μὴν ἀλλὰ κἂν εἰ δεῖ κρίνειν πρὸς τὸ πλῆθος ἀποβλέποντας,
οὐ κατὰ τὸ τυχὸν πλῆθος τοῦτο οἰητέον (ἀναγκαῖον γὰρ ἐν
ταῖς πόλεσιν ἴσως ὑπάρχειν καὶ δούλων ἀριθμὸν πολλῶν
καὶ μετοίκων καὶ ξένων,) ἀλλ' ὅσοι πόλεώς εἰσι μέρος καὶ
ἐξ ὧν συνίσταται πόλις οἰκείων μορίων· ἡ γὰρ τούτων
ὑπεροχὴ τοῦ πλήθους μεγάλης πόλεως σημεῖον, ἐξ ἧς δὲ
βάναυσοι μὲν ἐξέρχονται πολλοὶ τὸν ἀριθμὸν ὁπλῖται δὲ
ὀλίγοι, ταύτην ἀδύνατον εἶναι μεγάλην· οὐ γὰρ ταὐτὸν με-
7 γάλη τε πόλις καὶ πολυάνθρωπος. ἀλλὰ μὴν καὶ τοῦτό
γε ἐκ τῶν ἔργων φανερὸν ὅτι χαλεπόν, ἴσως δ' ἀδύνατον,
εὐνομεῖσθαι τὴν λίαν πολυάνθρωπον. τῶν γοῦν δοκουσῶν
πολιτεύεσθαι καλῶς οὐδεμίαν ὁρῶμεν οὖσαν ἀνειμένην πρὸς
τὸ πλῆθος. τοῦτο δὲ δῆλον καὶ διὰ τῆς τῶν λόγων πίστεως.
8 ὅ τε γὰρ νόμος τάξις τίς ἐστι, καὶ τὴν εὐνομίαν ἀναγκαῖον
εὐταξίαν εἶναι, ὁ δὲ λίαν ὑπερβάλλων ἀριθμὸς οὐ δύναται
μετέχειν τάξεως· θείας γὰρ δὴ τοῦτο δυνάμεως ἔργον, ἥτις

εἰ δὲ τοῦτ' ἀληθές] 'This may be true, but they do not know.'

5 ἔστι γάρ, κ.τ.λ.] 'For the state, the collective personality, as well as the individual artificer, has its work.'

6 οὐ μὴν ἀλλά, κ.τ.λ.] 'or change the view and take number also into account, yet quality must be considered.'

δούλων ἀριθμόν, κ.τ.λ.] This passage gives three classes distinctly. Compare III. 2, 3, note.

οἰκείων μορίων] 'parts proper to it.' This is dwelt on later, Ch. VIII. 1.

τούτων] depends on πλήθους.

7 ἐκ τῶν ἔργων] 'from practical experience.'

ἀνειμένην πρὸς τὸ πλῆθος] 'without any check on the increase in point of number.'

8 These next two sections are not easy to arrange. The sense seems to require us to look on the words θείας γὰρ —— ἀναγκαῖον as a parenthesis. 'Law is an arrangement, good law a

The number of citizens.

καὶ τόδε συνέχει τὸ πᾶν· ἐπεὶ δὲ τὸ καλὸν ἐν πλήθει καὶ μεγέθει εἴωθε γίνεσθαι, καὶ πόλιν ἧς μετὰ μεγέθους ὁ λεχθεὶς
ὅρος ὑπάρχει, ταύτην εἶναι καλλίστην ἀναγκαῖον. ἀλλ' 9
ἔστι τι καὶ πόλεσι μεγέθους μέτρον, ὥσπερ καὶ τῶν ἄλλων
πάντων, ζῴων φυτῶν ὀργάνων. καὶ γὰρ τούτων ἕκαστον 10
οὔτε λίαν μικρὸν οὔτε κατὰ μέγεθος ὑπερβάλλον ἕξει τὴν αὑτοῦ δύναμιν, ἀλλ' ὁτὲ μὲν ὅλως ἐστερημένον ἔσται τῆς φύσεως, ὁτὲ δὲ φαύλως ἔχον, οἷον πλοῖον σπιθαμιαῖον μὲν οὐκ ἔσται πλοῖον ὅλως, οὐδὲ δυοῖν σταδίοιν, εἰς δέ τι μέγε-
θος ἐλθὸν ὁτὲ μὲν διὰ σμικρότητα φαύλην ποιήσει τὴν ναυ- 1326 B.
τιλίαν, ὁτὲ δὲ διὰ τὴν ὑπερβολήν. ὁμοίως δὲ καὶ πόλις 11
ἡ μὲν ἐξ ὀλίγων λίαν οὐκ αὐτάρκης (ἡ δὲ πόλις αὔταρκες), ἡ δὲ ἐκ πολλῶν ἄγαν ἐν τοῖς μὲν ἀναγκαίοις αὐτάρκης, ὥσπερ ἔθνος, ἀλλ' οὐ πόλις· πολιτείαν γὰρ οὐ ῥᾴδιον ὑπάρχειν· τίς γὰρ στρατηγὸς ἔσται τοῦ λίαν ὑπερβάλλοντος πλήθους, ἢ τίς κῆρυξ μὴ Στεντόρειος; διὸ πρώτην μὲν εἶναι πόλιν ἀναγκαῖον τὴν ἐκ τοσούτου πλήθους ὃ πρῶτον πλῆθος αὔταρκες πρὸς τὸ εὖ ζῆν ἐστὶ κατὰ τὴν πολιτικὴν κοινωνίαν.

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good arrangement, but a very excessive number is not susceptible of arrangement, but there must be for states as for everything else some limit of size, so that they may be susceptible of arrangement.' This seems the course of the argument. But, granting this, there still remains the intermediate passage, of which, as it stands, I do not see the meaning clearly. I should put a colon at τὸ πᾶν. 'For this, the ordering of a very large number, is a task above the strength of man, it requires a divine power, a power like that which keeps together the whole universe of things.' ἐπεὶ δὲ τὸ καλὸν ἐν πλήθει καὶ μεγέθει εἴωθε γίνεσθαι, καὶ πόλιν ἧς μετὰ μεγέθους λεχθεὶς ὅρος ὑπάρχει, ταύτην εἶναι καλλίστην ἀναγκαῖον. 'Since beauty requires size as one of its conditions (πλήθει καὶ μεγέθει, not meant to convey more than simply μεγέθει), so in states also, that which combines with a certain size good order (ὁ λεχθεὶς ὅρος = εὐταξία), must necessarily be the most beautiful.' Compare *Poet.* VII. viii. p. 1450, b. 37: τὸ γὰρ καλὸν ἐν μεγέθει καὶ τάξει ἐστι. *Eth.* IV. vii. 5, p. 1123, b. 8: τὸ κάλλος ἐν μεγάλῳ σώματι.

10 τῆς φύσεως] nature, in the sense given, I. II. 8.

εἰς δέ τι μέγεθος, κ.τ.λ.] 'It may attain a certain size, and yet, at one time, impair its sailing power by its smallness, at another by its excessive greatness.'

11 ἐν τοῖς μὲν ἀναγκαίοις] 'Though in all mere necessaries it be complete, yet it is not a state:' οὐ μετέχει τάξεως, wants, therefore, the καλόν.

πρώτην μὲν εἶναι] 'Then, first, is there a state, where you have arrived, in reference to number, exactly at the

The number of citizens.

ἐνδέχεται δὲ καὶ τὴν ταύτης ὑπερβάλλουσαν κατὰ πλῆθος εἶναι μείζω πόλιν· ἀλλὰ τοῦτ' οὐκ ἔστιν, ὥσπερ εἴπομεν,
12 ἀόριστον. τίς δ' ἐστὶν ὁ τῆς ὑπερβολῆς ὅρος, ἐκ τῶν ἔργων ἰδεῖν ῥᾴδιον. εἰσὶ γὰρ αἱ πράξεις τῆς πόλεως τῶν μὲν ἀρχόντων τῶν δ' ἀρχομένων, ἄρχοντος δ' ἐπίταξις καὶ κρίσις
13 ἔργον. πρὸς δὲ τὸ κρίνειν περὶ τῶν δικαίων καὶ πρὸς το τὰς ἀρχὰς διανέμειν κατ' ἀξίαν ἀναγκαῖον γνωρίζειν ἀλλήλους, ποῖοί τινές εἰσι, τοὺς πολίτας, ὡς ὅπου τοῦτο μὴ συμβαίνει γίγνεσθαι, φαύλως ἀνάγκη γίγνεσθαι τὰ περὶ τὰς ἀρχὰς καὶ τὰς κρίσεις· περὶ ἀμφότερα γὰρ οὐ δίκαιον αὐτοσχεδιάζειν, ὅπερ ἐν τῇ πολυανθρωπίᾳ τῇ λίαν ὑπάρχει φανε-
14 ρῶς. ἔτι δὲ ξένοις καὶ μετοίκοις ῥᾴδιον μεταλαμβάνειν τῆς πολιτείας· οὐ γὰρ χαλεπὸν τὸ λανθάνειν διὰ τὴν ὑπερβολὴν τοῦ πλήθους. δῆλον τοίνυν ὡς οὗτός ἐστι πόλεως ὅρος ἄριστος, ἡ μεγίστη τοῦ πλήθους ὑπερβολὴ πρὸς αὐτάρκειαν ζωῆς εὐσύνοπτος. Περὶ μὲν οὖν μεγέθους πόλεως διωρίσθω τὸν τρόπον τοῦτον.

The country.

5 Παραπλησίως δὲ καὶ τὰ περὶ τῆς χώρας ἔχει. περὶ μὲν γὰρ τοῦ ποίαν τινά, δῆλον ὅτι τὴν αὐταρκεστάτην πᾶς τις ἂν ἐπαινέσειεν· τοιαύτην δ' ἀναγκαῖον εἶναι τὴν παντοφόρον· τὸ γὰρ πάντα ὑπάρχειν καὶ δεῖσθαι μηθενὸς αὔταρκες. πλήθει δὲ καὶ μεγέθει τοσαύτην ὥστε δύνασθαι τοὺς οἰκοῦντας ζῆν σχολάζοντας ἐλευθερίως ἅμα καὶ σω-

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point where first completeness is secured.'

12 *τῶν μέν*] It would be better if it were *αἱ μὲν τῶν ἀρχόντων αἱ δὲ τῶν ἀρχομένων*.

ἐπίταξις] in their political and executive capacity. *κρίσις* in their judicial; otherwise *κρίσις* is more properly the function *τῶν ἀρχομένων*

13 The magistrates, then, are very important, but how can they be rightly elected, if those who elect them cannot judge of them; and the requisite knowledge is difficult when the numbers are very large. The choice of the governor is always the great difficulty of government.

γνωρίζειν ἀλλήλους] 'mutual knowledge is requisite.'

αὐτοσχεδιάζειν] Thuc. I. 138.

ὑπάρχει φανερῶς] 'evidently cannot be escaped.'

εὐσύνοπτος] 'easily seen as a whole,' 'not too large for the eye to comprehend.'

V. 1 *ζῆν σχολάζοντας, κ.τ.λ.*] Compare II. VI. 9. He gives shortly all the requirements of the Greek freeman.

φρόνως. τοῦτον δὲ τὸν ὅρον εἰ καλῶς ἢ μὴ καλῶς λέγομεν, ὕστερον ἐπισκεπτέον ἀκριβέστερον, ὅταν ὅλως περὶ κτήσεως καὶ τῆς περὶ τὴν οὐσίαν εὐπορίας συμβαίνῃ ποιεῖσθαι μνείαν, πῶς δεῖ καὶ τίνα τρόπον ἔχειν πρὸς τὴν χρῆσιν αὐτήν· πολλαὶ γὰρ περὶ τὴν σκέψιν ταύτην εἰσὶν ἀμφισβητήσεις διὰ τοὺς ἕλκοντας ἐφ' ἑκατέραν τοῦ βίου τὴν ὑπερβολήν, τοὺς μὲν ἐπὶ τὴν γλισχρότητα τοὺς δὲ ἐπὶ τὴν τρυφήν. Τὸ δ' εἶδος τῆς χώρας οὐ χαλεπὸν εἰπεῖν, δεῖ δ' ἔνια 3 πείθεσθαι καὶ τοῖς περὶ τὴν στρατηγίαν ἐμπείροις, ὅτι χρὴ μὲν τοῖς πολεμίοις εἶναι δυσέμβολον, αὐτοῖς δ' εὐέξοδον. ἔτι δ' ὥσπερ τὸ πλῆθος τὸ τῶν ἀνθρώπων εὐσύνοπτον ἔφαμεν εἶναι δεῖν, οὕτω καὶ τὴν χώραν. τὸ δ' εὐσύνοπτον τὸ εὐβοήθητον εἶναι τὴν χώραν ἐστίν. τῆς δὲ πόλεως τὴν θέσιν εἰ χρὴ ποιεῖν κατ' εὐχήν, πρός τε τὴν θάλατταν προσήκει κεῖσθαι καλῶς πρός τε τὴν χώραν. εἷς μὲν ὁ λεχθεὶς ὅρος· 4 δεῖ γὰρ πρὸς τὰς ἐκβοηθείας κοινὴν εἶναι τῶν τόπων ἁπάντων· ὁ δὲ λοιπὸς πρὸς τὰς τῶν γιγνομένων καρπῶν παραπομπάς, ἔτι δὲ τῆς περὶ ξύλα ὕλης, κἂν εἴ τινα ἄλλην ἐργασίαν ἡ χώρα τυγχάνοι κεκτημένη τοιαύτην, εὐπαρακόμιστον.

The country. 2 1327

Περὶ δὲ τῆς πρὸς τὴν θάλατταν κοινωνίας, πότερον 6 ὠφέλιμος ταῖς εὐνομουμέναις πόλεσιν ἢ βλαβερά, πολλὰ

Should the state be maritime?

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2 τὸν ὅρον τοῦτον] must be referred, not to αὐταρκεστάτην, but to what immediately precedes.

ὕστερον] Spengel, p. 10, note, thinks this is done in this same Book, Chs. VII. (VIII. rather) and XV. It seems to me one of the portions that are lost. From the point of view of the family it has been treated in the first book, but it yet remains to be considered as a political question.

αὐτήν] to be taken with ἔχειν.

διὰ τοὺς ἕλκοντας, κ.τ.λ.] 'because of those who, in the conduct of life, pull different ways, the one towards the one extreme, the other towards the other.'

3 τὸ δ' εἶδος] 'But as for the form.' The δὲ answers to the μὲν in περὶ μὲν γάρ.

4 ὁ λεχθείς] sc. that it should be εὐβοήθητον or εὐσύνοπτον. The second is, that it should be εὐπαρακόμιστον.

I place only a comma at παραπομπάς, and consider the genitive ὕλης to depend on it, just as much as καρπῶν does. 'The other requirement left is, that the country should be easy of access, for the conveyance of the produce generally, and also of its material in timber or any other similar object that it may possess.'

VI. 1 τῆς πρὸς θάλατταν] This

Maritime intercourse.

τυγχάνουσιν ἀμφισβητοῦντες. τό τε γὰρ ἐπιξενοῦσθαί τινας ἐν ἄλλοις τεθραμμένους νόμοις ἀσύμφορον εἶναί φασι πρὸς τὴν εὐνομίαν, καὶ τὴν πολυανθρωπίαν· γίνεσθαι μὲν γὰρ ἐκ τοῦ χρῆσθαι τῇ θαλάσσῃ διαπέμποντας καὶ δεχομένους ἐμπόρων πλῆθος, ὑπεναντίαν δ' εἶναι πρὸς τὸ πολιτεύεσθαι
2 καλῶς. ὅτι μὲν οὖν, εἰ ταῦτα μὴ συμβαίνει, βέλτιον καὶ πρὸς ἀσφάλειαν καὶ πρὸς εὐπορίαν τῶν ἀναγκαίων μετέχειν
3 τὴν πόλιν καὶ τὴν χώραν τῆς θαλάττης, οὐκ ἄδηλον. καὶ γὰρ πρὸς τὸ ῥᾷον φέρειν τοὺς πολέμους εὐβοηθήτους εἶναι δεῖ κατ' ἀμφότερα τοὺς σωθησομένους, καὶ κατὰ γῆν καὶ κατὰ θάλατταν· καὶ πρὸς τὸ βλάψαι τοὺς ἐπιτιθεμένους, εἰ μὴ κατ' ἄμφω δυνατόν, ἀλλὰ κατὰ θάτερον ὑπάρξει, μᾶλλον
4 ἀμφοτέρων μετέχουσιν. ὅσα τ' ἂν μὴ τυγχάνῃ παρ' αὐτοῖς ὄντα, δέξασθαι ταῦτα καὶ τὰ πλεονάζοντα τῶν γιγνομένων ἐκπέμψασθαι τῶν ἀναγκαίων ἐστίν· αὑτῇ γὰρ ἐμπορικήν, ἀλλ' οὐ τοῖς ἄλλοις δεῖ εἶναι τὴν πόλιν. οἱ δὲ παρέχοντες σφᾶς αὐτοὺς πᾶσιν ἀγορὰν προσόδου χάριν ταῦτα

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point suggested by his statement in the last chapter, *κεῖσθαι καλῶς πρὸς τὴν θάλατταν.*

ἐπιξενοῦσθαί τινας] "Die fortwährende Anwesenheit der Fremden," Stahr. 'That there should be resident a body of foreigners brought up in other laws and customs.'

ἐν ἄλλοις νόμοις] In III. III. 6, the same point was mooted, the same in principle, that is, *πότερον ἔθνος ἓν ἢ πλείω συμφέρει.*

καὶ τὴν πολυανθρωπίαν] sc. *ἀσύμφορον εἶναι.*

ἐμπόρων πλῆθος] depend on the participles *διαπέμποντας καὶ δεχομένους.*

2 *εἰ ταῦτα μὴ συμβαίνει*] 'If these results do not arise.'

εὐπορίαν τῶν ἀναγκαίων] 'a ready and large supply of all the necessaries of life.'

4 *τὰ πλεονάζοντα τῶν γιγνομένων*] 'Their surplus produce.'

αὑτῇ γὰρ ἐμπορικήν] A singular statement. He was led into it by his dislike of commerce, which he would restrict, therefore, within as narrow limits as possible, and make as selfish as possible for each state. This is a conclusion quite alien to the genuine spirit of commerce, which is, in the largest and freest sense, the connection for mutual support and for the supply of mutual wants, of the whole human family. And any theory like this of Aristotle's—such as the mercantile and protective system of later times,—which aims at exclusiveness, is to be condemned as a direct attack on the real interests of mankind,—a substitution of the provisional and fictitious virtue of patriotism or national selfishness, for the true idea of a common union between all the members of the great family which mankind forms.

ταῦτα πράττουσιν] 'do so for the sake of revenue.'

Maritime intercourse.

πράττουσιν· ἣν δὲ μὴ δεῖ πόλιν τοιαύτης μετέχειν πλεονεξίας, οὐδ' ἐμπόριον δεῖ κεκτῆσθαι τοιοῦτον. Ἐπεὶ δὲ καὶ
νῦν ὁρῶμεν πολλαῖς ὑπάρχοντα[a] χώραις καὶ πόλεσιν ἐπίνεια 5
καὶ λιμένας εὐφυῶς κείμενα πρὸς τὴν πόλιν, ὥστε μήτε τὸ αὐτὸ νέμειν ἄστυ μήτε πόρρω λίαν, ἀλλὰ κρατεῖσθαι τείχεσι καὶ τοιούτοις ἄλλοις ἐρύμασι, φανερὸν ὡς εἰ μὲν ἀγαθόν τι συμβαίνει γίγνεσθαι διὰ τῆς κοινωνίας αὐτῶν, ὑπάρξει τῇ πόλει τοῦτο τὸ ἀγαθόν, εἰ δέ τι βλαβερόν, φυλάξασθαι ῥᾴδιον τοῖς νόμοις φράζοντας καὶ διορίζοντας τίνας οὐ δεῖ καὶ τίνας ἐπιμίσγεσθαι δεῖ πρὸς ἀλλήλους. περὶ δὲ τῆς 6
ναυτικῆς δυνάμεως, ὅτι μὲν βέλτιστον ὑπάρχειν μέχρι τινὸς
πλήθους, οὐκ ἄδηλον· οὐ γὰρ μόνον αὐτοῖς ἀλλὰ καὶ τῶν 1327 B
πλησίον τισὶ δεῖ καὶ φοβεροὺς εἶναι καὶ δύνασθαι βοηθεῖν,
ὥσπερ κατὰ γῆν, καὶ κατὰ θάλατταν. περὶ δὲ πλήθους 7
ἤδη καὶ μεγέθους τῆς δυνάμεως ταύτης πρὸς τὸν βίον ἀποσκεπτέον τῆς πόλεως· εἰ μὲν γὰρ ἡγεμονικὸν καὶ πολιτικὸν ζήσεται βίον, ἀναγκαῖον καὶ ταύτην τὴν δύναμιν ὑπάρχειν πρὸς τὰς πράξεις σύμμετρον. τὴν δὲ πολυανθρωπίαν τὴν γιγνομένην περὶ τὸν ναυτικὸν ὄχλον οὐκ ἀναγκαῖον ὑπάρχειν ταῖς πόλεσιν· οὐθὲν γὰρ αὐτοὺς μέρος
εἶναι δεῖ τῆς πόλεως. τὸ μὲν γὰρ ἐπιβατικὸν ἐλεύθερον καὶ 8

[a] ὕπαρχον καὶ Bekker.

τοιαύτης πλεονεξίας] 'such a desire of gain.' This would be true if one nation's gain were another's loss, but this has already been stated to be inadmissible.

5 *ὑπάρχον*] If kept, must be made to agree with *ἐμπόριον*, supplied. But the sentence seems faulty. Schneider, with Coray, wishes to read *ὑπάρχειν*. I should prefer *ὑπάρχοντα*, leaving out the *καί*.

εὐφυῶς κείμενα] 'advantageously situated as regards the city.'

νέμειν] 'inhabit.' *δόμους νέμοιμι σούς*, Soph. *Aj.* 1016.

διὰ τῆς κοινωνίας αὐτῶν] 'by the intercourse with them,' the *ἐπίνεια καὶ λιμένας*.

φράζοντας, κ.τ.λ.] 'stating and defining.'

6 *αὐτοῖς*] 'with regard to themselves only.'

7 *ἡγεμονικὸν καὶ πολιτικόν*] 'an imperial and social life,' mixed up with other states that is. The opposite to *πολιτικόν* here would be *ξενικόν*, Ch. II. 3.

τὴν γιγνομένην περί] 'Involved by.'

οὐθὲν γάρ, κ.τ.λ.] 'For they ought not to be any part of the state.'

8 *τῆς ναυτιλίας*] "im Seewesen," Stahr; 'directs the navigation,' III. IV. 2.

Maritime intercourse. τῶν πεζευόντων ἐστίν, ὃ κύριόν ἐστι καὶ κρατεῖ τῆς ναυτιλίας· πλήθους δὲ ὑπάρχοντος περιοίκων καὶ τῶν τὴν χώραν γεωργούντων, ἀφθονίαν ἀναγκαῖον εἶναι καὶ ναυτῶν. ὁρῶμεν δὲ [καί] τοῦτο καὶ νῦν ὑπάρχον τισίν, οἷον τῇ πόλει τῶν Ἡρακλεωτῶν· πολλὰς γὰρ ἐκπληροῦσι τριήρεις κεκτημένοι τῷ μεγέθει πόλιν ἑτέρων ἐμμελεστέραν.

9 Περὶ μὲν οὖν χώρας καὶ λιμένων καὶ πόλεων καὶ θαλάττης καὶ περὶ τῆς ναυτικῆς δυνάμεως ἔστω διωρισμένα τὸν τρόπον τοῦτον· περὶ δὲ τοῦ πολιτικοῦ πλήθους, τίνα μὲν

7 ὅρον ὑπάρχειν χρή, πρότερον εἴπομεν, ποίους δέ τινας τὴν φύσιν εἶναι δεῖ, νῦν λέγωμεν. Σχεδὸν δὴ κατανοήσειεν ἄν τις τοῦτό γε, βλέψας ἐπί τε τὰς πόλεις τὰς εὐδοκιμούσας τῶν Ἑλλήνων καὶ πρὸς πᾶσαν τὴν οἰκουμένην, ὡς διείληπται τοῖς

Character of the people.

2 ἔθνεσιν. τὰ μὲν γὰρ ἐν τοῖς ψυχροῖς τόποις ἔθνη καὶ τὰ περὶ τὴν Εὐρώπην θυμοῦ μέν ἐστι πλήρη, διανοίας δὲ ἐνδεέστερα καὶ τέχνης· διόπερ ἐλεύθερα μὲν διατελεῖ μαλλον,

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περιοίκων] The Laconian periœci manned the fleet, and we find instances of their holding the command, Thuc. VIII. vi. 22.

καὶ τοῦτο καὶ νῦν] The first καὶ seems superfluous.

Ἡρακλεωτῶν] Heraclea on the Pontus. Compare Schneider's note on the passage. He quotes Xenoph. *Anab.* v. vi. 10.

ἐμμελεστέραν] 'smaller,' 'of very moderate size as compared with others.' This last is Stahr's view; "fort petite," St. Hil. In Plato, *Legg.* VI. 760 A, ἐμμελέστατα occurs in the sense of 'smallest:' τρεῖς εἰς τὰ μέγιστα ἱερά, δύο δ' εἰς τὰ σμικρότερα, πρὸς δὲ τὰ ἐμμελέστατα ἕνα. This seems sufficient warrant for the sense given.

9 πόλεων] Some editors doubt this word. I prefer πόλεως. His object has not been to treat of cities, but of one city.

τοῦ πολιτικοῦ πλήθους] 'The citizens in point of mere number.'

VII. 1 Σχεδὸν δή, κ.τ.λ.] 'It would scarcely then be difficult to form a clear judgment on this point at least.'

διείληπται τοῖς ἔθνεσιν] "distincta gentibus," Vict.; "vertheilt unter die verschiedenen Völkerschaften," Stahr, 'divided out into the different nations.'

2 τὰ περὶ τὴν Εὐρώπην] What extent did Aristotle assign to Europe? Is it the narrow one given by Hermann (Smith, *Geog. Dict.*) of the country between Thrace and Peloponnesus? If so, then τὰ περὶ τὴν Εὐρώπην would be the Thracians, Scythians, Illyrians, and apparently these are the nations meant; but the language is vague, and x. 3 seems to show that Aristotle's sense of the word is larger.

θυμοῦ] 'spirit;' διανοίας καὶ τέχνης, 'intelligence and skill.'

ἐλεύθερα διατελεῖ, κ.τ.λ.] 'They

Character of the people.

ἀπολίτευτα δὲ καὶ τῶν πλησίον ἄρχειν οὐ δυνάμενα. τὰ
δὲ περὶ τὴν Ἀσίαν διανοητικὰ μὲν καὶ τεχνικὰ τὴν ψυχήν,
ἄθυμα δέ· διόπερ ἀρχόμενα καὶ δουλεύοντα διατελεῖ. τὸ 3
δὲ τῶν Ἑλλήνων γένος ὥσπερ μεσεύει κατὰ τοὺς τόπους,
οὕτως ἀμφοῖν μετέχει· καὶ γὰρ ἔνθυμον καὶ διανοητικόν
ἐστιν· διόπερ ἐλεύθερόν τε διατελεῖ καὶ βέλτιστα πολιτευό-
μενον καὶ δυνάμενον ἄρχειν πάντων, μιᾶς τυγχάνον πολιτείας.
τὴν αὐτὴν δ' ἔχει διαφορὰν καὶ τὰ τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἔθνη καὶ 4
πρὸς ἄλληλα· τὰ μὲν γὰρ ἔχει τὴν φύσιν μονόκωλον, τὰ δὲ
εὖ τε κέκραται πρὸς ἀμφοτέρας τὰς δυνάμεις ταύτας.
φανερὸν τοίνυν ὅτι δεῖ διανοητικούς τε εἶναι καὶ θυμοειδεῖς
τὴν φύσιν τοὺς μέλλοντας εὐαγώγους ἔσεσθαι τῷ νομοθέτῃ
πρὸς τὴν ἀρετήν. Ὅπερ γάρ φασί τινες δεῖν ὑπάρχειν 5
τοῖς φύλαξι, τὸ φιλητικοὺς μὲν εἶναι τῶν γνωρίμων, πρὸς
δὲ τοὺς ἀγνῶτας ἀγρίους, ὁ θυμός ἐστιν ὁ ποιῶν τὸ φιλη-
τικόν· αὕτη γάρ ἐστιν ἡ τῆς ψυχῆς δύναμις ᾗ φιλοῦμεν.

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preserve their freedom, but they remain without social organization.'

διανοητικά, κ.τ.λ.] 'Though intelligent and crafty, are yet without spirit.'

3 **τὸ δὲ τῶν Ἑλλήνων**] Compare Grote, II. 98, "The feeling of personal dignity, of which philosophic observers in Greece—Herodotus, Xenophon, Hippocrates, and Aristotle—boasted, as distinguishing the free Greek citizen from the slavish Asiatic." Compare also the same volume, p. 305, on the question of the Greek climate.

μεσεύει] 'holds a middle position.'

μιᾶς τυγχάνον πολιτείας] What is the force to be given to these words? Was the conception of Aristotle that of a federative union, guaranteeing internal peace and empire abroad, but allowing each separate state to be autonomous, only bound to the others by the strong ties of a common interest, a common nationality, and similar institutions, not torn, that is, by the quarrels between oligarchical and democratical principles? This seems the probable case. The word **ἄρχειν** prevents our considering him to have aimed at a merely defensive organization, such as that suggested by Bp. Thirlwall, v. 154; and the general tendency of his views is against the other alternative, in the same passage, that of "the supremacy of some Grecian state, powerful enough to enforce peace, but not to crush liberty." However this may be, it is the want which is here indicated that caused the failure of Greece to secure empire and organize, as Rome did, the nations of the world.

4 **ἔθνη**] 'The different Hellenic races.'

μονόκωλον] 'one sided.' Comp. *Rhet.* III. ix. 5, p. 1409, b. 17, where the word is applied to style.

5 **τινες**] Plato, *Rep.* II. 243.

ποιῶν τὸ φιλητικόν] 'produces the tendency to affection.' Comp. *Topic* II. vii. p. 113 b, I. iv. 5, p. 126, 12.

Character of the people. σημεῖον δέ· πρὸς γὰρ τοὺς συνήθεις καὶ φίλους ὁ θυμὸς αἴρεται μᾶλλον ἢ πρὸς τοὺς ἀγνῶτας, ὀλιγωρεῖσθαι νομίσας. 1328 a διὸ καὶ Ἀρχίλοχος προσηκόντως τοῖς φίλοις ἐγκαλῶν διαλέγεται πρὸς τὸν θυμόν·

οὐ γὰρ δὴ περὶ φίλων ἀπάγχεο.

καὶ τὸ ἄρχον δὲ καὶ τὸ ἐλεύθερον ἀπὸ τῆς δυνάμεως ταύτης ὑπάρχει πᾶσιν· ἀρχικὸν γὰρ καὶ ἀήττητον ὁ θυμός. οὐ καλῶς δ' ἔχει λέγειν χαλεποὺς εἶναι πρὸς τοὺς ἀγνῶτας· πρὸς οὐθένα γὰρ εἶναι χρὴ τοιοῦτον, οὐδ' εἰσιν οἱ μεγαλόψυχοι τὴν φύσιν ἄγριοι, πλὴν πρὸς τοὺς ἀδικοῦντας. τοῦτο δὲ μᾶλλον ἔτι πρὸς τοὺς συνήθεις πάσχουσιν, ὅπερ εἴρηται πρότερον, ἂν ἀδικεῖσθαι νομίσωσιν. καὶ τοῦτο συμβαίνει κατὰ λόγον· παρ' οἷς γὰρ ὀφείλεσθαι δεῖν τὴν εὐεργεσίαν ὑπολαμβάνουσι, πρὸς τῷ βλάβει καὶ ταύτης ἀποστερεῖσθαι νομίζουσιν. ὅθεν εἴρηται

χαλεποὶ γὰρ πόλεμοι ἀδελφῶν

καὶ

οἵ τοι πέρα στέρξαντες, οἱ δὲ καὶ πέρα μισοῦσιν.

9 Περὶ μὲν οὖν τῶν πολιτευομένων, πόσους τε ὑπάρχειν δεῖ καὶ ποίους τινὰς τὴν φύσιν, ἔτι δὲ τὴν χώραν πόσην τέ τινα καὶ ποίαν τινά, διώρισται σχεδόν. οὐ γὰρ τὴν αὐτὴν ἀκρίβειαν δεῖ ζητεῖν διά τε τῶν λόγων καὶ τῶν γιγνομένων διὰ

8 τῆς αἰσθήσεως. Ἐπεὶ δ' ὥσπερ τῶν ἄλλων τῶν κατὰ φύσιν συνεστώτων οὐ ταὐτά[a] ἐστι μόρια τῆς ὅλης συστάσεως, ὧν The parts of a state.

[a] ταὐτά Bekker.

αἴρεται] 'rises.'

ὀλιγωρεῖσθαι] sc. ὑφ' ὧν ἥκιστα προσήκει, *Rhet.* II. 2, 15, p. 1379, b. 2–4.

6 οὐ γὰρ δὴ περὶ φίλων ἀπάγχεο] Arch. Frag. 61, Bergk, 1st Ed. The reading Bergk gives is οὐ γὰρ δὴ παρὰ φίλων ἀπάγχεο. Stahr makes it interrogative.

8 κατὰ λόγον] 'as might be expected.'

παρ' οἷς] 'Those with whom,' apud quos.

χαλεποὶ γάρ, κ.τ.λ.] Eurip. *Fr. Inc.* 57, Ed. Dind.

οἵ τοι πέρα, κ.τ.λ.] Eurip. *Fr.*

9 οὐ γάρ, κ.τ.λ.] 'For we must not seek the same exactness when theory is concerned as we require when actual sensible results are in question.' So Stahr and St. Hilaire.

VIII. 1 ταὐτά] This is Bekker's reading, and it is retained by Stahr. I should prefer either ταῦτα or πάντα.

The parts of a state.

ἄνευ τὸ ὅλον οὐκ ἂν εἴη, δῆλον ὡς οὐδὲ πόλεως μέρη θετέον ὅσα ταῖς πόλεσιν ἀναγκαῖον ὑπάρχειν, οὐδ' ἄλλης κοινωνίας οὐδεμιᾶς, ἐξ ἧς ἕν τι τὸ γένος. ἓν γάρ τι καὶ κοινὸν 2 εἶναι δεῖ καὶ ταὐτὸ τοῖς κοινωνοῖς, ἄν τε ἴσον ἄν τε ἄνισον μεταλαμβάνωσιν, οἷον εἴτε τροφὴ τοῦτο ἐστιν εἴτε χώρας πλῆθος εἴτ' ἄλλο τι τῶν τοιούτων ἐστίν. ὅταν δ' ᾖ τὸ μὲν 3 τούτου ἕνεκεν τὸ δ' οὗ ἕνεκεν, οὐθὲν ἕν γε τούτοις κοινὸν ἀλλ' ἢ τῷ μὲν ποιῆσαι τῷ δὲ λαβεῖν· λέγω δ' οἷον ὀργάνῳ τε παντὶ πρὸς τὸ γιγνόμενον ἔργον καὶ τοῖς δημιουργοῖς· οἰκίᾳ γὰρ πρὸς οἰκοδόμον οὐθέν ἐστιν ὃ γίνεται κοινόν, ἀλλ' ἔστι τῆς οἰκίας χάριν ἡ τῶν οἰκοδόμων τέχνη. διὸ κτήσεως μὲν 4 δεῖ ταῖς πόλεσιν, οὐδὲν δ' ἐστὶν ἡ κτῆσις μέρος τῆς πόλεως· πολλὰ δ' ἔμψυχα μέρη τῆς κτήσεώς ἐστιν. ἡ δὲ πόλις κοινωνία τίς ἐστι τῶν ὁμοίων, ἕνεκεν δὲ ζωῆς τῆς ἐνδεχομένης ἀρίστης. ἐπεὶ δ' ἐστὶν εὐδαιμονία τὸ ἄριστον, αὕτη δὲ 5 ἀρετῆς ἐνέργεια καὶ χρῆσίς τις τέλειος, συμβέβηκε δὲ οὕτως ὥστε τοὺς μὲν ἐνδέχεσθαι μετέχειν αὐτῆς, τοὺς δὲ μικρὸν ἢ μηδέν, δῆλον ὡς τοῦτ' αἴτιον τοῦ γίγνεσθαι πόλεως εἴδη καὶ

It is difficult to say what ταὐτά means. The reading ταῦτα seems to be supported by § 6, πόσα ταυτί ἐστιν ὧν ἄνευ πόλις οὐκ ἂν εἴη. Retaining ταὐτά, I construe: 'Now, since in the case of all other things which are in their nature compound, we do not in the same degree consider as parts of the whole that is formed, all the parts which are necessary to its formation, so is it clear that neither in the case of a state must we treat as essential parts of a state all those which are indispensably necessary to its existence, nor in the case of any other association, which forms a unity in kind, a homogeneous whole. For there must be,' he continues, 'some one thing, and that common and the same, to all who share in the association.'

3 The simply ministerial subordinate functions must be distinguished from the higher and political ones—the basis of the state from that which rests on it —the means from the end—the τούτου ἕνεκεν from the οὗ ἕνεκεν. They have nothing in common: the one produces, the other accepts the result: οὐδεμία γένεσις συγγενὴς τοῖς τέλεσιν, *Eth.* VII. xii. 4, p. 1152, b. 14.

4 διὸ κτήσεως, κ.τ.λ.] Therefore, though property is absolutely essential to a state, yet it is in no sense a part of the state; it is ἐν ὀργάνου εἴδει.

πολλὰ δ'] I do not see the object of this remark.

ἕνεκεν δὲ ζωῆς] This is the ἕν τι καὶ κοινὸν καὶ ταὐτό.

5 αὕτη δέ, κ.τ.λ.] 'This consists in the practice of virtue, both personal and relative;' ἀρετὴ καὶ ἀρετῆς χρῆσις τέλειος, which last is δικαιοσύνη.

ἐνδέχεσθαι] 'have it in their power to attain it.'

The parts of a state.

διαφορὰς καὶ πολιτείας πλείους· ἄλλον γὰρ τρόπον καὶ δι'
ἄλλων ἕκαστοι τοῦτο θηρεύοντες τούς τε βίους ἑτέρους ποι-
1328 b 6 οῦνται καὶ τὰς πολιτείας. ἐπισκεπτέον δὲ καὶ πόσα ταυτί
ἐστιν ὧν ἄνευ πόλις οὐκ ἂν εἴη· καὶ γὰρ ἃ λέγομεν εἶναι μέρη
πόλεως, ἐν τούτοις ἂν εἴη ἀναγκαῖον ὑπάρχειν. ληπτέον
τοίνυν τῶν ἔργων τὸν ἀριθμόν· ἐκ τούτων γὰρ ἔσται δῆλον,
7 Πρῶτον μὲν οὖν ὑπάρχειν δεῖ τροφήν, ἔπειτα τέχνας (πολ-
λῶν γὰρ ὀργάνων δεῖται τὸ ζῆν), τρίτον δὲ ὅπλα (τοὺς γὰρ
κοινωνοῦντας ἀναγκαῖον καὶ ἐν αὐτοῖς ἔχειν ὅπλα πρός τε τὴν
ἀρχήν, τῶν ἀπειθούντων χάριν, καὶ πρὸς τοὺς ἔξωθεν ἀδικεῖν
ἐπιχειροῦντας), ἔτι χρημάτων τινὰ εὐπορίαν, ὅπως ἔχωσι καὶ
πρὸς τὰς καθ' αὑτοὺς χρείας καὶ πρὸς πολεμικάς, πέμπτον
δὲ καὶ πρῶτον τὴν περὶ τὸ θεῖον ἐπιμέλειαν, ἣν καλοῦσιν
ἱερατείαν, ἕκτον δὲ τὸν ἀριθμὸν καὶ πάντων ἀναγκαιότατον
κρίσιν περὶ τῶν συμφερόντων καὶ τῶν δικαίων τῶν πρὸς ἀλ-
8 λήλους. τὰ μὲν οὖν ἔργα ταῦτ' ἐστὶν ὧν δεῖται πᾶσα πόλις
ὡς εἰπεῖν. ἡ γὰρ πόλις πλῆθός ἐστιν οὐ τὸ τυχόν, ἀλλὰ
πρὸς ζωὴν αὔταρκες, ὥς φαμέν· ἐὰν δέ τι τυγχάνῃ τούτων
ἐκλεῖπον, ἀδύνατον ἁπλῶς αὐτάρκη τὴν κοινωνίαν εἶναι ταύ-
9 την. ἀνάγκη τοίνυν κατὰ τὰς ἐργασίας ταύτας συνεστάναι
πόλιν. δεῖ ἄρα γεωργῶν τ' εἶναι πλῆθος, οἳ παρασκευάσουσι
τὴν τροφήν, καὶ τεχνίτας καὶ τὸ μάχιμον, καὶ τὸ εὔπορον,
καὶ ἱερεῖς, καὶ κριτὰς τῶν ἀναγκαίων καὶ συμφερόντων.

9 Division of the functions of the citizens.

Διωρισμένων δὲ τούτων λοιπὸν σκέψασθαι πότερον πᾶσι κοινωνητέον πάντων τούτων (ἐνδέχεται γὰρ τοὺς αὐτοὺς ἅπαντας εἶναι καὶ γεωργοὺς καὶ τεχνίτας καὶ τοὺς βουλευομένους

τοῦτο] This variety of position.

θηρεύοντες] 'as they pursue it.'

6 *μέρη*] 'parts of the state in a strict sense.'

ἐν τούτοις] not identical with, but lying amongst them, and capable of being detached.

7 *καὶ πρῶτον*] 'First in importance.' This is odd, as Aristotle does not elsewhere, either in theory or in his practical arrangements, lay much stress on the worship of the state.

κρίσιν περὶ τῶν συμφερόντων] 'decision on the policy to be adopted, and the administration of justice as between man and man.' Below, *τῶν ἀναγκαίων καὶ συμφερόντων*.

8 *οὐ τὸ τυχόν*] 'not any chance number.'

IX. 1 *ὑποθετέον*] 'we must presume.'

Division of the functions of the citizens.

καὶ δικάζοντας) ἢ καθ' ἕκαστον ἔργον τῶν εἰρημένων ἄλλους
ὑποθετέον, ἢ τὰ μὲν ἴδια τὰ δὲ κοινὰ τούτων ἐξ ἀνάγκης
ἐστίν. οὐκ ἐν πάσῃ δὲ τοῦτο πολιτείᾳ. καθάπερ γὰρ
εἴπομεν, ἐνδέχεται καὶ πάντας κοινωνεῖν πάντων, καὶ μὴ 2
πάντας πάντων ἀλλὰ τινὰς τινῶν. ταῦτα γὰρ καὶ ποιεῖ τὰς
πολιτείας ἑτέρας· ἐν μὲν γὰρ ταῖς δημοκρατίαις μετέχουσι
πάντες πάντων, ἐν δὲ ταῖς ὀλιγαρχίαις τοὐναντίον. ἐπεὶ 3
δὲ τυγχάνομεν σκοποῦντες περὶ τῆς ἀρίστης πολιτείας, αὕτη
δ' ἐστὶ καθ' ἣν ἡ πόλις ἂν εἴη μάλιστ' εὐδαίμων, τὴν δ' εὐ-
δαιμονίαν ὅτι χωρὶς ἀρετῆς ἀδύνατον ὑπάρχειν εἴρηται πρό-
τερον, φανερὸν ἐκ τούτων ὡς ἐν τῇ κάλλιστα πολιτευομένῃ
πόλει καὶ τῇ κεκτημένῃ δικαίους ἄνδρας ἁπλῶς, ἀλλὰ μὴ πρὸς
τὴν ὑπόθεσιν, οὔτε βάναυσον βίον οὔτ' ἀγοραῖον δεῖ ζῆν τοὺς
πολίτας· ἀγεννὴς γὰρ ὁ τοιοῦτος βίος καὶ πρὸς ἀρετὴν ὑπε-
ναντίος. οὐδὲ δὴ γεωργοὺς εἶναι τοὺς μέλλοντας ἔσεσθαι· 4 1329
δεῖ γὰρ σχολῆς καὶ πρὸς τὴν γένεσιν τῆς ἀρετῆς καὶ πρὸς
τὰς πράξεις τὰς πολιτικάς. Ἐπεὶ δὲ καὶ τὸ πολεμικὸν καὶ
τὸ βουλευόμενον περὶ τῶν συμφερόντων καὶ κρῖνον περὶ τῶν
δικαίων ἐνυπάρχει καὶ μέρη φαίνεται τῆς πόλεως μάλιστα
ὄντα, πότερον ἕτερα καὶ ταῦτα θετέον ἢ τοῖς αὐτοῖς ἀποδο-
τέον ἄμφω; φανερὸν δὲ καὶ τοῦτο, διότι τρόπον μέν τινα 5
τοῖς αὐτοῖς, τρόπον δέ τινα καὶ ἑτέροις. ᾗ μὲν γὰρ ἑτέρας
ἀκμῆς ἑκάτερον τῶν ἔργων, καὶ τὸ μὲν δεῖται φρονήσεως
τὸ δὲ δυνάμεως, ἑτέροις· ᾗ δὲ τῶν ἀδυνάτων ἐστὶ τοὺς δυνα-
μένους βιάζεσθαι καὶ κωλύειν, τούτους ὑπομένειν ἀρχομέ-

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2 *οὐκ ἐν πάσῃ, κ.τ.λ.*] 'This is not an open question in every state.' That is, some states have decided it, and differ from others, and are what they are by that decision. But for the ideal state it is an inquiry that may be entered upon.

3 *φανερὸν ἐκ τούτων*] 'admit these premises, and it is clear.'

μὴ πρὸς τὴν ὑπόθεσιν] 'not with reference to the idea of the given state.' Comp. II. IX. 1.

ἀγεννής, or *ἀγενής*] See L. and S., 'low.'

4 *μέλλοντας ἔσεσθαι*] sc. *πολίτας*.

καὶ πρὸς τὴν γένεσιν] Both for education and for political life.

ἐνυπάρχει] 'are not only found existing amongst the other parts (*ἐν τούτοις*, VIII. 6), but are evidently most strictly members of the state.'

5 *διότι*] 'that.'

ἑτέρας ἀκμῆς] 'of a different prime,' or 'perfection.' The same distinction is observed in Plato's *ἐπίκουροι* and *φύλακες*; it is simply one of age.

καὶ κωλύειν] This, as well as *βιάζεσθαι*, depends on *δυναμένους*.

Division of the functions of the citizens.

νους ἀεί, ταύτῃ δὲ τοῖς αὐτοῖς· οἱ γὰρ τῶν ὅπλων κύριοι
καὶ μένειν ἢ μὴ μένειν κύριοι τὴν πολιτείαν. λείπεται τοί-
6 νυν τοῖς αὐτοῖς μὲν ἀμφοτέροις ἀποδιδόναι τὴν πολιτείαν
ταύτην, μὴ ἅμα δέ, ἀλλ' ὥσπερ πέφυκεν ἡ μὲν δύναμις ἐν
νεωτέροις, ἡ δὲ φρόνησις ἐν πρεσβυτέροις εἶναι[a], οὐκοῦν
οὕτως ἀμφοῖν νενεμῆσθαι συμφέρει καὶ δίκαιον ἐστίν· ἔχει
7 γὰρ αὕτη ἡ διαίρεσις τὸ κατ' ἀξίαν. ἀλλὰ μὴν καὶ τὰς
κτήσεις δεῖ εἶναι περὶ τούτους· ἀναγκαῖον γὰρ εὐπορίαν
ὑπάρχειν τοῖς πολίταις, πολῖται δὲ οὗτοι. τὸ γὰρ βάναυ-
σον οὐ μετέχει τῆς πόλεως, οὐδ' ἄλλο οὐθὲν γένος ὃ μὴ τῆς
ἀρετῆς δημιουργόν ἐστιν. τοῦτο δὲ δῆλον ἐκ τῆς ὑποθέσεως·
τὸ μὲν γὰρ εὐδαιμονεῖν ἀναγκαῖον ὑπάρχειν μετὰ τῆς ἀρε-
τῆς, εὐδαίμονα δὲ πόλιν οὐκ εἰς μέρος τι βλέψαντας δεῖ
8 λέγειν αὐτῆς, ἀλλ' εἰς πάντας τοὺς πολίτας. φανερὸν δὲ
καὶ ὅτι δεῖ τὰς κτήσεις εἶναι τούτων, εἴπερ ἀναγκαῖον εἶναι
τοὺς γεωργοὺς δούλους ἢ βαρβάρους ἢ περιοίκους. λοιπὸν
δ' ἐκ τῶν καταριθμηθέντων τὸ τῶν ἱερέων γένος. φανερὰ
9 δὲ καὶ ἡ τούτων τάξις. οὔτε γὰρ γεωργὸν οὔτε βάναυσον
ἱερέα καταστατέον· ὑπὸ γὰρ τῶν πολιτῶν πρέπει τιμᾶσθαι
τοὺς θεούς· ἐπεὶ δὲ διῄρηται τὸ πολιτικὸν εἰς δύο μέρη, τοῦτ'
ἐστὶ τό τε ὁπλιτικὸν καὶ τὸ βουλευτικόν, πρέπει δὲ τήν τε

[a] ἐστίν—εἶναι Bekker.

ταύτῃ δέ] 'this δέ marks the apodosis.

καὶ μένειν] 'are, by virtue of their possession of arms, the arbiters of the existence or non-existence of the constitution.'

6 τὴν πολιτείαν ταύτην] 'These functions of government.'

ἀλλ' ὥσπερ, κ.τ.λ.] The simplest way of remedying the difficulty in this sentence is to adopt the suggestion of Bekker, and transpose the two verbs εἶναι and ἐστίν, with a change in the stops. 'As strength naturally is in the younger, wisdom in the elder, this surely is the true principle on which the division should be made, and it is the just one.'

7 τὰς κτήσεις, κ.τ.λ.] 'The element of wealth (τὸ εὔπορον) ought to reside in these.'

τῆς πόλεως] 'our state.'

δημιουργόν] 'which does not cultivate and produce virtue.'

ὑπάρχειν μετά] 'can only exist with virtue.'

8 δούλους] See below, Ch. X. 13.

9 ὑπὸ τῶν πολιτῶν] 'By none but citizens.'

πρέπει δέ, κ.τ.λ.] I incline to make the words τοὺς διὰ τὸν χρόνον ἀπειρηκότας the subject of ἀποδιδόναι, as well as of ἔχειν: 'and it is fitting that those who, from their time of life, are past the age for the more strictly poli-

Division of the functions of the citizens.

θεραπείαν ἀποδιδόναι τοῖς θεοῖς καὶ τὴν ἀνάπαυσιν ἔχειν
περὶ αὐτούς, τοὺς διὰ τὸν χρόνον ἀπειρηκότας, τούτους ἂν
εἴη ταῖς ἱερωσύναις ἀποδοτέον. ὧν μὲν τοίνυν ἄνευ πόλις
οὐ συνίσταται, καὶ ὅσα μέρη πόλεως, εἴρηται. γεωργοὶ μὲν 10
γὰρ καὶ τεχνῖται καὶ πᾶν τὸ θητικὸν ἀναγκαῖον ὑπάρχειν
ταῖς πόλεσιν, μέρη δὲ τῆς πόλεως τό τε ὁπλιτικὸν καὶ βου-
λευτικόν· καὶ κεχώρισται δὴ τούτων ἕκαστον, τὸ μὲν ἀεί,
τὸ δὲ κατὰ μέρος.

The caste-system and syssitia.

Ἔοικε δ' οὐ νῦν οὐδὲ νεωστὶ τοῦτ' εἶναι γνώριμον τοῖς 10
περὶ πολιτείας φιλοσοφοῦσιν, ὅτι δεῖ διῃρῆσθαι χωρὶς κατὰ
γένη τὴν πόλιν καὶ τό τε μάχιμον ἕτερον εἶναι καὶ τὸ γεωρ-
γοῦν· ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ τε γὰρ ἔχει τὸν τρόπον τοῦτον ἔτι καὶ 1329 B
νῦν, τά τε περὶ τὴν Κρήτην, τὰ μὲν οὖν περὶ Αἴγυπτον
Σεσώστριος, ὥς φασίν, οὕτω νομοθετήσαντος, Μίνω δὲ τὰ
περὶ Κρήτην. Ἀρχαία δ' ἔοικεν εἶναι καὶ τῶν συσσιτίων 2
ἡ τάξις, τὰ μὲν περὶ Κρήτην γενόμενα περὶ τὴν Μίνω βα-
σιλείαν, τὰ δὲ περὶ τὴν Ἰταλίαν πολλῷ παλαιότερα τού-
των. φασὶ γὰρ οἱ λόγιοι τῶν ἐκεῖ κατοικούντων Ἰταλόν 3
τινα γενέσθαι βασιλέα τῆς Οἰνωτρίας, ἀφ' οὗ τό τε ὄνομα

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tical functions, whether of action or deliberation, should both perform the worship of the gods and have the rest which their service requires; this is the class which may be set apart for the priesthood.'

10 *ὧν μὲν τοίνυν*] This expression throws light on the more obscure statement of VIII. 1.

γεωργοί] Spengel, p. 25, note 27, wishes to read *γεωργούς*, but it is not necessary. 'For though,' &c.

καὶ κεχώρισται δή] A very concise expression. He means, that the separation between the two divisions of the citizens and the non-citizen class is ineffaceable, whilst that between the two divisions of the citizens is simply a question of time. In the first case, he takes the two bodies, and contrasts them; in the second, the divisions of one of them. 'And, consequently, there is a separation in each of these cases,—in the one case a total and perpetual separation, in the other a partial one.'

X. 1 He has got the citizens of his state, he turns to their arrangement.

τοῖς περὶ πολιτείας, κ.τ.λ.] Compare III. 1. 1.

διῃρῆσθαι κατὰ γένη] The caste system.

ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ] Herod. II. 164.

2 *περὶ τὴν Μίνω βασιλείαν*] Grote, I. 312.

3 *οἱ λόγιοι*] Herod. I. 2, *Περσῶν οἱ λόγιοι*. Niebuhr, *Rom. Hist.* Vol. I. 16, considers that it is Antiochus of Syracuse from whom Aristotle is here quoting.

The caste-system and syssitia.

μεταβαλόντας Ἰταλοὺς ἀντ' Οἰνωτρῶν κληθῆναι καὶ τὴν ἀκτὴν ταύτην τῆς Εὐρώπης Ἰταλίαν τοὔνομα λαβεῖν, ὅση τετύχηκεν ἐντὸς οὖσα τοῦ κόλπου τοῦ Σκυλλητικοῦ καὶ τοῦ Λαμητικοῦ· ἀπέχει γὰρ ταῦτα ἀπ' ἀλλήλων ὁδὸν ἡμισείας
4 ἡμέρας. τοῦτον δὴ λέγουσι τὸν Ἰταλὸν νομάδας τοὺς Οἰνωτροὺς ὄντας ποιῆσαι γεωργούς, καὶ νόμους ἄλλους τε αὐτοῖς θέσθαι καὶ τὰ συσσίτια καταστῆσαι πρῶτον. διὸ καὶ νῦν ἔτι τῶν ἀπ' ἐκείνου τινὲς χρῶνται τοῖς συσσιτίοις καὶ
5 τῶν νόμων ἐνίοις. ᾤκουν δὲ τὸ μὲν πρὸς τὴν Τυρρηνίαν Ὀπικοὶ καὶ πρότερον καὶ νῦν καλούμενοι τὴν ἐπωνυμίαν Αὔσονες, τὸ δὲ πρὸς τὴν Ἰαπυγίαν καὶ τὸν Ἰόνιον Χῶνες, τὴν καλουμένην Σιρῖτιν·[a] ἦσαν δὲ καὶ οἱ Χῶνες Οἰνωτροὶ
6 τὸ γένος. ἡ μὲν οὖν τῶν συσσιτίων τάξις ἐντεῦθεν γέγονε πρῶτον, ὁ δὲ χωρισμὸς ὁ κατὰ γένος τοῦ πολιτικοῦ πλήθους ἐξ Αἰγύπτου· πολὺ γὰρ ὑπερτείνει τοῖς χρόνοις τὴν Μίνω
7 βασιλείαν ἡ Σεσώστριος. σχεδὸν μὲν οὖν καὶ τὰ ἄλλα δεῖ νομίζειν εὑρῆσθαι πολλάκις ἐν τῷ πολλῷ χρόνῳ, μᾶλλον δ' ἀπειράκις· τὰ μὲν γὰρ ἀναγκαῖα τὴν χρείαν διδάσκειν εἰκὸς αὐτήν, τὰ δ' εἰς εὐσχημοσύνην καὶ περιουσίαν ὑπαρχόντων ἤδη τούτων εὔλογον λαμβάνειν τὴν αὔξησιν. ὥστε καὶ τὰ περὶ τὰς πολιτείας οἴεσθαι δεῖ τὸν αὐτὸν ἔχειν τρόπον.
8 ὅτι δὲ πάντα ἀρχαῖα, σημεῖον τὰ περὶ Αἴγυπτόν ἐστιν

[a] Bekker Σύρτιν.

ἀκτὴν ταύτην] 'This promontory,' in the sense in which the word occurs, Herod. IV. 38.

ἐντὸς οὖσα] running southwards into the Ionian Sea, 'on the hither side' of the boundary given. The distance between the two gulfs is twenty miles, and is so small as to justify Aristotle's looking on the two as forming the boundary. So I explain the γὰρ in ἀπέχει γάρ.

4 Οἰνωτρούς] On this see Niebuhr, Vol. I. 14, 16, and pp. 55, 56, note 165. On καὶ νῦν ἔτι, Grote III. 497.

ᾤκουν] On this compare Grote III. 466, and note 1, and for the Chaonians, III. 463.

Σιρῖτιν] Heyne's conjecture Σίριν, for Σύρτον, is better than Σύρτιν, and is adopted by Mr Grote, III. 463, note 3. Σιρῖτιν is here adopted from Niebuhr. *Rom. Hist.* Vol. I. 18. "The Siritis so renowned among the Greeks."

6 πολὺ γάρ] 'I say Egypt, for, &c.'

7 τῷ πολλῷ χρόνῳ] Compare II. v. 16.

περιουσίαν] as opposed to ἀναγκαῖα τούτων sc. τῶν ἀναγκαίων.

8 νόμων δέ] "von jeher." Stahr inserts omni hominum memoriâ; there is no record of the time when they

οὗτοι γὰρ ἀρχαιότατοι μὲν δοκοῦσιν εἶναι, νόμων δὲ τε- *The caste-system and syssitia.*
τυχήκασι καὶ τάξεως πολιτικῆς. διὸ δεῖ τοῖς μὲν εἰρημένοις
ἱκανῶς χρῆσθαι, τὰ δὲ παραλελειμμένα πειρᾶσθαι ζητεῖν.

Ὅτι μὲν οὖν δεῖ τὴν χώραν εἶναι τῶν ὅπλα κεκτημένων 9 *The slave or serf population.*
καὶ τῶν τῆς πολιτείας μετεχόντων, εἴρηται πρότερον, καὶ
διότι τοὺς γεωργοῦντας αὐτῶν ἑτέρους εἶναι δεῖ, καὶ πόσην
τινὰ χρὴ καὶ ποίαν εἶναι τὴν χώραν· περὶ δὲ τῆς διανομῆς
καὶ τῶν γεωργούντων, τίνας καὶ ποίους εἶναι χρή, λεκτέον
πρῶτον, ἐπειδὴ οὔτε κοινήν φαμεν εἶναι δεῖν τὴν κτῆσιν, 1330
ὥσπερ τινὲς εἰρήκασιν, ἀλλὰ τῇ χρήσει φιλικῶς γινομένῃ[a]
κοινήν, οὔτ' ἀπορεῖν οὐθένα τῶν πολιτῶν τροφῆς. περὶ 10
συσσιτίων τε συνδοκεῖ πᾶσι χρήσιμον εἶναι ταῖς εὖ κατε-
σκευασμέναις πόλεσιν ὑπάρχειν· δι' ἣν δ' αἰτίαν συνδοκεῖ καὶ
ἡμῖν, ὕστερον ἐροῦμεν. δεῖ δὲ τούτων κοινωνεῖν πάντας τοὺς
πολίτας, οὐ ῥᾴδιον δὲ τοὺς ἀπόρους ἀπὸ τῶν ἰδίων τε εἰσ-
φέρειν τὸ συντεταγμένον καὶ διοικεῖν τὴν ἄλλην οἰκίαν. ἔτι
δὲ τὰ πρὸς τοὺς θεοὺς δαπανήματα κοινὰ πάσης τῆς πόλεώς
ἐστιν. ἀναγκαῖον τοίνυν εἰς δύο μέρη διῃρῆσθαι τὴν χώραν, 11
καὶ τὴν μὲν εἶναι κοινὴν τὴν δὲ τῶν ἰδιωτῶν, καὶ τούτων
ἑκατέραν διῃρῆσθαι δίχα πάλιν, τῆς μὲν κοινῆς τὸ μὲν ἕτερον
μέρος εἰς τὰς πρὸς τοὺς θεοὺς λειτουργίας, τὸ δὲ ἕτερον εἰς
τὴν τῶν συσσιτίων δαπάνην, τῆς δὲ τῶν ἰδιωτῶν τὸ ἕτερον

[a] γινομένην Bekker.

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were without laws and political arrangement.

εἰρημένοις] Several editors wish to read *εὑρημένοις*, nor is Stahr averse to the change, which seems favoured by II. v. 16. Still it is not necessary. The sense is very good with *εἰρημένοις*. *Eth.* X. x. 23, p. 1181. b. 16. *εἴ τι κατὰ μέρος εἴρηται καλῶς.*

9 *διότι*] 'that;' *αὐτῶν ἑτέρους*, 'distinct from the citizens themselves.'

ἀλλὰ τῇ χρήσει φιλικῶς γινομένῃ κοινήν] I prefer the dative participle to the accusative. 'But common by the use made of it in a friendly spirit.' Compare II. v. 6.

10 *περὶ συσσιτίων*] And not only must each citizen be adequately supplied both for his own wants and the fair demands of liberality, 'but also I,' says Aristotle, 'in common with the general view, allow that a public mess is required,' &c.

ὕστερον ἐροῦμεν] As Spengel says, p. 10, note 11, it may be that Ch. XII. is the treatment of the subject here referred to, but that is hardly adequate.

οὐ ῥᾴδιον] And as the poor cannot meet this demand, as well as their other wants, there must be some common stock.

Maritime intercourse.

τῶν πεζευόντων ἐστίν, ὃ κύριόν ἐστι καὶ κρατεῖ τῆς ναυτιλίας· πλήθους δὲ ὑπάρχοντος περιοίκων καὶ τῶν τὴν χώραν γεωργούντων, ἀφθονίαν ἀναγκαῖον εἶναι καὶ ναυτῶν. ὁρῶμεν δὲ [καί] τοῦτο καὶ νῦν ὑπάρχον τισίν, οἷον τῇ πόλει τῶν Ἡρακλεωτῶν· πολλὰς γὰρ ἐκπληροῦσι τριήρεις κεκτημένοι τῷ μεγέθει πόλιν ἑτέρων ἐμμελεστέραν.

9 Περὶ μὲν οὖν χώρας καὶ λιμένων καὶ πόλεων καὶ
θαλάττης καὶ περὶ τῆς ναυτικῆς δυνάμεως ἔστω διωρισμένα
τὸν τρόπον τοῦτον· περὶ δὲ τοῦ πολιτικοῦ πλήθους, τίνα μὲν
7 ὅρον ὑπάρχειν χρή, πρότερον εἴπομεν, ποίους δέ τινας τὴν
φύσιν εἶναι δεῖ, νῦν λέγωμεν. Σχεδὸν δὴ κατανοήσειεν ἄν τις
τοῦτό γε, βλέψας ἐπί τε τὰς πόλεις τὰς εὐδοκιμούσας τῶν
Ἑλλήνων καὶ πρὸς πᾶσαν τὴν οἰκουμένην, ὡς διείληπται τοῖς
2 ἔθνεσιν. τὰ μὲν γὰρ ἐν τοῖς ψυχροῖς τόποις ἔθνη καὶ τὰ
περὶ τὴν Εὐρώπην θυμοῦ μέν ἐστι πλήρη, διανοίας δὲ
ἐνδεέστερα καὶ τέχνης· διόπερ ἐλεύθερα μὲν διατελεῖ μᾶλλον,

Character of the people.

περιοίκων] The Laconian periœci manned the fleet, and we find instances of their holding the command, Thuc. VIII. vi. 22.

καὶ τοῦτο καὶ νῦν] The first καὶ seems superfluous.

Ἡρακλεωτῶν] Heraclea on the Pontus. Compare Schneider's note on the passage. He quotes Xenoph. *Anab.* v. vi. 10.

ἐμμελεστέραν] 'smaller,' 'of very moderate size as compared with others.' This last is Stahr's view; "fort petite," St. Hil. In Plato, *Legg.* VI. 760 a, ἐμμελέστατα occurs in the sense of 'smallest:' τρεῖς εἰς τὰ μέγιστα ἱερά, δύο δ' εἰς τὰ σμικρότερα, πρὸς δὲ τὰ ἐμμελέστατα ἕνα. This seems sufficient warrant for the sense given.

9 πόλεων] Some editors doubt this word. I prefer πόλεως. His object has not been to treat of cities, but of one city.

τοῦ πολιτικοῦ πλήθους] 'The citizens in point of mere number.'

VII. 1 Σχεδὸν δή, κ.τ.λ.] 'It would scarcely then be difficult to form a clear judgment on this point at least.'

διείληπται τοῖς ἔθνεσιν] "distincta gentibus," Vict.; "vertheilt unter die verschiedenen Völkerschaften," Stahr, 'divided out into the different nations.'

2 τὰ περὶ τὴν Εὐρώπην] What extent did Aristotle assign to Europe? Is it the narrow one given by Hermann (Smith, *Geog. Dict.*) of the country between Thrace and Peloponnesus? If so, then τὰ περὶ τὴν Εὐρώπην would be the Thracians, Scythians, Illyrians, and apparently these are the nations meant; but the language is vague, and x. 3 seems to show that Aristotle's sense of the word is larger.

θυμοῦ] 'spirit;' διανοίας καὶ τέχνης, 'intelligence and skill.'

ἐλεύθερα διατελεῖ, κ.τ.λ.] 'They

ἀπολίτευτα δὲ καὶ τῶν πλησίον ἄρχειν οὐ δυνάμενα. τὰ δὲ περὶ τὴν Ἀσίαν διανοητικὰ μὲν καὶ τεχνικὰ τὴν ψυχήν, ἄθυμα δέ· διόπερ ἀρχόμενα καὶ δουλεύοντα διατελεῖ. τὸ 3 δὲ τῶν Ἑλλήνων γένος ὥσπερ μεσεύει κατὰ τοὺς τόπους, οὕτως ἀμφοῖν μετέχει· καὶ γὰρ ἔνθυμον καὶ διανοητικόν ἐστιν· διόπερ ἐλεύθερόν τε διατελεῖ καὶ βέλτιστα πολιτευόμενον καὶ δυνάμενον ἄρχειν πάντων, μιᾶς τυγχάνον πολιτείας. τὴν αὐτὴν δ' ἔχει διαφορὰν καὶ τὰ τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἔθνη καὶ 4 πρὸς ἄλληλα· τὰ μὲν γὰρ ἔχει τὴν φύσιν μονόκωλον, τὰ δὲ εὖ τε κέκραται πρὸς ἀμφοτέρας τὰς δυνάμεις ταύτας. φανερὸν τοίνυν ὅτι δεῖ διανοητικούς τε εἶναι καὶ θυμοειδεῖς τὴν φύσιν τοὺς μέλλοντας εὐαγώγους ἔσεσθαι τῷ νομοθέτῃ πρὸς τὴν ἀρετήν. Ὅπερ γάρ φασί τινες δεῖν ὑπάρχειν 5 τοῖς φύλαξι, τὸ φιλητικοὺς μὲν εἶναι τῶν γνωρίμων, πρὸς δὲ τοὺς ἀγνῶτας ἀγρίους, ὁ θυμός ἐστιν ὁ ποιῶν τὸ φιλητικόν· αὕτη γάρ ἐστιν ἡ τῆς ψυχῆς δύναμις ᾗ φιλοῦμεν.

Character of the people.

preserve their freedom, but they remain without social organization.'

διανοητικά, κ.τ.λ.] 'Though intelligent and crafty, are yet without spirit.'

3 τὸ δὲ τῶν Ἑλλήνων] Compare Grote, II. 98, "The feeling of personal dignity, of which philosophic observers in Greece—Herodotus, Xenophon, Hippocrates, and Aristotle—boasted, as distinguishing the free Greek citizen from the slavish Asiatic." Compare also the same volume, p. 305, on the question of the Greek climate.

μεσεύει] 'holds a middle position.'

μιᾶς τυγχάνον πολιτείας] What is the force to be given to these words? Was the conception of Aristotle that of a federative union, guaranteeing internal peace and empire abroad, but allowing each separate state to be autonomous, only bound to the others by the strong ties of a common interest, a common nationality, and similar institutions, not torn, that is, by the quarrels between oligarchical and democratical principles? This seems the probable case. The word ἄρχειν prevents our considering him to have aimed at a merely defensive organization, such as that suggested by Bp. Thirlwall, V. 154; and the general tendency of his views is against the other alternative, in the same passage, that of "the supremacy of some Grecian state, powerful enough to enforce peace, but not to crush liberty." However this may be, it is the want which is here indicated that caused the failure of Greece to secure empire and organize, as Rome did, the nations of the world.

4 ἔθνη] 'The different Hellenic races.'

μονόκωλον] 'one sided.' Comp. *Rhet.* III. ix. 5, p. 1409, b. 17, where the word is applied to style.

5 τινες] Plato, *Rep.* II. 243.

ποιῶν τὸ φιλητικόν] 'produces the tendency to affection.' Comp. *Topic* II. vii. p. 113 b, I. iv. 5, p. 126, 12.

Character of the people. σημεῖον δέ· πρὸς γὰρ τοὺς συνήθεις καὶ φίλους ὁ θυμὸς αἴρεται μᾶλλον ἢ πρὸς τοὺς ἀγνῶτας, ὀλιγωρεῖσθαι νομίσας.

1328 6 διὸ καὶ Ἀρχίλοχος προσηκόντως τοῖς φίλοις ἐγκαλῶν διαλέγεται πρὸς τὸν θυμόν·

οὐ γὰρ δὴ περὶ φίλων ἀπάγχεο.

καὶ τὸ ἄρχον δὲ καὶ τὸ ἐλεύθερον ἀπὸ τῆς δυνάμεως ταύτης

7 ὑπάρχει πᾶσιν· ἀρχικὸν γὰρ καὶ ἀήττητον ὁ θυμός. οὐ καλῶς δ' ἔχει λέγειν χαλεποὺς εἶναι πρὸς τοὺς ἀγνῶτας· πρὸς οὐθένα γὰρ εἶναι χρὴ τοιοῦτον, οὐδ' εἰσιν οἱ μεγαλόψυχοι τὴν φύσιν ἄγριοι, πλὴν πρὸς τοὺς ἀδικοῦντας. τοῦτο δὲ μᾶλλον ἔτι πρὸς τοὺς συνήθεις πάσχουσιν, ὅπερ εἴρηται

8 πρότερον, ἂν ἀδικεῖσθαι νομίσωσιν. καὶ τοῦτο συμβαίνει κατὰ λόγον· παρ' οἷς γὰρ ὀφείλεσθαι δεῖν τὴν εὐεργεσίαν ὑπολαμβάνουσι, πρὸς τῷ βλάβει καὶ ταύτης ἀποστερεῖσθαι νομίζουσιν. ὅθεν εἴρηται

χαλεποὶ γὰρ πόλεμοι ἀδελφῶν

καὶ

οἵ τοι πέρα στέρξαντες, οἱ δὲ καὶ πέρα
μισοῦσιν.

9 Περὶ μὲν οὖν τῶν πολιτευομένων, πόσους τε ὑπάρχειν δεῖ καὶ ποίους τινὰς τὴν φύσιν, ἔτι δὲ τὴν χώραν πόσην τέ τινα καὶ ποίαν τινά, διώρισται σχεδόν. οὐ γὰρ τὴν αὐτὴν ἀκρίβειαν δεῖ ζητεῖν διά τε τῶν λόγων καὶ τῶν γιγνομένων διὰ

8 τῆς αἰσθήσεως. Ἐπεὶ δ' ὥσπερ τῶν ἄλλων τῶν κατὰ φύσιν

The parts of a state. συνεστώτων οὐ ταὐτά[a] ἐστι μόρια τῆς ὅλης συστάσεως, ὧν

[a] ταὐτά Bekker.

αἴρεται] 'rises.'

ὀλιγωρεῖσθαι] sc. ὑφ' ὧν ἥκιστα προσήκει, *Rhet.* II. 2, 15, p. 1379, b. 2–4.

6 οὐ γὰρ δὴ περὶ φίλων ἀπάγχεο] Arch. Frag. 61, Bergk, 1st Ed. The reading Bergk gives is οὐ γὰρ δὴ παρὰ φίλων ἀπάγχεο. Stahr makes it interrogative.

8 κατὰ λόγον] 'as might be expected.'

παρ' οἷς] 'Those with whom,' apud quos.

χαλεποὶ γάρ, κ.τ.λ.] Eurip. *Fr. Inc.* 57, Ed. Dind.

οἵ τοι πέρα, κ.τ.λ.] Eurip. *Fr.*

9 οὐ γάρ, κ.τ.λ.] 'For we must not seek the same exactness when theory is concerned as we require when actual sensible results are in question.' So Stahr and St. Hilaire.

VIII. 1 ταὐτά] This is Bekker's reading, and it is retained by Stahr. I should prefer either ταῦτα or πάντα.

The parts of a state.

ἄνευ τὸ ὅλον οὐκ ἂν εἴη, δῆλον ὡς οὐδὲ πόλεως μέρη θετέον ὅσα ταῖς πόλεσιν ἀναγκαῖον ὑπάρχειν, οὐδ' ἄλλης κοινωνίας οὐδεμιᾶς, ἐξ ἧς ἕν τι τὸ γένος. ἓν γάρ τι καὶ κοινὸν 2 εἶναι δεῖ καὶ ταὐτὸ τοῖς κοινωνοῖς, ἄν τε ἴσον ἄν τε ἄνισον μεταλαμβάνωσιν, οἷον εἴτε τροφὴ τοῦτο ἐστιν εἴτε χώρας πλῆθος εἴτ' ἄλλο τι τῶν τοιούτων ἐστίν. ὅταν δ' ᾖ τὸ μὲν 3 τούτου ἕνεκεν τὸ δ' οὗ ἕνεκεν, οὐθὲν ἕν γε τούτοις κοινὸν ἀλλ' ἢ τῷ μὲν ποιῆσαι τῷ δὲ λαβεῖν· λέγω δ' οἷον ὀργάνῳ τε παντὶ πρὸς τὸ γιγνόμενον ἔργον καὶ τοῖς διημουργοῖς· οἰκίᾳ γὰρ πρὸς οἰκοδόμον οὐθέν ἐστιν ὃ γίνεται κοινόν, ἀλλ' ἔστι τῆς οἰκίας χάριν ἡ τῶν οἰκοδόμων τέχνη. διὸ κτήσεως μὲν 4 δεῖ ταῖς πόλεσιν, οὐδὲν δ' ἐστὶν ἡ κτῆσις μέρος τῆς πόλεως· πολλὰ δ' ἔμψυχα μέρη τῆς κτήσεώς ἐστιν. ἡ δὲ πόλις κοινωνία τίς ἐστι τῶν ὁμοίων, ἕνεκεν δὲ ζωῆς τῆς ἐνδεχομένης ἀρίστης. ἐπεὶ δ' ἐστὶν εὐδαιμονία τὸ ἄριστον, αὕτη δὲ 5 ἀρετῆς ἐνέργεια καὶ χρῆσίς τις τέλειος, συμβέβηκε δὲ οὕτως ὥστε τοὺς μὲν ἐνδέχεσθαι μετέχειν αὐτῆς, τοὺς δὲ μικρὸν ἢ μηδέν, δῆλον ὡς τοῦτ' αἴτιον τοῦ γίγνεσθαι πόλεως εἴδη καὶ

It is difficult to say what *ταὐτά* means. The reading *ταῦτα* seems to be supported by § 6, *πόσα ταυτί ἐστιν ὧν ἄνευ πόλις οὐκ ἂν εἴη*. Retaining *ταὐτά*, I construe: 'Now, since in the case of all other things which are in their nature compound, we do not in the same degree consider as parts of the whole that is formed, all the parts which are necessary to its formation, so is it clear that neither in the case of a state must we treat as essential parts of a state all those which are indispensably necessary to its existence, nor in the case of any other association, which forms a unity in kind, a homogeneous whole. For there must be,' he continues, 'some one thing, and that common and the same, to all who share in the association.'

3 The simply ministerial subordinate functions must be distinguished from the higher and political ones—the basis of the state from that which rests on it—the means from the end—the *τούτου ἕνεκεν* from the *οὗ ἕνεκεν*. They have nothing in common: the one produces, the other accepts the result: *οὐδεμία γένεσις συγγενὴς τοῖς τέλεσιν*, *Eth.* VII. xii. 4, p. 1152, b. 14.

4 *διὸ κτήσεως, κ.τ.λ.*] Therefore, though property is absolutely essential to a state, yet it is in no sense a part of the state; it is *ἐν ὀργάνου εἴδει*.

πολλὰ δ'] I do not see the object of this remark.

ἕνεκεν δὲ ζωῆς] This is the *ἕν τι καὶ κοινὸν καὶ ταὐτό*.

5 *αὕτη δέ, κ.τ.λ.*] 'This consists in the practice of virtue, both personal and relative;' *ἀρετὴ καὶ ἀρετῆς χρῆσις τέλειος*, which last is *δικαιοσύνη*.

ἐνδέχεσθαι] 'have it in their power to attain it.'

The parts of a state.

διαφορὰς καὶ πολιτείας πλείους· ἄλλον γὰρ τρόπον καὶ δι' ἄλλων ἕκαστοι τοῦτο θηρεύοντες τούς τε βίους ἑτέρους ποι-
1328 B 6 οῦνται καὶ τὰς πολιτείας. ἐπισκεπτέον δὲ καὶ πόσα ταυτί ἐστιν ὧν ἄνευ πόλις οὐκ ἂν εἴη· καὶ γὰρ ἃ λέγομεν εἶναι μέρη πόλεως, ἐν τούτοις ἂν εἴη ἀναγκαῖον ὑπάρχειν. ληπτέον τοίνυν τῶν ἔργων τὸν ἀριθμόν· ἐκ τούτων γὰρ ἔσται δῆλον.
7 Πρῶτον μὲν οὖν ὑπάρχειν δεῖ τροφήν, ἔπειτα τέχνας (πολλῶν γὰρ ὀργάνων δεῖται τὸ ζῆν), τρίτον δὲ ὅπλα (τοὺς γὰρ κοινωνοῦντας ἀναγκαῖον καὶ ἐν αὑτοῖς ἔχειν ὅπλα πρός τε τὴν ἀρχήν, τῶν ἀπειθούντων χάριν, καὶ πρὸς τοὺς ἔξωθεν ἀδικεῖν ἐπιχειροῦντας), ἔτι χρημάτων τινὰ εὐπορίαν, ὅπως ἔχωσι καὶ πρὸς τὰς καθ' αὑτοὺς χρείας καὶ πρὸς πολεμικάς, πέμπτον δὲ καὶ πρῶτον τὴν περὶ τὸ θεῖον ἐπιμέλειαν, ἣν καλοῦσιν ἱερατείαν, ἕκτον δὲ τὸν ἀριθμὸν καὶ πάντων ἀναγκαιότατον κρίσιν περὶ τῶν συμφερόντων καὶ τῶν δικαίων τῶν πρὸς ἀλ-
8 λήλους. τὰ μὲν οὖν ἔργα ταῦτ' ἐστὶν ὧν δεῖται πᾶσα πόλις ὡς εἰπεῖν. ἡ γὰρ πόλις πλῆθός ἐστιν οὐ τὸ τυχόν, ἀλλὰ πρὸς ζωὴν αὔταρκες, ὡς φαμέν· ἐὰν δέ τι τυγχάνῃ τούτων ἐκλεῖπον, ἀδύνατον ἁπλῶς αὐτάρκη τὴν κοινωνίαν εἶναι ταύ-
9 την. ἀνάγκη τοίνυν κατὰ τὰς ἐργασίας ταύτας συνεστάναι πόλιν. δεῖ ἄρα γεωργῶν τ' εἶναι πλῆθος, οἳ παρασκευάσουσι τὴν τροφήν, καὶ τεχνίτας καὶ τὸ μάχιμον, καὶ τὸ εὔπορον, καὶ ἱερεῖς, καὶ κριτὰς τῶν ἀναγκαίων καὶ συμφερόντων.

9 Division of the functions of the citizens.

Διωρισμένων δὲ τούτων λοιπὸν σκέψασθαι πότερον πᾶσι κοινωνητέον πάντων τούτων (ἐνδέχεται γὰρ τοὺς αὐτοὺς ἅπαντας εἶναι καὶ γεωργοὺς καὶ τεχνίτας καὶ τοὺς βουλευομένους

τοῦτο] This variety of position.

θηρεύοντες] 'as they pursue it.'

6 μέρη] 'parts of the state in a strict sense.'

ἐν τούτοις] not identical with, but lying amongst them, and capable of being detached.

7 καὶ πρῶτον] 'First in importance.' This is odd, as Aristotle does not elsewhere, either in theory or in his practical arrangements, lay much stress on the worship of the state.

κρίσιν περὶ τῶν συμφερόντων] 'decision on the policy to be adopted, and the administration of justice as between man and man.' Below, τῶν ἀναγκαίων καὶ συμφερόντων.

8 οὐ τὸ τυχόν] 'not any chance number.'

IX. 1 ὑποθετέον] 'we must presume.'

Division of the functions of the citizens.

καὶ δικάζοντας) ἢ καθ' ἕκαστον ἔργον τῶν εἰρημένων ἄλλους
ὑποθετέον, ἢ τὰ μὲν ἴδια τὰ δὲ κοινὰ τούτων ἐξ ἀνάγκης
ἐστίν. οὐκ ἐν πάσῃ δὲ τοῦτο πολιτείᾳ. καθάπερ γὰρ
εἴπομεν, ἐνδέχεται καὶ πάντας κοινωνεῖν πάντων, καὶ μὴ 2
πάντας πάντων ἀλλὰ τινὰς τινῶν. ταῦτα γὰρ καὶ ποιεῖ τὰς
πολιτείας ἑτέρας· ἐν μὲν γὰρ ταῖς δημοκρατίαις μετέχουσι
πάντες πάντων, ἐν δὲ ταῖς ὀλιγαρχίαις τοὐναντίον. ἐπεὶ 3
δὲ τυγχάνομεν σκοποῦντες περὶ τῆς ἀρίστης πολιτείας, αὕτη
δ' ἐστὶ καθ' ἣν ἡ πόλις ἂν εἴη μάλιστ' εὐδαίμων, τὴν δ' εὐ-
δαιμονίαν ὅτι χωρὶς ἀρετῆς ἀδύνατον ὑπάρχειν εἴρηται πρό-
τερον, φανερὸν ἐκ τούτων ὡς ἐν τῇ κάλλιστα πολιτευομένῃ
πόλει καὶ τῇ κεκτημένῃ δικαίους ἄνδρας ἁπλῶς, ἀλλὰ μὴ πρὸς
τὴν ὑπόθεσιν, οὔτε βάναυσον βίον οὔτ' ἀγοραῖον δεῖ ζῆν τοὺς
πολίτας· ἀγεννὴς γὰρ ὁ τοιοῦτος βίος καὶ πρὸς ἀρετὴν ὑπε-
ναντίος. οὐδὲ δὴ γεωργοὺς εἶναι τοὺς μέλλοντας ἔσεσθαι· 4 1329
δεῖ γὰρ σχολῆς καὶ πρὸς τὴν γένεσιν τῆς ἀρετῆς καὶ πρὸς
τὰς πράξεις τὰς πολιτικάς. Ἐπεὶ δὲ καὶ τὸ πολεμικὸν καὶ
τὸ βουλευόμενον περὶ τῶν συμφερόντων καὶ κρῖνον περὶ τῶν
δικαίων ἐνυπάρχει καὶ μέρη φαίνεται τῆς πόλεως μάλιστα
ὄντα, πότερον ἕτερα καὶ ταῦτα θετέον ἢ τοῖς αὐτοῖς ἀποδο-
τέον ἄμφω; φανερὸν δὲ καὶ τοῦτο, διότι τρόπον μέν τινα 5
τοῖς αὐτοῖς, τρόπον δέ τινα καὶ ἑτέροις. ᾗ μὲν γὰρ ἑτέρας
ἀκμῆς ἑκάτερον τῶν ἔργων, καὶ τὸ μὲν δεῖται φρονήσεως
τὸ δὲ δυνάμεως, ἑτέροις· ᾗ δὲ τῶν ἀδυνάτων ἐστὶ τοὺς δυνα-
μένους βιάζεσθαι καὶ κωλύειν, τούτους ὑπομένειν ἀρχομέ-

2 οὐκ ἐν πάσῃ, κ.τ.λ.] 'This is not an open question in every state.' That is, some states have decided it, and differ from others, and are what they are by that decision. But for the ideal state it is an inquiry that may be entered upon.

3 φανερὸν ἐκ τούτων] 'admit these premises, and it is clear.'

μὴ πρὸς τὴν ὑπόθεσιν] 'not with reference to the idea of the given state.' Comp. II. IX. 1.

ἀγεννής, or ἀγενής] See L. and S., 'low.'

4 μέλλοντας ἔσεσθαι] sc. πολίτας.

καὶ πρὸς τὴν γένεσιν] Both for education and for political life.

ἐνυπάρχει] 'are not only found existing amongst the other parts (ἐν τούτοις, VIII. 6), but are evidently most strictly members of the state.'

5 διότι] 'that.'

ἑτέρας ἀκμῆς] 'of a different prime,' or 'perfection.' The same distinction is observed in Plato's ἐπίκουροι and φύλακες; it is simply one of age.

καὶ κωλύειν] This, as well as βιάζεσθαι, depends on δυναμένους.

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νους ἀεί, ταύτῃ δὲ τοῖς αὐτοῖς· οἱ γὰρ τῶν ὅπλων κύριοι
καὶ μένειν ἢ μὴ μένειν κύριοι τὴν πολιτείαν. λείπεται τοί-
νυν τοῖς αὐτοῖς μὲν ἀμφοτέροις ἀποδιδόναι τὴν πολιτείαν
6 ταύτην, μὴ ἅμα δέ, ἀλλ' ὥσπερ πέφυκεν ἡ μὲν δύναμις ἐν
νεωτέροις, ἡ δὲ φρόνησις ἐν πρεσβυτέροις εἶναι[a], οὐκοῦν
οὕτως ἀμφοῖν νενεμῆσθαι συμφέρει καὶ δίκαιον ἐστίν· ἔχει
7 γὰρ αὕτη ἡ διαίρεσις τὸ κατ' ἀξίαν. ἀλλὰ μὴν καὶ τὰς
κτήσεις δεῖ εἶναι περὶ τούτους· ἀναγκαῖον γὰρ εὐπορίαν
ὑπάρχειν τοῖς πολίταις, πολῖται δὲ οὗτοι. τὸ γὰρ βάναυ-
σον οὐ μετέχει τῆς πόλεως, οὐδ' ἄλλο οὐθὲν γένος ὃ μὴ τῆς
ἀρετῆς δημιουργόν ἐστιν. τοῦτο δὲ δῆλον ἐκ τῆς ὑποθέσεως·
τὸ μὲν γὰρ εὐδαιμονεῖν ἀναγκαῖον ὑπάρχειν μετὰ τῆς ἀρε-
τῆς, εὐδαίμονα δὲ πόλιν οὐκ εἰς μέρος τι βλέψαντας δεῖ
8 λέγειν αὐτῆς, ἀλλ' εἰς πάντας τοὺς πολίτας. φανερὸν δὲ
καὶ ὅτι δεῖ τὰς κτήσεις εἶναι τούτων, εἴπερ ἀναγκαῖον εἶναι
τοὺς γεωργοὺς δούλους ἢ βαρβάρους ἢ περιοίκους. λοιπὸν
δ' ἐκ τῶν καταριθμηθέντων τὸ τῶν ἱερέων γένος. φανερὰ
9 δὲ καὶ ἡ τούτων τάξις. οὔτε γὰρ γεωργὸν οὔτε βάναυσον
ἱερέα καταστατέον· ὑπὸ γὰρ τῶν πολιτῶν πρέπει τιμᾶσθαι
τοὺς θεούς· ἐπεὶ δὲ διῄρηται τὸ πολιτικὸν εἰς δύο μέρη, τοῦτ'
ἐστὶ τό τε ὁπλιτικὸν καὶ τὸ βουλευτικόν, πρέπει δὲ τήν τε

[a] ἐστίν—εἶναι Bekker.

ταύτῃ δέ] 'this δέ marks the apodosis.

καὶ μένειν] 'are, by virtue of their possession of arms, the arbiters of the existence or non-existence of the constitution.'

6 τὴν πολιτείαν ταύτην] 'These functions of government.'

ἀλλ' ὥσπερ, κ.τ.λ.] The simplest way of remedying the difficulty in this sentence is to adopt the suggestion of Bekker, and transpose the two verbs εἶναι and ἐστίν, with a change in the stops. 'As strength naturally is in the younger, wisdom in the elder, this surely is the true principle on which the division should be made, and it is the just one.'

7 τὰς κτήσεις, κ.τ.λ.] 'The element of wealth (τὸ εὔπορον) ought to reside in these.'

τῆς πόλεως] 'our state.'

δημιουργόν] 'which does not cultivate and produce virtue.'

ὑπάρχειν μετά] 'can only exist with virtue.'

8 δούλους] See below, Ch. X. 13.

9 ὑπὸ τῶν πολιτῶν] 'By none but citizens.'

πρέπει δέ, κ.τ.λ.] I incline to make the words τοὺς διὰ τὸν χρόνον ἀπειρηκότας the subject of ἀποδιδόναι, as well as of ἔχειν: 'and it is fitting that those who, from their time of life, are past the age for the more strictly poli-

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θεραπείαν ἀποδιδόναι τοῖς θεοῖς καὶ τὴν ἀνάπαυσιν ἔχειν περὶ αὐτοὺς, τοὺς διὰ τὸν χρόνον ἀπειρηκότας, τούτους ἂν εἴη ταῖς ἱερωσύναις ἀποδοτέον. ὧν μὲν τοίνυν ἄνευ πόλις οὐ συνίσταται, καὶ ὅσα μέρη πόλεως, εἴρηται. γεωργοὶ μὲν γὰρ καὶ τεχνῖται καὶ πᾶν τὸ θητικὸν ἀναγκαῖον ὑπάρχειν ταῖς πόλεσιν, μέρη δὲ τῆς πόλεως τό τε ὁπλιτικὸν καὶ βουλευτικόν· καὶ κεχώρισται δὴ τούτων ἕκαστον, τὸ μὲν ἀεί, τὸ δὲ κατὰ μέρος.

The caste-system and syssitia.

10 Ἔοικε δ' οὐ νῦν οὐδὲ νεωστὶ τοῦτ' εἶναι γνώριμον τοῖς περὶ πολιτείας φιλοσοφοῦσιν, ὅτι δεῖ διῃρῆσθαι χωρὶς κατὰ γένη τὴν πόλιν καὶ τό τε μάχιμον ἕτερον εἶναι καὶ τὸ γεωργοῦν· ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ τε γὰρ ἔχει τὸν τρόπον τοῦτον ἔτι καὶ (1329 B) νῦν, τά τε περὶ τὴν Κρήτην, τὰ μὲν οὖν περὶ Αἴγυπτον Σεσώστριος, ὡς φασίν, οὕτω νομοθετήσαντος, Μίνω δὲ τὰ περὶ Κρήτην. 2 Ἀρχαία δ' ἔοικεν εἶναι καὶ τῶν συσσιτίων ἡ τάξις, τὰ μὲν περὶ Κρήτην γενόμενα περὶ τὴν Μίνω βασιλείαν, τὰ δὲ περὶ τὴν Ἰταλίαν πολλῷ παλαιότερα τούτων. 3 φασὶ γὰρ οἱ λόγιοι τῶν ἐκεῖ κατοικούντων Ἰταλόν τινα γενέσθαι βασιλέα τῆς Οἰνωτρίας, ἀφ' οὗ τό τε ὄνομα

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tical functions, whether of action or deliberation, should both perform the worship of the gods and have the rest which their service requires; this is the class which may be set apart for the priesthood.'

10 *ὧν μὲν τοίνυν*] This expression throws light on the more obscure statement of VIII. 1.

γεωργοί] Spengel, p. 25, note 27, wishes to read *γεωργούς*, but it is not necessary. 'For though,' &c.

καὶ κεχώρισται δή] A very concise expression. He means, that the separation between the two divisions of the citizens and the non-citizen class is ineffaceable, whilst that between the two divisions of the citizens is simply a question of time. In the first case, he takes the two bodies, and contrasts them; in the second, the divisions of one of them. 'And, consequently, there is a separation in each of these cases,—in the one case a total and perpetual separation, in the other a partial one.'

X. 1 He has got the citizens of his state, he turns to their arrangement.

τοῖς περὶ πολιτείας, κ.τ.λ.] Compare III. 1. 1.

διῃρῆσθαι κατὰ γένη] The caste system.

ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ] Herod. II. 164.

2 *περὶ τὴν Μίνω βασιλείαν*] Grote, I. 312.

3 *οἱ λόγιοι*] Herod. I. 2, *Περσῶν οἱ λόγιοι*. Niebuhr, *Rom. Hist.* Vol. I. 16, considers that it is Antiochus of Syracuse from whom Aristotle is here quoting.

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μεταβαλόντας Ἰταλοὺς ἀντ' Οἰνωτρῶν κληθῆναι καὶ τὴν ἀκτὴν ταύτην τῆς Εὐρώπης Ἰταλίαν τοὔνομα λαβεῖν, ὅση τετύχηκεν ἐντὸς οὖσα τοῦ κόλπου τοῦ Σκυλλητικοῦ καὶ τοῦ Λαμητικοῦ· ἀπέχει γὰρ ταῦτα ἀπ' ἀλλήλων ὁδὸν ἡμισείας
4 ἡμέρας. τοῦτον δὴ λέγουσι τὸν Ἰταλὸν νομάδας τοὺς Οἰνωτροὺς ὄντας ποιῆσαι γεωργούς, καὶ νόμους ἄλλους τε αὐτοῖς θέσθαι καὶ τὰ συσσίτια καταστῆσαι πρῶτον. διὸ καὶ νῦν ἔτι τῶν ἀπ' ἐκείνου τινὲς χρῶνται τοῖς συσσιτίοις καὶ
5 τῶν νόμων ἐνίοις. ᾤκουν δὲ τὸ μὲν πρὸς τὴν Τυρρηνίαν Ὀπικοὶ καὶ πρότερον καὶ νῦν καλούμενοι τὴν ἐπωνυμίαν Αὔσονες, τὸ δὲ πρὸς τὴν Ἰαπυγίαν καὶ τὸν Ἰόνιον Χῶνες, τὴν καλουμένην Σιρῖτιν·[a] ἦσαν δὲ καὶ οἱ Χῶνες Οἰνωτροὶ
6 τὸ γένος. ἡ μὲν οὖν τῶν συσσιτίων τάξις ἐντεῦθεν γέγονε πρῶτον, ὁ δὲ χωρισμὸς ὁ κατὰ γένος τοῦ πολιτικοῦ πλήθους ἐξ Αἰγύπτου· πολὺ γὰρ ὑπερτείνει τοῖς χρόνοις τὴν Μίνω
7 βασιλείαν ἡ Σεσώστριος. σχεδὸν μὲν οὖν καὶ τὰ ἄλλα δεῖ νομίζειν εὑρῆσθαι πολλάκις ἐν τῷ πολλῷ χρόνῳ, μᾶλλον δ' ἀπειράκις· τὰ μὲν γὰρ ἀναγκαῖα τὴν χρείαν διδάσκειν εἰκὸς αὐτήν, τὰ δ' εἰς εὐσχημοσύνην καὶ περιουσίαν, ὑπαρχόντων ἤδη τούτων, εὔλογον λαμβάνειν τὴν αὔξησιν. ὥστε καὶ τὰ περὶ τὰς πολιτείας οἴεσθαι δεῖ τὸν αὐτὸν ἔχειν τρόπον.
8 ὅτι δὲ πάντα ἀρχαῖα, σημεῖον τὰ περὶ Αἴγυπτόν ἐστιν

[a] Bekker Σύρτιν.

ἀκτὴν ταύτην] 'This promontory,' in the sense in which the word occurs, Herod. IV. 38.

ἐντὸς οὖσα] running southwards into the Ionian Sea, 'on the hither side' of the boundary given. The distance between the two gulfs is twenty miles, and is so small as to justify Aristotle's looking on the two as forming the boundary. So I explain the γὰρ in ἀπέχει γάρ.

4 Οἰνωτρούς] On this see Niebuhr, Vol. I. 14, 16, and pp. 55, 56, note 165. On καὶ νῦν ἔτι, Grote III. 497.

ᾤκουν] On this compare Grote III. 466, and note 1, and for the Chaonians, III. 463.

Σιρῖτιν] Heyne's conjecture Σίριν, for Σύρτον, is better than Σύρτιν, and is adopted by Mr Grote, III. 463, note 3. Σιρῖτιν is here adopted from Niebuhr. *Rom. Hist.* Vol. I. 18. "The Siritis so renowned among the Greeks."

6 πολὺ γάρ] 'I say Egypt, for, &c.'

7 τῷ πολλῷ χρόνῳ] Compare II. v. 16.

περιουσίαν] as opposed to ἀναγκαῖα τούτων sc. τῶν ἀναγκαίων.

8 νόμων δέ] "von jeher." Stahr inserts omni hominum memoriâ; there is no record of the time when they

οὗτοι γὰρ ἀρχαιότατοι μὲν δοκοῦσιν εἶναι, νόμων δὲ τετυχήκασι καὶ τάξεως πολιτικῆς. διὸ δεῖ τοῖς μὲν εἰρημένοις ἱκανῶς χρῆσθαι, τὰ δὲ παραλελειμμένα πειρᾶσθαι ζητεῖν.

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9 Ὅτι μὲν οὖν δεῖ τὴν χώραν εἶναι τῶν ὅπλα κεκτημένων καὶ τῶν τῆς πολιτείας μετεχόντων, εἴρηται πρότερον, καὶ διότι τοὺς γεωργοῦντας αὐτῶν ἑτέρους εἶναι δεῖ, καὶ πόσην τινὰ χρὴ καὶ ποίαν εἶναι τὴν χώραν· περὶ δὲ τῆς διανομῆς καὶ τῶν γεωργούντων, τίνας καὶ ποίους εἶναι χρή, λεκτέον πρῶτον, ἐπειδὴ οὔτε κοινήν φαμεν εἶναι δεῖν τὴν κτῆσιν, 1330 ὥσπερ τινὲς εἰρήκασιν, ἀλλὰ τῇ χρήσει φιλικῶς γινομένῃ[a] κοινήν, οὔτ' ἀπορεῖν οὐθένα τῶν πολιτῶν τροφῆς. περὶ 10 συσσιτίων τε συνδοκεῖ πᾶσι χρήσιμον εἶναι ταῖς εὖ κατεσκευασμέναις πόλεσιν ὑπάρχειν· δι' ἣν δ' αἰτίαν συνδοκεῖ καὶ ἡμῖν, ὕστερον ἐροῦμεν. δεῖ δὲ τούτων κοινωνεῖν πάντας τοὺς πολίτας, οὐ ῥᾴδιον δὲ τοὺς ἀπόρους ἀπὸ τῶν ἰδίων τε εἰσφέρειν τὸ συντεταγμένον καὶ διοικεῖν τὴν ἄλλην οἰκίαν. ἔτι δὲ τὰ πρὸς τοὺς θεοὺς δαπανήματα κοινὰ πάσης τῆς πόλεώς ἐστιν. ἀναγκαῖον τοίνυν εἰς δύο μέρη διῃρῆσθαι τὴν χώραν, 11 καὶ τὴν μὲν εἶναι κοινὴν τὴν δὲ τῶν ἰδιωτῶν, καὶ τούτων ἑκατέραν διῃρῆσθαι δίχα πάλιν, τῆς μὲν κοινῆς τὸ μὲν ἕτερον μέρος εἰς τὰς πρὸς τοὺς θεοὺς λειτουργίας, τὸ δὲ ἕτερον εἰς τὴν τῶν συσσιτίων δαπάνην, τῆς δὲ τῶν ἰδιωτῶν τὸ ἕτερον

The slave or serf population.

[a] γινομένην Bekker.

were without laws and political arrangement.

εἰρημένοις] Several editors wish to read *εὑρημένοις*, nor is Stahr averse to the change, which seems favoured by II. v. 16. Still it is not necessary. The sense is very good with *εἰρημένοις*. *Eth.* X. x. 23, p. 1181. b. 16. *εἴ τι κατὰ μέρος εἴρηται καλῶς*.

9 *διότι*] 'that;' *αὐτῶν ἑτέρους*, 'distinct from the citizens themselves.'

ἀλλὰ τῇ χρήσει φιλικῶς γινομένῃ κοινήν] I prefer the dative participle to the accusative. 'But common by the use made of it in a friendly spirit.' Compare II. v. 6.

10 *περὶ συσσιτίων*] And not only must each citizen be adequately supplied both for his own wants and the fair demands of liberality, 'but also I,' says Aristotle, 'in common with the general view, allow that a public mess is required,' &c.

ὕστερον ἐροῦμεν] As Spengel says, p. 10, note 11, it may be that Ch. XII. is the treatment of the subject here referred to, but that is hardly adequate.

οὐ ῥᾴδιον] And as the poor cannot meet this demand, as well as their other wants, there must be some common stock.

The slave or serf population.

μέρος τὸ πρὸς τὰς ἐσχατιάς, ἕτερον δὲ τὸ πρὸς τὴν πόλιν, ἵνα δύο κλήρων ἑκάστῳ νεμηθέντων ἀμφοτέρων τῶν τόπων πάντες μετέχωσιν· τό τε γὰρ ἴσον οὕτως ἔχει καὶ τὸ δίκαιον καὶ τὸ πρὸς τοὺς ἀστυγείτονας πολέμους ὁμονοητικώτερον.
12 ὅπου γὰρ μὴ τοῦτον ἔχει τὸν τρόπον, οἱ μὲν ὀλιγωροῦσι τῆς πρὸς τοὺς ὁμόρους ἔχθρας, οἱ δὲ λίαν φροντίζουσι καὶ παρὰ τὸ καλόν. διὸ παρ' ἐνίοις νόμος ἐστὶ τοὺς γειτνιῶντας τοῖς ὁμόροις μὴ συμμετέχειν βουλῆς τῶν πρὸς αὐτοὺς πολέμων, ὡς διὰ τὸ ἴδιον οὐκ ἂν δυναμένους βουλεύσασθαι
13 καλῶς. τὴν μὲν οὖν χώραν ἀνάγκη διῃρῆσθαι τὸν τρόπον τοῦτον διὰ τὰς προειρημένας αἰτίας· τοὺς δὲ γεωργήσοντας μάλιστα μέν, εἰ δεῖ κατ' εὐχήν, δούλους εἶναι, μήτε ὁμοφύλων πάντων μήτε θυμοειδῶν (οὕτω γὰρ ἂν πρός τε τὴν ἐργασίαν εἶεν χρήσιμοι καὶ πρὸς τὸ μηδὲν νεωτερίζειν ἀσφαλεῖς), δεύτερον δὲ βαρβάρους περιοίκους παραπλησίους τοῖς
14 εἰρημένοις τὴν φύσιν. τούτων δὲ τοὺς μὲν ἰδίους ἐν τοῖς ἰδίοις εἶναι τῶν κεκτημένων τὰς οὐσίας, τοὺς δ' ἐπὶ τῇ κοινῇ

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11 πρὸς τὰς ἐσχατιάς] 'on the borders.'

οὕτως ἔχει] 'For so the division has fairness in it and justice; and with reference to the wars with neighbouring tribes, it has a very considerable tendency to produce unity of feeling.' I supply, it will be seen, the nominative to ἔχει.

12 Compare Thuc. II. 21, the case of the Acharnians; also Numbers XXXII. that of the tribes beyond Jordan.

παρ' ἐνίοις] The reference is unknown.

13 οὕτω γὰρ ἂν] For if neither of those.

βαρβάρους περιοίκους] Schneider inserts ἤ, and with some reason, looking at ix. 8, where, as here, the slaves are marked off first, and then two other classes are given, either barbarian perioeci, or perioeci of the same race as the ruling body. But, on the whole, it is as well to keep the reading in the text. In the former passage Aristotle was merely enumerating the kinds that might, in fact, constitute the dependent population; here he is speaking of what is desirable, κατ' εὐχήν, and if he could not have slaves, he would wish that the perioeci should, as the next best thing, be of a stock alien to the Greeks, and not dependent Greeks; and both as a matter of Greek feeling and from the lessons of Greek experience, he was justified in this his view.

14 τοὺς μέν, κ.τ.λ.] 'And these should be divided into classes; the one employed on the private estates of those who have the property should be themselves the private property of the owners, the other employed on the public land should be public.' ἰδίους τῶν κεκτημένων.

γῇ κοινούς. τίνα δὲ δεῖ τρόπον χρῆσθαι δούλοις, καὶ διότι βέλτιον πᾶσι τοῖς δούλοις ἆθλον προκεῖσθαι τὴν ἐλευθερίαν, ὕστερον ἐροῦμεν. The slave or serf population.

11 The city.
Τὴν δὲ πόλιν ὅτι μὲν δεῖ κοινὴν εἶναι τῆς ἠπείρου τε καὶ τῆς θαλάσσης καὶ τῆς χώρας ἁπάσης ὁμοίως ἐκ τῶν ἐνδεχομένων, εἴρηται πρότερον· αὐτῆς δὲ πρὸς αὐτὴν εἶναι τὴν θέσιν εὔχεσθαι δεῖ κατατυγχάνειν πρὸς τέτταρα βλέποντας, πρῶτον μέν, ὡς ἀναγκαῖον, πρὸς ὑγίειαν. αἵ τε 2 γὰρ πρὸς ἕω τὴν ἔγκλισιν ἔχουσαι καὶ πρὸς τὰ πνεύματα τὰ πνέοντα ἀπὸ τῆς ἀνατολῆς ὑγιεινότεραι, δεύτερον δὲ κατὰ βορέαν· εὐχείμεροι γὰρ αὗται μᾶλλον. τῶν δὲ λοιπῶν πρός τε τὰς πολιτικὰς πράξεις καὶ πολεμικὰς καλῶς 1330 B ἔχειν. πρὸς μὲν οὖν τὰς πολεμικὰς αὐτοῖς μὲν εὐέξοδον 3 εἶναι χρή, τοῖς δ' ἐναντίοις δυσπρόσοδον καὶ δυσπερίληπτον, ὑδάτων τε καὶ ναμάτων μάλιστα μὲν ὑπάρχειν πλῆθος οἰκεῖον· εἰ δὲ μή, τοῦτό γ' εὕρηται διὰ τοῦ κατασκευάζειν ὑποδοχὰς ὀμβρίοις ὕδασιν ἀφθόνους καὶ μεγάλας, ὥστε μηδέποτε ὑπολείπειν εἰργομένους τῆς χώρας διὰ πόλεμον. ἐπεὶ δὲ δεῖ περὶ ὑγιείας φροντίζειν τῶν ἐνοικούντων, τοῦτο 4 δ' ἐστὶν ἐν τῷ κεῖσθαι τὸν τόπον ἔν τε τοιούτῳ καὶ πρὸς

ἆθλον προκεῖσθαι] 'Liberty should be held out to all of them as a reward to be attained by exertion.'

ὕστερον ἐροῦμεν] This is certainly not given in what we have of Aristotle's work. It is one of the clearest passages in favour of its being a fragment.

XI. 1 κοινὴν ἐκ τῶν ἐνδεχομένων] 'so far as circumstances will permit, equally open to,' &c.

αὐτῆς δὲ πρὸς αὐτὴν τὴν θέσιν] 'For the position of the city itself, and without reference to anything but itself.'

κατατυγχάνειν] 'That it may be fortunate in its position in four points.' ἐὰν ἄρα μὴ συμβῇ κατατυχεῖν is the passage quoted by L. and S. from Demosthenes, *Or.* XVIII. 288. The difficulty in Aristotle is to make out clearly the four points.

2 πρὸς ἕω τὴν ἔγκλισιν ἔχουσαι] 'Those which slope towards the east.' Compare Arnold's note on Thuc. III. 23, for the difference of the east wind in Greece and England.

εὐχείμεροι] 'For they have a milder winter.'

καλῶς ἔχειν] depends on εὔχεσθαι δεῖ.

3 οἰκεῖον] 'of their own,' "within the town itself," Stahr.

ὑποδοχάς] 'recevoirs,' 'tanks.'

ὑπολείπειν] 'so that the supply may never fail them when shut in.' This must be the sense, but it seems an uncommon one for ὑπολείπειν.

4 ἔν τε τοιούτῳ] sc. ἐν ὑγιεινῷ, 'in a place favourable to health.'

The city.

τοιοῦτον καλῶς, δεύτερον δὲ ὕδασιν ὑγιεινοῖς χρῆσθαι, καὶ τούτου τὴν ἐπιμέλειαν ἔχειν μὴ παρέργως. οἷς γὰρ πλείστοις χρώμεθα πρὸς τὸ σῶμα καὶ πλειστάκις, ταῦτα πλεῖστον συμβάλλεται πρὸς τὴν ὑγίειαν· ἡ δὲ τῶν ὑδάτων καὶ
5 τοῦ πνεύματος δύναμις τοιαύτην ἔχει τὴν φύσιν. διόπερ ἐν ταῖς εὖ φρονούσαις δεῖ διωρίσθαι πόλεσιν, ἐὰν μὴ πάνθ' ὅμοια μήτ' ἀφθονία τούτων ᾖ ναμάτων, χωρὶς τά τε εἰς τροφὴν ὕδατα καὶ τὰ πρὸς τὴν ἄλλην χρείαν. περὶ δὲ τόπων τῶν ἐρυμνῶν, οὐ πάσαις ὁμοίως ἔχει τὸ συμφέρον ταῖς πολιτείαις· οἷον ἀκρόπολις ὀλιγαρχικὸν καὶ μοναρχικόν, δημοκρατικὸν δ' ὁμαλότης, ἀριστοκρατικὸν δ' οὐδέτερον,
6 ἀλλὰ μᾶλλον ἰσχυροὶ τόποι πλείους. ἡ δὲ τῶν ἰδίων οἰκήσεων διάθεσις ἡδίων μὲν νομίζεται καὶ χρησιμωτέρα πρὸς τὰς ἄλλας πράξεις, ἂν εὔτομος ᾖ καὶ κατὰ τὸν νεώτερον καὶ τὸν Ἱπποδάμειον τρόπον, πρὸς δὲ τὰς πολεμικὰς ἀσφαλείας τοὐναντίον, ὡς εἶχον κατὰ τὸν ἀρχαῖον χρόνον· δυσέξοδος γὰρ ἐκείνη τοῖς ξενικοῖς καὶ δυσεξερεύνητος τοῖς
7 ἐπιτιθεμένοις. διὸ δεῖ τούτων ἀμφοτέρων μετέχειν (ἐνδέχε-

μὴ παρέργως] 'as a principal, not as a subordinate point.' The simple common sense of this passage requires no comments, and in the social arrangements of the ancient world this important point was not neglected. In more recent times it has been strangely overlooked, and in England, even now that its importance is being recognised by all, it is far from being practically attended to; partly from the indisposition to meet everything but the most crying evils, which is characteristic of the national mind; partly from the deficiency not pressing so much on any classes as on the poor, and the poor in all such matters are sacrificed to the ratepayers; partly from the opposition of vested interests, which prevent vestries as the local power, and parliament as the central, from acting with vigour in any great sanitary questions when the lives and interests of the millions are at stake. This is the case to an extent singularly discreditable to our boasted municipal and parliamentary institutions, whose power to impede progress is as visible as their power to forward it, and it is the former that at present seems in the ascendant.

5 *περὶ τόπων ἐρυμνῶν*] On this remark, as illustrated by the history of Greek and Italian republics or feudal Europe, I need not dwell. All students of history or politics will find it easy to illustrate.

6 *ἡδίων μέν*] 'Though it is thought pleasanter.'

εὔτομος] 'straight and well cut.'

Ἱπποδάμειον] II. 8.

τοὐναντίον] 'the contrary system, as it was.'

ἐκείνη] 'that older plan.'

The city.

ται γάρ, ἄν τις οὕτω κατασκευάζῃ καθάπερ ἐν τοῖς γεωργοῖς ἃς καλοῦσί τινες τῶν ἀμπέλων συστάδας) καὶ τὴν μὲν ὅλην μὴ ποιεῖν πόλιν εὔτομον, κατὰ μέρη δὲ καὶ τόπους· οὕτω γὰρ καὶ πρὸς ἀσφάλειαν καὶ κόσμον ἕξει καλῶς. περὶ 8
δὲ τειχῶν, οἱ μὴ φάσκοντες δεῖν ἔχειν τὰς τῆς ἀρετῆς ἀντιποιουμένας πόλεις λίαν ἀρχαίως ὑπολαμβάνουσιν, καὶ ταῦθ' ὁρῶντες ἐλεγχομένας ἔργῳ τὰς ἐκείνως καλλωπισαμένας. ἔστι δὲ πρὸς μὲν τοὺς ὁμοίους καὶ μὴ πολὺ τῷ πλήθει 9
διαφέροντας οὐ καλὸν τὸ πειρᾶσθαι σώζεσθαι διὰ τῆς τῶν τειχῶν ἐρυμνότητος· ἐπεὶ δὲ καὶ συμβαίνει καὶ ἐνδέχεται πλείω τὴν ὑπεροχὴν γίγνεσθαι τῶν ἐπιόντων καὶ τῆς ἀνθρωπίνης καὶ τῆς ἐν τοῖς ὀλίγοις ἀρετῆς, εἰ δεῖ σώζεσθαι καὶ μὴ πάσχειν κακῶς μηδὲ ὑβρίζεσθαι, τὴν ἀσφαλεστάτην ἐρυμνότητα τῶν τειχῶν οἰητέον εἶναι πολεμικωτάτην, ἄλλως τε 1331
καὶ νῦν εὑρημένων τῶν περὶ τὰ βέλη καὶ τὰς μηχανὰς εἰς ἀκρίβειαν πρὸς τὰς πολιορκίας. ὅμοιον γὰρ τὸ τείχη μὴ 10
περιβάλλειν ταῖς πόλεσιν ἀξιοῦν καὶ τὸ τὴν χώραν εὐέμβολον ζητεῖν καὶ περιαιρεῖν τοὺς ὀρεινοὺς τόπους· ὁμοίως δὲ καὶ ταῖς οἰκήσεσι ταῖς ἰδίαις μὴ περιβάλλειν τοίχους ὡς ἀνάνδρων ἐσομένων τῶν κατοικούντων. ἀλλὰ μὴν οὐδὲ τοῦτό 11
γε δεῖ λανθάνειν, ὅτι τοῖς μὲν περιβεβλημένοις τείχη περὶ τὴν πόλιν ἔξεστιν ἀμφοτέρως χρῆσθαι ταῖς πόλεσιν, καὶ ὡς ἐχούσαις τείχη καὶ ὡς μὴ ἐχούσαις, ταῖς δὲ μὴ κεκτημέναις οὐκ ἔξεστιν. εἰ δὴ τοῦτον ἔχει τὸν τρόπον, οὐχ ὅτι τείχη μόνον περιβλητέον, ἀλλὰ καὶ τούτων ἐπιμελητέον, ὅπως καὶ πρὸς κόσμον ἔχῃ τῇ πόλει πρεπόντως καὶ πρὸς τὰς πολεμικὰς

7 *συστάδας*] 'vines planted closely and irregularly,' says L. and S.; but this does not seem to be the meaning here. It is rather vines planted in the quincunx. So in the arrangement of the town, the streets would not, like those of Philadelphia, run parallel and at right angles, but the blocks of houses would be so arranged as to front the openings of the streets.

8 *λίαν ἀρχαίως*] 'are extremely antiquated in their ideas.'

καὶ ταῦθ'] 'and that too though they see that the cities which prided themselves on that, are, when tested, found wanting.' Mr Grote, x. 304, note 2, commenting on this passage, thinks it difficult to admit of Sparta.

9 *εὑρημένων εἰς ἀκρίβειαν*] Philip of Macedon gave an immense development to the artillery.

11 *οὐχ ὅτι*] 'not merely.'

The city. χρείας, τάς τε ἄλλας καὶ τὰς νῦν ἐπεξευρημένας. ὥσπερ
12 γὰρ τοῖς ἐπιτιθεμένοις ἐπιμελές ἐστι δι' ὧν τρόπων πλεονεκτήσουσιν, οὕτω τὰ μὲν εὕρηται τὰ δὲ δεῖ ζητεῖν καὶ φιλοσοφεῖν καὶ τοὺς φυλαττομένους· ἀρχὴν γὰρ οὐδ' ἐπιχειροῦσιν ἐπιτίθεσθαι τοῖς εὖ παρεσκευασμένοις.

12 The magistrates. The agora. Ἐπεὶ δὲ δεῖ τὸ μὲν πλῆθος τῶν πολιτῶν ἐν συσσιτίοις κατανενεμῆσθαι, τὰ δὲ τείχη διειλῆφθαι φυλακτηρίοις καὶ πύργοις κατὰ τόπους ἐπικαίρους, δῆλον ὡς αὐτὰ προκαλεῖται παρασκευάζειν ἔνια τῶν συσσιτίων ἐν τούτοις τοῖς φυ-
2 λακτηρίοις. καὶ ταῦτα μὲν δὴ τοῦτον ἄν τις διακοσμήσειε τὸν τρόπον, τὰς δὲ τοῖς θείοις ἀποδεδομένας οἰκήσεις καὶ τὰ κυριώτατα τῶν ἀρχείων συσσίτια ἁρμόττει τόπον ἐπιτήδειόν τε ἔχειν καὶ τὸν αὐτόν, ὅσα μὴ τῶν ἱερῶν ὁ νόμος ἀφο-
3 ρίζει χωρὶς ἤ τι μαντεῖον ἄλλο πυθόχρηστον. εἴη δ' ἂν τοιοῦτος ὁ τόπος ὅστις ἐπιφάνειάν τε ἔχει πρὸς τὴν τῆς ἀρετῆς θέσιν ἱκανῶς καὶ πρὸς τὰ γειτνιῶντα μέρη τῆς πόλεως ἐρυμνοτέρως. πρέπει δ' ὑπὸ μὲν τοῦτον τὸν τόπον τοιαύτης ἀγορᾶς εἶναι κατασκευὴν οἵαν καὶ περὶ Θετταλίαν

τὰς νῦν ἐπεξευρημένας] 'the recent inventions.' "ceux de la tactique moderne." St. Hil.

12 τὰ μέν] means of defence.

ζητεῖν καὶ φιλοσοφεῖν] 'seek by scientific methods.'

ἀρχὴν γάρ] This is equivalent to the Latin maxim, Si bellum vitare vis, bellum para.

XII. 1 αὐτά] sc. τὰ τείχη, 'the walls of themselves invite us.'

2 τὸ κυριώτατα, κ.τ.λ.] 'and the syssitia of the most important boards of magistrates.'

πυθόχρηστον] In this he agrees with Plato, *Rep.* IV. 427 B.

3 ἐπιφάνειάν τε ἔχει, κ.τ.λ.] A close translation would hardly give what I conceive to be the meaning of this passage:—'which is both conspicuous enough to qualify it for an appropriate site for the men of eminent merit whom the state may possess, and is not without considerable strength as regards the neighbouring parts of the city.' ἐπιφάνειαν ἔχει = ἐπιφανής ἐστι. Comp. Thuc. VI. 96. τὸ ἄλλο χώριον ... μέχρι τῆς πόλεως ἐπικλινές τ' ἐστι καὶ ἐπιφανὲς πᾶν εἴσω. Stahr's translation of πρὸς τὴν τῆς ἀρετῆς θέσιν is, "der geistigen Erhabenheit seiner Bestimmung würdig entspräche." St. Hil. translates it more nearly as I do. "Tel que l'exige la dignité des personnes qu'il recevra."

πρέπει δέ] Comp. Grote, II. 371. "In the Thessalian cities, though inhabited in common by Thessalian proprietors and their Penestae, the quarters assigned to each were to a great degree separated: what was called the Free Agora could not be trodden by any Penest except when specially summoned."

ὀνομάζουσιν, ἣν ἐλευθέραν καλοῦσιν. αὕτη δ' ἐστὶν ἣν δεῖ καθαρὰν εἶναι τῶν ὠνίων πάντων, καὶ μήτε βάναυσον μήτε γεωργὸν μήτ' ἄλλον μηδένα τοιοῦτον παραβάλλειν μὴ κα- 4 λούμενον ὑπὸ τῶν ἀρχόντων. εἴη δ' ἂν εὔχαρις ὁ τόπος, εἰ καὶ τὰ γυμνάσια τῶν πρεσβυτέρων ἔχοι τὴν τάξιν ἐνταῦθα. πρέπει γὰρ διῃρῆσθαι κατὰ τὰς ἡλικίας καὶ τοῦτον 5 τὸν κόσμον, καὶ παρὰ μὲν τοῖς νεωτέροις ἄρχοντάς τινας διατρίβειν, τοὺς δὲ πρεσβυτέρους παρὰ τοῖς ἄρχουσιν· ἡ γὰρ ἐν ὀφθαλμοῖς τῶν ἀρχόντων παρουσία μάλιστα ἐμποιεῖ τὴν 6 1331 B ἀληθινὴν αἰδῶ καὶ τὸν τῶν ἐλευθέρων φόβον. τὴν δὲ τῶν ὠνίων ἀγορὰν ἑτέραν τε δεῖ ταύτης εἶναι καὶ χωρίς, ἔχουσαν τόπον εὐσυνάγωγον τοῖς τε ἀπὸ τῆς θαλάττης πεμπομένοις καὶ τοῖς ἀπὸ τῆς χώρας πᾶσιν. ἐπεὶ δὲ τὸ πλῆθος διαιρεῖται τῆς πόλεως εἰς ἱερεῖς, εἰς ἄρχοντας, πρέπει καὶ τῶν ἱερέων συσσίτια περὶ τὴν τῶν ἱερῶν οἰκοδομημάτων ἔχειν τὴν τάξιν. τῶν δ' ἀρχείων ὅσα περὶ τὰ συμβόλαια ποιεῖται 7 τὴν ἐπιμέλειαν, περί τε γραφὰς δικῶν καὶ τὰς κλήσεις καὶ τὴν ἄλλην τὴν τοιαύτην διοίκησιν, ἔτι δὲ περὶ τὴν ἀγορανομίαν καὶ τὴν καλουμένην ἀστυνομίαν, πρὸς ἀγορᾷ μὲν δεῖ καὶ συνόδῳ τινὶ κοινῇ κατεσκευάσθαι, τοιοῦτος δ' ὁ περὶ τὴν ἀναγκαίαν ἀγοράν ἐστι τόπος· ἐνσχολάζειν μὲν γὰρ τὴν ἄνω τίθεμεν, ταύτην δὲ πρὸς τὰς ἀναγκαίας πράξεις. νενεμῆσθαι 8 δὲ χρὴ τὴν εἰρημένην τάξιν καὶ τὰ περὶ τὴν χώραν· καὶ γὰρ ἐκεῖ τοῖς ἄρχουσιν, οὓς καλοῦσιν οἱ μὲν ὑλωροὺς οἱ δὲ ἀγρονόμους, καὶ φυλακτήρια καὶ συσσίτια πρὸς φυλακὴν ἀναγκαῖον ὑπάρχειν, ἔτι δὲ ἱερὰ κατὰ τὴν χώραν εἶναι νενεμημένα,

The magistrates. The agora.

The double agora.

παραβάλλειν] This word occurs, *Eth.* VII. xiv. 6, p. 1154, in the sense of 'passing into.' Here it means 'to approach,' 'come near to.'

5 τὸν τῶν ἐλευθέρων φόβον] 'Such fear as freemen may feel.'

6 εὐσυνάγωγον] 'where may easily meet.'

τὸ πλῆθος] This is an odd statement. There must be some mistake, for it is inconsistent with Ch. IX. If he means τὸ πλῆθος τῶν πρεσβυτέρων, so limited, the statement will hold; but even then the disjointed way in which he throws out εἰς ἱερεῖς, εἰς ἄρχοντας, is remarkable.

περὶ τὴν—τάξιν] is supplied, as Schneider says, harshly; but it is the simplest word.

7 τὰς κλήσεις] 'the summons.'

συνόδῳ τινὶ κοινῇ] 'in some public place of meeting.'

ἀναγκαίαν ἀγοράν] equivalent to τὴν τῶν ὠνίων ἀγοράν, § 5.

The details ignored. τὰ μὲν ξενίας τὰ δὲ ἡγεμονίας. ἀλλὰ τὸ διατρίβειν νῦν ἀκριβολογουμένους καὶ λέγοντας περὶ τῶν τοιούτων ἀργόν ἐστιν.

2 οὐ γὰρ χαλεπόν ἐστι τὰ τοιαῦτα νοῆσαι, ἀλλὰ ποιῆσαι μᾶλλον· τὸ μὲν γὰρ λέγειν εὐχῆς ἔργον ἐστί, τὸ δὲ συμβῆναι τύχης· διὸ περὶ μὲν τῶν τοιούτων τό γε ἐπὶ πλεῖον ἀφείσθω τὰ νῦν.

§ 13 The constitution. Περὶ δὲ τῆς πολιτείας αὐτῆς, ἐκ τίνων καὶ ἐκ ποίων δεῖ συνεστάναι τὴν μέλλουσαν ἔσεσθαι πόλιν μακαρίαν καὶ πολι-
2 τεύσεσθαι καλῶς, λεκτέον. [Ἐπεὶ δὲ δύ' ἐστὶν ἐν οἷς γίγνεται τὸ εὖ πᾶσι, τούτων δ' ἐστὶν ἓν μὲν ἐν τῷ τὸν σκοπὸν κεῖσθαι καὶ τὸ τέλος τῶν πράξεων ὀρθῶς, ἓν δὲ[a] ἐν τῷ τὰς πρὸς τὸ τέλος φερούσας πράξεις εὑρίσκειν· ἐνδέχεται γὰρ ταῦτα καὶ διαφωνεῖν ἀλλήλοις καὶ συμφωνεῖν· ἐνίοτε γὰρ ὁ μὲν σκοπὸς ἔκκειται καλῶς, ἐν δὲ τῷ πράττειν τοῦ τυχεῖν αὐτοῦ διαμαρτάνουσιν· ἐνίοτε δὲ τῶν μὲν πρὸς τὸ τέλος πάντων ἐπιτυγχάνουσιν, ἀλλὰ τὸ τέλος ἔθεντο φαῦλον· ὁτὲ δὲ ἑκατέρου διαμαρτάνουσιν, οἷον περὶ ἰατρικήν· οὔτε γὰρ ποῖόν τι δεῖ τὸ ὑγιαῖνον εἶναι σῶμα κρίνουσιν ἐνίοτε καλῶς, οὔτε πρὸς τὸν ὑποκείμενον αὐτοῖς ὅρον τυγχάνουσι τῶν ποιητικῶν· δεῖ δ' ἐν ταῖς τέχναις καὶ ἐπιστήμαις ταῦτα ἀμφότερα
3 κρατεῖσθαι, τὸ τέλος καὶ τὰς εἰς τὸ τέλος πράξεις. ὅτι μὲν οὖν τοῦ τ' εὖ ζῆν καὶ τῆς εὐδαιμονίας ἐφίενται πάντες, φανερόν. ἀλλὰ τούτων τοῖς μὲν ἐξουσία τυγχάνειν, τοῖς
1332a δὲ οὔ, διά τινα τύχην ἢ φύσιν· δεῖται γὰρ καὶ χορηγίας τινὸς τὸ ζῆν καλῶς, τούτου δὲ ἐλάττονος μὲν τοῖς ἄμεινον

[a] ἐν δὲ τάς Bekker.

2 εὐχῆς ἔργον] 'is a question of wishing.' Compare IV. 1. He turns now from the ὑποθέσεις, the necessary conditions of his state, which he must have allowed him, to the constitution itself, to that which depends on man's exertion and skill and not on fortune.

XIII. 2 From this point down to the end of § 8, or very nearly, I have enclosed in brackets, as an unnecessary interruption of the reasoning.

ἐν δὲ τάς] To make the sentence complete there should be inserted ἐν τῷ.

ἐνδέχεται γάρ] Comp. *Eth.* vi. x. p. 1142-31.

ἔκκειται] 'stands ont well and distinctly.' δεῖ δέ. The apodosis.

κρατεῖσθαι] 'both must be mastered.'

3 ἐξουσία] 'have the opportunity.'

τούτου] would be more regularly ταύτης, agreeing as it does in sense with χορηγίας.

διακειμένοις, πλείονος δὲ τοῖς χεῖρον· οἱ δ' εὐθὺς οὐκ ὀρθῶς ζητοῦσι τὴν εὐδαιμονίαν, ἐξουσίας ὑπαρχούσης. ἐπεὶ δὲ τὸ

The constitution.

4 προκείμενόν ἐστι τὴν ἀρίστην πολιτείαν ἰδεῖν, αὕτη δ' ἐστὶ καθ' ἣν ἄριστ' ἂν πολιτεύοιτο πόλις, ἄριστα δ' ἂν πολιτεύοιτο καθ' ἣν εὐδαιμονεῖν μάλιστα ἐνδέχεται τὴν πόλιν, δῆλον ὅτι τὴν εὐδαιμονίαν δεῖ, τί ἐστι, μὴ λανθάνειν. φαμὲν 5 δὲ καὶ ἐν τοῖς ἠθικοῖς, εἴ τι τῶν λόγων ἐκείνων ὄφελος, ἐνέργειαν εἶναι καὶ χρῆσιν ἀρετῆς τελείαν, καὶ ταύτην οὐκ ἐξ ὑποθέσεως ἀλλ' ἁπλῶς. λέγω δ' ἐξ ὑποθέσεως τἀναγκαῖα, 6 τὸ δ' ἁπλῶς τὸ καλῶς· οἷον τὰ περὶ τὰς δικαίας πράξεις αἱ δίκαιαι τιμωρίαι καὶ κολάσεις ἀπ' ἀρετῆς μέν εἰσιν, ἀναγκαῖαι δέ, καὶ τὸ καλῶς ἀναγκαίως ἔχουσιν (αἱρετώτερον μὲν γὰρ μηθενὸς δεῖσθαι τῶν τοιούτων μήτε τὸν ἄνδρα μήτε τὴν πόλιν), αἱ δ' ἐπὶ τὰς τιμὰς καὶ τὰς εὐπορίας ἁπλῶς εἰσὶ κάλλισται πράξεις. τὸ μὲν γὰρ ἕτερον κακοῦ τινὸς αἵρεσίς 7 ἐστιν, αἱ τοιαῦται δὲ πράξεις τοὐναντίον· κατασκευαὶ γὰρ ἀγαθῶν εἰσὶ καὶ γεννήσεις. χρήσαιτο δ' ἂν ὁ σπουδαῖος ἀνὴρ καὶ πενίᾳ καὶ νόσῳ καὶ ταῖς ἄλλαις τύχαις ταῖς φαύλαις καλῶς· ἀλλὰ τὸ μακάριον ἐν τοῖς ἐναντίοις ἐστίν. καὶ γὰρ τοῦτο διώρισται κατὰ τοὺς ἠθικοὺς λόγους, ὅτι τοιοῦτός ἐστιν ὁ σπουδαῖος, ᾧ διὰ τὴν ἀρετὴν τὰ ἀγαθά ἐστι τὰ ἁπλῶς ἀγαθά. δῆλον δ' ὅτι καὶ τὰς χρήσεις ἀναγκαῖον σπουδαίας 8 καὶ καλὰς εἶναι ταύτας ἁπλῶς. διὸ καὶ νομίζουσιν ἄνθρωποι τῆς εὐδαιμονίας αἴτια τὰ ἐκτὸς εἶναι τῶν ἀγαθῶν, ὥσπερ εἰ τοῦ κιθαρίζειν λαμπρὸν καὶ καλῶς αἰτιῷτο τὴν λύραν μᾶλ-

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4 εὐθύς] 'from the commencement.'

5 ἐξ ὑποθέσεως = πρὸς ὑπόθεσιν] See IX. 3.

6 ἀπ' ἀρετῆς] This expression occurs in III. iv. 5. 'Though they are the results of a virtue, yet they are not more than is necessary; what noble element they have is not satisfactory;' they are right, but they are not more than right, there is a meagreness about them. They are of the character of a necessary evil.

ἐπὶ τὰς τιμάς] sc. φέρουσαι.

7 χρήσαιτο δέ] Comp. *Eth.* I. xi. 13, p. 1101. 1.

κατὰ τοὺς ἠθικούς] The reference is *Eth.* IV. vi. p. 1113. 15.

8 τὰς χρήσεις] Comp. II. VI. 9. 'The use of the goods of fortune—τῶν ἐκτὸς ἀγαθῶν.'

διὸ καί] Men have not seen that it is in their use and not in themselves that happiness consists, and not seeing this, have thought them, by a confusion, the causes of happiness.

[illegible]

[illegible]] The sense would be more clear if this were brought into immediate connexion with the first sentence of the chapter. 'From all that we have said, it follows as a necessary consequence that if the requisites for a state some must be assumed, they are the gift of fortune, others must be provided by the legislator; and, therefore, so far as the points are concerned which depend on fortune, the constitution of our state is a mere question of wishing.'

[illegible] κ.τ.λ.] 'for, that fortune is supreme, we assume.'

[illegible]] Knowledge and will, the two conditions of all [illegible] action. [illegible] Comp. [illegible] § [illegible]

[illegible] or not.

[illegible] κ.τ.λ.] granting that it is possible.

[illegible] this other way.'

[illegible] Comp. [illegible] 6, p. [illegible], where [illegible] takes the place of [illegible] here.

[illegible] better [illegible]

[illegible] κ.τ.λ.] 'By nature uncertain, capable of either turn; fixed by habits for evil or for good.'

12 [illegible]] 'instinct,' 'natural impulse.'

[illegible] γὰρ (τῶν ζῴων) ἔχει λόγον] Comp. I. ii. 10.

The constitution.

ἄλλως ἔχειν βέλτιον. τὴν μὲν τοίνυν φύσιν οἵους εἶναι δεῖ
τοὺς μέλλοντας εὐχειρώτους ἔσεσθαι τῷ νομοθέτῃ, διωρί-
σμεθα πρότερον, τὸ δὲ λοιπὸν ἔργον ἤδη παιδείας· τὰ μὲν 13
γὰρ ἐθιζόμενοι μανθάνουσι, τὰ δ' ἀκούοντες.

Is the education to be the same for all the citizens?

Ἐπεὶ δὲ πᾶσα πολιτικὴ κοινωνία συνέστηκεν ἐξ ἀρχόντων 14
καὶ ἀρχομένων, τοῦτο δὴ σκεπτέον, εἰ ἑτέρους εἶναι δεῖ τοὺς
ἄρχοντας καὶ τοὺς ἀρχομένους ἢ τοὺς αὐτοὺς διὰ βίου· δῆλον
γὰρ ὡς ἀκολουθεῖν δεήσει καὶ τὴν παιδείαν κατὰ τὴν διαί-
ρεσιν ταύτην. εἰ μὲν τοίνυν εἴησαν τοσοῦτον διαφέροντες 2
ἅτεροι τῶν ἄλλων ὅσον τοὺς θεοὺς καὶ τοὺς ἥρωας ἡγούμεθα
τῶν ἀνθρώπων διαφέρειν, εὐθὺς πρῶτον κατὰ τὸ σῶμα πολ-
λὴν ἔχοντας ὑπερβολήν, εἶτα κατὰ τὴν ψυχήν, ὥστε ἀναμ-
φισβήτητον εἶναι καὶ φανερὰν τὴν ὑπεροχὴν τοῖς ἀρχομένοις
τὴν τῶν ἀρχόντων, δῆλον ὅτι βέλτιον ἀεὶ τοὺς αὐτοὺς τοὺς
μὲν ἄρχειν τοὺς δ' ἄρχεσθαι καθάπαξ. ἐπεὶ δὲ τοῦτ' οὐ 3
ῥᾴδιον λαβεῖν οὐδ' ἔστιν ὥσπερ ἐν Ἰνδοῖς φησὶ Σκύλαξ εἶναι
τοὺς βασιλέας τοσοῦτον διαφέροντας τῶν ἀρχομένων, φα-
νερὸν ὅτι διὰ πολλὰς αἰτίας ἀναγκαῖον πάντας ὁμοίως κοι-
νωνεῖν τοῦ κατὰ μέρος ἄρχειν καὶ ἄρχεσθαι. τό τε γὰρ
ἴσον ταὐτὸν τοῖς ὁμοίοις, καὶ χαλεπὸν μένειν τὴν πολιτείαν
τὴν συνεστηκυῖαν παρὰ τὸ δίκαιον. μετὰ γὰρ τῶν ἀρχο- 4
μένων ὑπάρχουσι νεωτερίζειν βουλόμενοι πάντες οἱ κατὰ τὴν
χώραν· τοσούτους τε εἶναι τοὺς ἐν τῷ πολιτεύματι τὸ πλῆ-
θος ὥστ' εἶναι κρείττους πάντων τούτων, ἕν τι τῶν ἀδυνάτων
ἐστίν. ἀλλὰ μὴν ὅτι γε δεῖ τοὺς ἄρχοντας διαφέρειν τῶν
ἀρχομένων, ἀναμφισβήτητον. πῶς οὖν ταῦτ' ἔσται καὶ πῶς

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13 εὐχειρώτους] 'manageable.'

πρότερον] Ch. VII.

παιδείας] in the widest sense, taking the child at the earliest stage. 'For men learn partly by practice, partly by precept.'

XIV. 1 τοῦτο δὴ σκεπτέον] This point was virtually settled in III. IV.

2 εἰ μὲν τοίνυν] Compare I. V. 8.

φανερὰν τοῖς ἀρχομένοις] 'evident to the ruled.'

3 Σκύλαξ] of Caryanda, Smith, *Biogr. Dict.*, where it is mentioned, 759 a, that Aristotle is the first writer who refers to him.

βασιλέας] depends on λαβεῖν.

ὁμοίως] 'on equal terms,' III. XVI. 3, and note on τὸ ἀνὰ μέρος ὡσαύτως.

4 οἱ κατὰ τὴν χώραν] 'all who, resident in the country, are not citizens.'

ἀλλὰ μὴν] 'on the other hand.'

The slave or serf population.

μέρος τὸ πρὸς τὰς ἐσχατιάς, ἕτερον δὲ τὸ πρὸς τὴν πόλιν,
ἵνα δύο κλήρων ἑκάστῳ νεμηθέντων ἀμφοτέρων τῶν τόπων
πάντες μετέχωσιν· τό τε γὰρ ἴσον οὕτως ἔχει καὶ τὸ δίκαιον
καὶ τὸ πρὸς τοὺς ἀστυγείτονας πολέμους ὁμονοητικώτερον.
12 ὅπου γὰρ μὴ τοῦτον ἔχει τὸν τρόπον, οἱ μὲν ὀλιγωροῦσι
τῆς πρὸς τοὺς ὁμόρους ἔχθρας, οἱ δὲ λίαν φροντίζουσι καὶ
παρὰ τὸ καλόν. διὸ παρ' ἐνίοις νόμος ἐστὶ τοὺς γειτνιῶν-
τας τοῖς ὁμόροις μὴ συμμετέχειν βουλῆς τῶν πρὸς αὐτοὺς
πολέμων, ὡς διὰ τὸ ἴδιον οὐκ ἂν δυναμένους βουλεύσασθαι
13 καλῶς. τὴν μὲν οὖν χώραν ἀνάγκη διῃρῆσθαι τὸν τρόπον
τοῦτον διὰ κὰς προειρημένας αἰτίας· τοὺς δὲ γεωργήσοντας
μάλιστα μέν, εἰ δεῖ κατ' εὐχήν, δούλους εἶναι, μήτε ὁμο-
φύλων πάντων μήτε θυμοειδῶν (οὕτω γὰρ ἂν πρός τε τὴν
ἐργασίαν εἶεν χρήσιμοι καὶ πρὸς τὸ μηδὲν νεωτερίζειν ἀσφα-
λεῖς), δεύτερον δὲ βαρβάρους περιοίκους παραπλησίους τοῖς
14 εἰρημένοις τὴν φύσιν. τούτων δὲ τοὺς μὲν ἰδίους ἐν τοῖς
ἰδίοις εἶναι τῶν κεκτημένων τὰς οὐσίας, τοὺς δ' ἐπὶ τῇ κοινῇ

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11 *πρὸς τὰς ἐσχατιάς*] 'on the borders.'

οὕτως ἔχει] 'For so the division has fairness in it and justice; and with reference to the wars with neighbouring tribes, it has a very considerable tendency to produce unity of feeling.' I supply, it will be seen, the nominative to *ἔχει*.

12 Compare Thuc. II. 21, the case of the Acharnians; also Numbers XXXII. that of the tribes beyond Jordan.

παρ' ἐνίοις] The reference is unknown.

13 *οὕτω γὰρ ἂν*] For if neither of these.

βαρβάρους περιοίκους] Schneider inserts *ἤ*, and with some reason, looking at ix. 8, where, as here, the slaves are marked off first, and then two other classes are given, either barbarian periœci, or periœci of the same race as the ruling body. But, on the whole, it is as well to keep the reading in the text. In the former passage Aristotle was merely enumerating the kinds that might, in fact, constitute the dependent population; here he is speaking of what is desirable, *κατ' εὐχήν*, and if he could not have slaves, he would wish that the periœci should, as the next best thing, be of a stock alien to the Greeks, and not dependent Greeks; and both as a matter of Greek feeling and from the lessons of Greek experience, he was justified in this his view.

14 *τοὺς μέν, κ.τ.λ.*] 'And these should be divided into classes; the one employed on the private estates of those who have the property should be themselves the private property of the owners, the other employed on the public land should be public.' *ἰδίους τῶν κεκτημένων*.

γῇ κοινούς. τίνα δὲ δεῖ τρόπον χρῆσθαι δούλοις, καὶ διότι βέλτιον πᾶσι τοῖς δούλοις ἆθλον προκεῖσθαι τὴν ἐλευθερίαν, ὕστερον ἐροῦμεν. *The slave or serf population.*

11 Τὴν δὲ πόλιν ὅτι μὲν δεῖ κοινὴν εἶναι τῆς ἠπείρου τε καὶ τῆς θαλάσσης καὶ τῆς χώρας ἁπάσης ὁμοίως ἐκ τῶν ἐνδεχομένων, εἴρηται πρότερον· αὐτῆς δὲ πρὸς αὑτὴν εἶναι τὴν θέσιν εὔχεσθαι δεῖ κατατυγχάνειν πρὸς τέτταρα βλέποντας, πρῶτον μέν, ὡς ἀναγκαῖον, πρὸς ὑγίειαν. αἵ τε 2 γὰρ πρὸς ἕω τὴν ἔγκλισιν ἔχουσαι καὶ πρὸς τὰ πνεύματα τὰ πνέοντα ἀπὸ τῆς ἀνατολῆς ὑγιεινότεραι, δεύτερον δὲ κατὰ βορέαν· εὐχείμεροι γὰρ αὗται μᾶλλον. τῶν δὲ λοιπῶν πρός τε τὰς πολιτικὰς πράξεις καὶ πολεμικὰς καλῶς 1330 B ἔχειν. πρὸς μὲν οὖν τὰς πολεμικὰς αὐτοῖς μὲν εὐέξοδον 3 εἶναι χρή, τοῖς δ' ἐναντίοις δυσπρόσοδον καὶ δυσπερίληπτον, ὑδάτων τε καὶ ναμάτων μάλιστα μὲν ὑπάρχειν πλῆθος οἰκεῖον· εἰ δὲ μή, τοῦτό γ' εὕρηται διὰ τοῦ κατασκευάζειν ὑποδοχὰς ὀμβρίοις ὕδασιν ἀφθόνους καὶ μεγάλας, ὥστε μεδέποτε ὑπολείπειν εἰργομένους τῆς χώρας διὰ πόλεμον. ἐπεὶ δὲ δεῖ περὶ ὑγιείας φροντίζειν τῶν ἐνοικούντων, τοῦτο 4 δ' ἐστὶν ἐν τῷ κεῖσθαι τὸν τόπον ἔν τε τοιούτῳ καὶ πρὸς *The city.*

ἆθλον προκεῖσθαι] 'Liberty should be held out to all of them as a reward to be attained by exertion.'

ὕστερον ἐροῦμεν] This is certainly not given in what we have of Aristotle's work. It is one of the clearest passages in favour of its being a fragment.

XI. 1 κοινὴν ἐκ τῶν ἐνδεχομένων] 'so far as circumstances will permit, equally open to,' &c.

αὐτῆς δὲ πρὸς αὑτὴν τὴν θέσιν] 'For the position of the city itself, and without reference to anything but itself.'

κατατυγχάνειν] 'That it may be fortunate in its position in four points.' ἐὰν ἄρα μὴ συμβῇ κατατυχεῖν is the passage quoted by L. and S. from Demosthenes, *Or.* XVIII. 288. The difficulty in Aristotle is to make out clearly the four points.

2 πρὸς ἕω τὴν ἔγκλισιν ἔχουσαι] 'Those which slope towards the east.' Compare Arnold's note on Thuc. III. 23, for the difference of the east wind in Greece and England.

εὐχείμεροι] 'For they have a milder winter.'

καλῶς ἔχειν] depends on εὔχεσθαι δεῖ.

3 οἰκεῖον] 'of their own,' "within the town itself," Stahr.

ὑποδοχάς] 'recevoirs,' 'tanks.'

ὑπολείπειν] 'so that the supply may never fail them when shut in.' This must be the sense, but it seems an uncommon one for ὑπολείπειν.

4 ἔν τε τοιούτῳ] sc. ἐν ὑγιεινῷ, 'in a place favourable to health.'

The city.

τοιοῦτον καλῶς, δεύτερον δὲ ὕδασιν ὑγιεινοῖς χρῆσθαι, καὶ
τούτου τὴν ἐπιμέλειαν ἔχειν μὴ παρέργως. οἷς γὰρ πλεί-
στοις χρώμεθα πρὸς τὸ σῶμα καὶ πλειστάκις, ταῦτα πλεῖ-
στον συμβάλλεται πρὸς τὴν ὑγίειαν· ἡ δὲ τῶν ὑδάτων καὶ
5 τοῦ πνεύματος δύναμις τοιαύτην ἔχει τὴν φύσιν. διόπερ ἐν
ταῖς εὖ φρονούσαις δεῖ διωρίσθαι πόλεσιν, ἐὰν μὴ πάνθ'
ὅμοια μήτ' ἀφθονία τούτων ᾖ ναμάτων, χωρίς τά τε εἰς
τροφὴν ὕδατα καὶ τὰ πρὸς τὴν ἄλλην χρείαν. περὶ δὲ
τόπων τῶν ἐρυμνῶν, οὐ πάσαις ὁμοίως ἔχει τὸ συμφέρον
ταῖς πολιτείαις· οἷον ἀκρόπολις ὀλιγαρχικὸν καὶ μοναρχι-
κόν, δημοκρατικὸν δ' ὁμαλότης, ἀριστοκρατικὸν δ' οὐδέτερον,
6 ἀλλὰ μᾶλλον ἰσχυροὶ τόποι πλείους. ἡ δὲ τῶν ἰδίων οἰκή-
σεων διάθεσις ἡδίων μὲν νομίζεται καὶ χρησιμωτέρα πρὸς
τὰς ἄλλας πράξεις, ἂν εὔτομος ᾖ καὶ κατὰ τὸν νεώτερον
καὶ τὸν Ἱπποδάμειον τρόπον, πρὸς δὲ τὰς πολεμικὰς
ἀσφαλείας τοὐναντίον, ὡς εἶχον κατὰ τὸν ἀρχαῖον χρόνον·
δυσέξοδος γὰρ ἐκείνη τοῖς ξενικοῖς καὶ δυσεξερεύνητος τοῖς
7 ἐπιτιθεμένοις. διὸ δεῖ τούτων ἀμφοτέρων μετέχειν (ἐνδέχε-

μὴ παρέργως] 'as a principal, not as a subordinate point.' The simple common sense of this passage requires no comments, and in the social arrangements of the ancient world this important point was not neglected. In more recent times it has been strangely overlooked, and in England, even now that its importance is being recognised by all, it is far from being practically attended to; partly from the indisposition to meet everything but the most crying evils, which is characteristic of the national mind; partly from the deficiency not pressing so much on any classes as on the poor, and the poor in all such matters are sacrificed to the ratepayers; partly from the opposition of vested interests, which prevent vestries as the local power, and parliament as the central, from acting with vigour in any great sanitary questions when the lives and interests of the millions are at stake. This is the case to an extent singularly discreditable to our boasted municipal and parliamentary institutions, whose power to impede progress is as visible as their power to forward it, and it is the former that at present seems in the ascendant.

5 *περὶ τόπων ἐρυμνῶν*] On this remark, as illustrated by the history of Greek and Italian republics or feudal Europe, I need not dwell. All students of history or politics will find it easy to illustrate.

6 *ἡδίων μέν*] 'Though it is thought pleasanter.'

εὔτομος] 'straight and well cut.'

Ἱπποδάμειον] II. 8.

τοὐναντίον] 'the contrary system, as it was.'

ἐκείνη] 'that older plan.'

The city.

ται γάρ, ἄν τις οὕτω κατασκευάζῃ καθάπερ ἐν τοῖς γεωρ-
γοῖς ἃς καλοῦσί τινες τῶν ἀμπέλων συστάδας) καὶ τὴν μὲν
ὅλην μὴ ποιεῖν πόλιν εὔτομον, κατὰ μέρη δὲ καὶ τόπους·
οὕτω γὰρ καὶ πρὸς ἀσφάλειαν καὶ κόσμον ἕξει καλῶς. περὶ 8
δὲ τειχῶν, οἱ μὴ φάσκοντες δεῖν ἔχειν τὰς τῆς ἀρετῆς ἀντι-
ποιουμένας πόλεις λίαν ἀρχαίως ὑπολαμβάνουσιν, καὶ ταῦθ'
ὁρῶντες ἐλεγχομένας ἔργῳ τὰς ἐκείνως καλλωπισαμένας.
ἔστι δὲ πρὸς μὲν τοὺς ὁμοίους καὶ μὴ πολὺ τῷ πλήθει 9
διαφέροντας οὐ καλὸν τὸ πειρᾶσθαι σώζεσθαι διὰ τῆς τῶν
τειχῶν ἐρυμνότητος· ἐπεὶ δὲ καὶ συμβαίνει καὶ ἐνδέχεται
πλείω τὴν ὑπεροχὴν γίγνεσθαι τῶν ἐπιόντων καὶ τῆς ἀνθρω-
πίνης καὶ τῆς ἐν τοῖς ὀλίγοις ἀρετῆς, εἰ δεῖ σώζεσθαι καὶ μὴ
πάσχειν κακῶς μηδὲ ὑβρίζεσθαι, τὴν ἀσφαλεστάτην ἐρυμνό-
τητα τῶν τειχῶν οἰητέον εἶναι πολεμικωτάτην, ἄλλως τε 1331
καὶ νῦν εὑρημένων τῶν περὶ τὰ βέλη καὶ τὰς μηχανὰς εἰς
ἀκρίβειαν πρὸς τὰς πολιορκίας. ὅμοιον γὰρ τὸ τείχη μὴ 10
περιβάλλειν ταῖς πόλεσιν ἀξιοῦν καὶ τὸ τὴν χώραν εὐέμ-
βολον ζητεῖν καὶ περιαιρεῖν τοὺς ὀρεινοὺς τόπους· ὁμοίως
δὲ καὶ ταῖς οἰκήσεσι ταῖς ἰδίαις μὴ περιβάλλειν τοίχους ὡς
ἀνάνδρων ἐσομένων τῶν κατοικούντων. ἀλλὰ μὴν οὐδὲ τοῦτό 11
γε δεῖ λανθάνειν, ὅτι τοῖς μὲν περιβεβλημένοις τείχη περὶ
τὴν πόλιν ἔξεστιν ἀμφοτέρως χρῆσθαι ταῖς πόλεσιν, καὶ ὡς
ἐχούσαις τείχη καὶ ὡς μὴ ἐχούσαις, ταῖς δὲ μὴ κεκτημέναις
οὐκ ἔξεστιν. εἰ δὴ τοῦτον ἔχει τὸν τρόπον, οὐχ ὅτι τείχη
μόνον περιβλητέον, ἀλλὰ καὶ τούτων ἐπιμελητέον, ὅπως καὶ
πρὸς κόσμον ἔχῃ τῇ πόλει πρεπόντως καὶ πρὸς τὰς πολεμικὰς

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7 *συστάδας*] 'vines planted closely and irregularly,' says L. and S.; but this does not seem to be the meaning here. It is rather vines planted in the quincunx. So in the arrangement of the town, the streets would not, like those of Philadelphia, run parallel and at right angles, but the blocks of houses would be so arranged as to front the openings of the streets.

8 *λίαν ἀρχαίως*] 'are extremely antiquated in their ideas.'

καὶ ταῦθ'] 'and that too though they see that the cities which prided themselves on that, are, when tested, found wanting.' Mr Grote, x. 304, note 2, commenting on this passage, thinks it difficult to admit of Sparta.

9 *εὑρημένον εἰς ἀκρίβειαν*] Philip of Macedon gave an immense development to the artillery.

11 *οὐχ ὅτι*] 'not merely.'

The city.

χρείας, τάς τε ἄλλας καὶ τὰς νῦν ἐπεξευρημένας. ὥσπερ
12 γὰρ τοῖς ἐπιτιθεμένοις ἐπιμελές ἐστι δι' ὧν τρόπων πλεονεκτήσουσιν, οὕτω τὰ μὲν εὕρηται τὰ δὲ δεῖ ζητεῖν καὶ φιλοσοφεῖν καὶ τοὺς φυλαττομένους· ἀρχὴν γὰρ οὐδ' ἐπιχειροῦσιν ἐπιτίθεσθαι τοῖς εὖ παρεσκευασμένοις.

The magistrates. The agora.

12 Ἐπεὶ δὲ δεῖ τὸ μὲν πλῆθος τῶν πολιτῶν ἐν συσσιτίοις κατανενεμῆσθαι, τὰ δὲ τείχη διειλῆφθαι φυλακτηρίοις καὶ πύργοις κατὰ τόπους ἐπικαίρους, δῆλον ὡς αὐτὰ προκαλεῖται παρασκευάζειν ἔνια τῶν συσσιτίων ἐν τούτοις τοῖς φυ-
2 λακτηρίοις. καὶ ταῦτα μὲν δὴ τοῦτον ἄν τις διακοσμήσειε τὸν τρόπον, τὰς δὲ τοῖς θείοις ἀποδεδομένας οἰκήσεις καὶ τὰ κυριώτατα τῶν ἀρχείων συσσίτια ἁρμόττει τόπον ἐπιτήδειόν τε ἔχειν καὶ τὸν αὐτόν, ὅσα μὴ τῶν ἱερῶν ὁ νόμος ἀφο-
3 ρίζει χωρὶς ἤ τι μαντεῖον ἄλλο πυθόχρηστον. εἴη δ' ἂν τοιοῦτος ὁ τόπος ὅστις ἐπιφάνειάν τε ἔχει πρὸς τὴν τῆς ἀρετῆς θέσιν ἱκανῶς καὶ πρὸς τὰ γειτνιῶντα μέρη τῆς πόλεως ἐρυμνοτέρως. πρέπει δ' ὑπὸ μὲν τοῦτον τὸν τόπον τοιαύτης ἀγορᾶς εἶναι κατασκευὴν οἵαν καὶ περὶ Θετταλίαν

τὰς νῦν ἐπεξευρημένας] 'the recent inventions.' "ceux de la tactique moderne." St. Hil.

12 τὰ μέν] means of defence.

ζητεῖν καὶ φιλοσοφεῖν] 'seek by scientific methods.'

ἀρχὴν γάρ] This is equivalent to the Latin maxim, Si bellum vitare vis, bellum para.

XII. 1 αὐτά] sc. τὰ τείχη, 'the walls of themselves invite us.'

2 τὸ κυριώτατα, κ.τ.λ.] 'and the syssitia of the most important boards of magistrates.'

πυθόχρηστον] In this he agrees with Plato, *Rep.* IV. 427 B.

3 ἐπιφάνειάν τε ἔχει, κ.τ.λ.] A close translation would hardly give what I conceive to be the meaning of this passage:—'which is both conspicuous enough to qualify it for an appropriate site for the men of eminent merit whom the state may possess, and is not without considerable strength as regards the neighbouring parts of the city.' ἐπιφάνειαν ἔχει = ἐπιφανής ἐστι. Comp. Thuc. VI. 96. τὸ ἄλλο χώριον ... μέχρι τῆς πόλεως ἐπικλινές τ' ἐστι καὶ ἐπιφανὲς πᾶν εἴσω. Stahr's translation of πρὸς τὴν τῆς ἀρετῆς θέσιν is, "der geistigen Erhabenheit seiner Bestimmung würdig entspräche." St. Hil. translates it more nearly as I do. "Tel que l'exige la dignité des personnes qu'il recevra."

πρέπει δέ] Comp. Grote, II. 371. "In the Thessalian cities, though inhabited in common by Thessalian proprietors and their Penestae, the quarters assigned to each were to a great degree separated: what was called the Free Agora could not be trodden by any Penest except when specially summoned."

ὀνομάζουσιν, ἣν ἐλευθέραν καλοῦσιν. αὕτη δ' ἐστὶν ἣν δεῖ The magistrates.
καθαρὰν εἶναι τῶν ὠνίων πάντων, καὶ μήτε βάναυσον μήτε The agora.
γεωργὸν μήτ' ἄλλον μηδένα τοιοῦτον παραβάλλειν μὴ κα- 4
λούμενον ὑπὸ τῶν ἀρχόντων. εἴη δ' ἂν εὔχαρις ὁ τόπος,
εἰ καὶ τὰ γυμνάσια τῶν πρεσβυτέρων ἔχοι τὴν τάξιν ἐν-
ταῦθα. πρέπει γὰρ διῃρῆσθαι κατὰ τὰς ἡλικίας καὶ τοῦτον 5
τὸν κόσμον, καὶ παρὰ μὲν τοῖς νεωτέροις ἄρχοντάς τινας
διατρίβειν, τοὺς δὲ πρεσβυτέρους παρὰ τοῖς ἄρχουσιν· ἡ γὰρ The double agora.
ἐν ὀφθαλμοῖς τῶν ἀρχόντων παρουσία μάλιστα ἐμποιεῖ τὴν 6 1331 B
ἀληθινὴν αἰδῶ καὶ τὸν τῶν ἐλευθέρων φόβον. τὴν δὲ τῶν
ὠνίων ἀγορὰν ἑτέραν τε δεῖ ταύτης εἶναι καὶ χωρίς, ἔχουσαν
τόπον εὐσυνάγωγον τοῖς τε ἀπὸ τῆς θαλάττης πεμπομένοις
καὶ τοῖς ἀπὸ τῆς χώρας πᾶσιν. ἐπεὶ δὲ τὸ πλῆθος διαι-
ρεῖται τῆς πόλεως εἰς ἱερεῖς, εἰς ἄρχοντας, πρέπει καὶ τῶν
ἱερέων συσσίτια περὶ τὴν τῶν ἱερῶν οἰκοδομημάτων ἔχειν τὴν
τάξιν. τῶν δ' ἀρχείων ὅσα περὶ τὰ συμβόλαια ποιεῖται 7
τὴν ἐπιμέλειαν, περί τε γραφὰς δικῶν καὶ τὰς κλήσεις καὶ
τὴν ἄλλην τὴν τοιαύτην διοίκησιν, ἔτι δὲ περὶ τὴν ἀγορανο-
μίαν καὶ τὴν καλουμένην ἀστυνομίαν, πρὸς ἀγορᾷ μὲν δεῖ καὶ
συνόδῳ τινὶ κοινῇ κατεσκευάσθαι, τοιοῦτος δ' ὁ περὶ τὴν
ἀναγκαίαν ἀγοράν ἐστι τόπος· ἐνσχολάζειν μὲν γὰρ τὴν ἄνω
τίθεμεν, ταύτην δὲ πρὸς τὰς ἀναγκαίας πράξεις. νενεμῆσθαι 8
δὲ χρὴ τὴν εἰρημένην τάξιν καὶ τὰ περὶ τὴν χώραν· καὶ γὰρ
ἐκεῖ τοῖς ἄρχουσιν, οὓς καλοῦσιν οἱ μὲν ὑλωροὺς οἱ δὲ ἀγρο-
νόμους, καὶ φυλακτήρια καὶ συσσίτια πρὸς φυλακὴν ἀναγ-
καῖον ὑπάρχειν, ἔτι δὲ ἱερὰ κατὰ τὴν χώραν εἶναι νενεμημένα,

παραβάλλειν] This word occurs, *Eth.* VII. xiv. 6, p. 1154, in the sense of 'passing into.' Here it means 'to approach,' 'come near to.'

5 τὸν τῶν ἐλευθέρων φόβον] 'Such fear as freemen may feel.'

6 εὐσυνάγωγον] 'where may easily meet.'

τὸ πλῆθος] This is an odd statement. There must be some mistake, for it is inconsistent with Ch. IX. If he means τὸ πλῆθος τῶν πρεσβυτέρων, so limited, the statement will hold; but even then the disjointed way in which he throws out εἰς ἱερεῖς, εἰς ἄρχοντας, is remarkable.

περὶ τὴν—τάξιν] is supplied, as Schneider says, harshly; but it is the simplest word.

7 τὰς κλήσεις] 'the summons.'

συνόδῳ τινὶ κοινῇ] 'in some public place of meeting.'

ἀναγκαίαν ἀγοράν] equivalent to τὴν τῶν ὠνίων ἀγοράν, § 5.

The double agora. τὰ μὲν θεοῖς τὰ δὲ ἥρωσιν. ἀλλὰ τὸ διατρίβειν νῦν ἀκριβολογουμένους καὶ λέγοντας περὶ τῶν τοιούτων ἀργόν ἐστιν.
9 οὐ γὰρ χαλεπόν ἐστι τὰ τοιαῦτα νοῆσαι, ἀλλὰ ποιῆσαι μᾶλλον· τὸ μὲν γὰρ λέγειν εὐχῆς ἔργον ἐστί, τὸ δὲ συμβῆναι τύχης· διὸ περὶ μὲν τῶν τοιούτων τό γε ἐπὶ πλεῖον ἀφείσθω τὰ νῦν.

13 Περὶ δὲ τῆς πολιτείας αὐτῆς, ἐκ τίνων καὶ ἐκ ποίων δεῖ
The constitution. συνεστάναι τὴν μέλλουσαν ἔσεσθαι πόλιν μακαρίαν καὶ πολι-
2 τεύεσθαι καλῶς, λεκτέον. [Ἐπεὶ δὲ δύ' ἐστὶν ἐν οἷς γίγνεται τὸ εὖ πᾶσι, τούτοιν δ' ἐστὶν ἓν μὲν ἐν τῷ τὸν σκοπὸν κεῖσθαι καὶ τὸ τέλος τῶν πράξεων ὀρθῶς, ἓν δὲ[a] ἐν τῷ τὰς πρὸς τὸ τέλος φερούσας πράξεις εὑρίσκειν· ἐνδέχεται γὰρ ταῦτα καὶ διαφωνεῖν ἀλλήλοις καὶ συμφωνεῖν· ἐνίοτε γὰρ ὁ μὲν σκοπὸς ἔκκειται καλῶς, ἐν δὲ τῷ πράττειν τοῦ τυχεῖν αὐτοῦ διαμαρτάνουσιν· ἐνίοτε δὲ τῶν μὲν πρὸς τὸ τέλος πάντων ἐπιτυγχάνουσιν, ἀλλὰ τὸ τέλος ἔθεντο φαῦλον· ὁτὲ δὲ ἑκατέρου διαμαρτάνουσιν, οἷον περὶ ἰατρικήν· οὔτε γὰρ ποῖόν τι δεῖ τὸ ὑγιαῖνον εἶναι σῶμα κρίνουσιν ἐνίοτε καλῶς, οὔτε πρὸς τὸν ὑποκείμενον αὐτοῖς ὅρον τυγχάνουσι τῶν ποιητικῶν· δεῖ δ' ἐν ταῖς τέχναις καὶ ἐπιστήμαις ταῦτα ἀμφότερα
3 κρατεῖσθαι, τὸ τέλος καὶ τὰς εἰς τὸ τέλος πράξεις. ὅτι μὲν οὖν τοῦ τ' εὖ ζῆν καὶ τῆς εὐδαιμονίας ἐφίενται πάντες, φανερόν. ἀλλὰ τούτων τοῖς μὲν ἐξουσία τυγχάνειν, τοῖς
1332 δὲ οὔ, διά τινα τύχην ἢ φύσιν· δεῖται γὰρ καὶ χορηγίας τινὸς τὸ ζῆν καλῶς, τούτου δὲ ἐλάττονος μὲν τοῖς ἄμεινον

[a] ἓν δὲ τάς Bekker.

9 εὐχῆς ἔργον] 'is a question of wishing.' Compare IV. 1. He turns now from the ὑποθέσεις, the necessary conditions of his state, which he must have allowed him, to the constitution itself, to that which depends on man's exertion and skill and not on fortune.

XIII. 2 From this point down to the end of § 8, or very nearly, I have enclosed in brackets, as an unnecessary interruption of the reasoning.

ἓν δὲ τάς] To make the sentence complete there should be inserted ἐν τῷ.

ἐνδέχεται γάρ] Comp. *Eth.* VI. x. p. 1142-31.

ἔκκειται] 'stands out well and distinctly.' δεῖ δέ. The apodosis.

κρατεῖσθαι] 'both must be mastered.'

3 ἐξουσία] 'have the opportunity.'

τούτου] would be more regularly ταύτης, agreeing as it does in sense with χορηγίας.

The constitution.

διακειμένοις, πλείονος δὲ τοῖς χεῖρον· οἱ δ' εὐθὺς οὐκ ὀρθῶς
ζητοῦσι τὴν εὐδαιμονίαν, ἐξουσίας ὑπαρχούσης. ἐπεὶ δὲ τὸ
προκείμενόν ἐστι τὴν ἀρίστην πολιτείαν ἰδεῖν, αὕτη δ' ἐστὶ 4
καθ' ἣν ἄριστ' ἂν πολιτεύοιτο πόλις, ἄριστα δ' ἂν πολι-
τεύοιτο καθ' ἣν εὐδαιμονεῖν μάλιστα ἐνδέχεται τὴν πόλιν,
δῆλον ὅτι τὴν εὐδαιμονίαν δεῖ, τί ἐστι, μὴ λανθάνειν. Φαμὲν 5
δὲ καὶ ἐν τοῖς ἠθικοῖς, εἴ τι τῶν λόγων ἐκείνων ὄφελος, ἐνέρ-
γειαν εἶναι καὶ χρῆσιν ἀρετῆς τελείαν, καὶ ταύτην οὐκ ἐξ
ὑποθέσεως ἀλλ' ἁπλῶς. λέγω δ' ἐξ ὑποθέσεως τἀναγκαῖα, 6
τὸ δ' ἁπλῶς τὸ καλῶς· οἷον τὰ περὶ τὰς δικαίας πράξεις αἱ
δίκαιαι τιμωρίαι καὶ κολάσεις ἀπ' ἀρετῆς μέν εἰσιν, ἀναγ-
καῖαι δέ, καὶ τὸ καλῶς ἀναγκαίως ἔχουσιν (αἱρετώτερον μὲν
γὰρ μηθενὸς δεῖσθαι τῶν τοιούτων μήτε τὸν ἄνδρα μήτε τὴν
πόλιν), αἱ δ' ἐπὶ τὰς τιμὰς καὶ τὰς εὐπορίας ἁπλῶς εἰσὶ
κάλλισται πράξεις. τὸ μὲν γὰρ ἕτερον κακοῦ τινὸς αἵρεσίς 7
ἐστιν, αἱ τοιαῦται δὲ πράξεις τοὐναντίον· κατασκευαὶ γὰρ
ἀγαθῶν εἰσὶ καὶ γεννήσεις. χρήσαιτο δ' ἂν ὁ σπουδαῖος
ἀνὴρ καὶ πενίᾳ καὶ νόσῳ καὶ ταῖς ἄλλαις τύχαις ταῖς φαύλαις
καλῶς· ἀλλὰ τὸ μακάριον ἐν τοῖς ἐναντίοις ἐστίν. καὶ γὰρ
τοῦτο διώρισται κατὰ τοὺς ἠθικοὺς λόγους, ὅτι τοιοῦτός ἐστιν
ὁ σπουδαῖος, ᾧ διὰ τὴν ἀρετὴν τὰ ἀγαθά ἐστι τὰ ἁπλῶς
ἀγαθά. δῆλον δ' ὅτι καὶ τὰς χρήσεις ἀναγκαῖον σπουδαίας 8
καὶ καλὰς εἶναι ταύτας ἁπλῶς. διὸ καὶ νομίζουσιν ἄνθρωποι
τῆς εὐδαιμονίας αἴτια τὰ ἐκτὸς εἶναι τῶν ἀγαθῶν, ὥσπερ εἰ
τοῦ κιθαρίζειν λαμπρὸν καὶ καλῶς αἰτιῷτο τὴν λύραν μᾶλ-

4 εὐθύς] 'from the commencement.'

5 ἐξ ὑποθέσεως = πρὸς ὑπόθεσιν] See IX. 3.

6 ἀπ' ἀρετῆς] This expression occurs in III. iv. 5. 'Though they are the results of a virtue, yet they are not more than is necessary; what noble element they have is not satisfactory;' they are right, but they are not more than right, there is a meagreness about them. They are of the character of a necessary evil.

ἐπὶ τὰς τιμάς] sc. φέρονται.

7 χρήσαιτο δέ] Comp. *Eth.* I. xi. 13, p. 1101. 1.

κατὰ τοὺς ἠθικούς] The reference is *Eth.* IV. vi. p. 1113. 15.

8 τὰς χρήσεις] Comp. II. VI. 9. 'The use of the goods of fortune—τῶν ἐκτὸς ἀγαθῶν.'

διὸ καί] Men have not seen that it is in their use and not in themselves that happiness consists, and not seeing this, have thought them, by a confusion, the causes of happiness.

The constitution.

λον τῆς τέχνης.] Ἀναγκαῖον τοίνυν ἐκ τῶν εἰρημένων τὰ μὲν
ὑπάρχειν, τὰ δὲ παρασκευάσαι τὸν νομοθέτην. διὸ κατ' εὐ-
9 χὴν εὐχόμεθα τὴν τῆς πόλεως σύστασιν, ὧν ἡ τύχη κυρία·
κυρίαν γὰρ αὐτὴν ὑπάρχειν τίθεμεν· τὸ δὲ σπουδαίαν εἶναι
τὴν πόλιν οὐκέτι τύχης ἔργον, ἀλλ' ἐπιστήμης καὶ προαιρέ-
σεως. Ἀλλὰ μὴν σπουδαία πόλις ἐστὶ τῷ τοὺς πολίτας
τοὺς μετέχοντας τῆς πολιτείας εἶναι σπουδαίους· ἡμῖν δὲ
10 πάντες οἱ πολῖται μετέχουσι τῆς πολιτείας. τοῦτ' ἄρα
σκεπτέον, πῶς ἀνὴρ γίνεται σπουδαῖος. καὶ γὰρ εἰ πάντας
ἐνδέχεται σπουδαίους εἶναι, μὴ καθ' ἕκαστον δὲ τῶν πολιτῶν,
οὕτως αἱρετώτερον· ἀκολουθεῖ γὰρ τῷ καθ' ἕκαστον καὶ τὸ
πάντας. ἀλλὰ μὴν ἀγαθοί γε καὶ σπουδαῖοι γίγνονται
11 διὰ τριῶν. τὰ τρία δὲ ταῦτά ἐστι φύσις, ἔθος, λόγος. καὶ
γὰρ φῦναι δεῖ πρῶτον, οἷον ἄνθρωπον ἀλλὰ μὴ τῶν ἄλλων
τι ζῴων, εἶτα καὶ ποιόν τινα τὸ σῶμα καὶ τὴν ψυχήν.
1332 B ἔνια δὲ[a] οὐθὲν ὄφελος φῦναι· τὰ γὰρ ἔθη μεταβαλεῖν ποιεῖ·
ἔνια γάρ ἐστι διὰ τῆς φύσεως ἐπαμφοτερίζοντα διὰ τῶν ἐθῶν
12 ἐπὶ τὸ χεῖρον καὶ τὸ βέλτιον. τὰ μὲν οὖν ἄλλα τῶν ζῴων
μάλιστα μὲν τῇ φύσει ζῇ, μικρὰ δ' ἔνια καὶ τοῖς ἔθεσιν,
ἄνθρωπος δὲ καὶ λόγῳ· μόνον γὰρ ἔχει λόγον. ὥστε δεῖ
ταῦτα συμφωνεῖν ἀλλήλοις· πολλὰ γὰρ παρὰ τοὺς ἐθισμοὺς
καὶ τὴν φύσιν πράττουσι διὰ τὸν λόγον, ἐὰν πεισθῶσιν

[a] τε Bekker.

ἀναγκαῖον τοίνυν] The sense would be quite clear if this were brought into immediate connexion with the first sentence of the chapter. 'From all that we have said, it follows as a necessary consequence that of the requisites for a state some must be assumed, they are the gift of fortune, others must be provided by the legislator; and, therefore, so far as the points are concerned which depend on fortune, the constitution of our state is a mere question of wishing.'

κυρίαν γάρ, κ.τ.λ.] 'for, that fortune is supreme, we assume.'

ἐπιστήμης καὶ προαιρέσεως] Knowledge and will, the two conditions of all right action; the *εἰδὼς καὶ προαιρούμενος* of *Eth.* II. iii. 3, p. 1105, 31.

ἡμῖν δέ] 'and in our view.'

10 *εἰ πάντας, κ.τ.λ.*] 'granting that it is possible.'

οὕτως] 'this latter way.'

11 *τὰ τρία*] Comp. *Eth.* X. x. 6, p. 1179, 6, 20, where *διδαχή* takes the place of *λόγος* here.

ἐνιά τε] better *δέ*.

διὰ τῆς φύσεως, κ.τ.λ.] 'By nature uncertain, capable of either turn; fixed by habits for evil or for good.'

12 *τῇ φύσει*] 'instinct,' 'natural impulse.'

μόνον γὰρ (τῶν ζῴων) ἔχει λόγον] Comp. I. II. 10.

The constitution.

ἄλλως ἔχειν βέλτιον. τὴν μὲν τοίνυν φύσιν οἵους εἶναι δεῖ τοὺς μέλλοντας εὐχειρώτους ἔσεσθαι τῷ νομοθέτῃ, διωρίσμεθα πρότερον, τὸ δὲ λοιπὸν ἔργον ἤδη παιδείας· τὰ μὲν 13
γὰρ ἐθιζόμενοι μανθάνουσι, τὰ δ' ἀκούοντες.

Is the education to be the same for all the citizens?

Ἐπεὶ δὲ πᾶσα πολιτικὴ κοινωνία συνέστηκεν ἐξ ἀρχόντων 14
καὶ ἀρχομένων, τοῦτο δὴ σκεπτέον, εἰ ἑτέρους εἶναι δεῖ τοὺς ἄρχοντας καὶ τοὺς ἀρχομένους ἢ τοὺς αὐτοὺς διὰ βίου· δῆλον γὰρ ὡς ἀκολουθεῖν δεήσει καὶ τὴν παιδείαν κατὰ τὴν διαίρεσιν ταύτην. εἰ μὲν τοίνυν εἴησαν τοσοῦτον διαφέροντες 2
ἅτεροι τῶν ἄλλων ὅσον τοὺς θεοὺς καὶ τοὺς ἥρωας ἡγούμεθα τῶν ἀνθρώπων διαφέρειν, εὐθὺς πρῶτον κατὰ τὸ σῶμα πολλὴν ἔχοντας ὑπερβολήν, εἶτα κατὰ τὴν ψυχήν, ὥστε ἀναμφισβήτητον εἶναι καὶ φανερὰν τὴν ὑπεροχὴν τοῖς ἀρχομένοις τὴν τῶν ἀρχόντων, δῆλον ὅτι βέλτιον ἀεὶ τοὺς αὐτοὺς τοὺς μὲν ἄρχειν τοὺς δ' ἄρχεσθαι καθάπαξ. ἐπεὶ δὲ τοῦτ' οὐ 3
ῥᾴδιον λαβεῖν οὐδ' ἔστιν ὥσπερ ἐν Ἰνδοῖς φησὶ Σκύλαξ εἶναι τοὺς βασιλέας τοσοῦτον διαφέροντας τῶν ἀρχομένων, φανερὸν ὅτι διὰ πολλὰς αἰτίας ἀναγκαῖον πάντας ὁμοίως κοινωνεῖν τοῦ κατὰ μέρος ἄρχειν καὶ ἄρχεσθαι. τό τε γὰρ ἴσον ταὐτὸν τοῖς ὁμοίοις, καὶ χαλεπὸν μένειν τὴν πολιτείαν τὴν συνεστηκυῖαν παρὰ τὸ δίκαιον. μετὰ γὰρ τῶν ἀρχο- 4
μένων ὑπάρχουσι νεωτερίζειν βουλόμενοι πάντες οἱ κατὰ τὴν χώραν· τοσούτους τε εἶναι τοὺς ἐν τῷ πολιτεύματι τὸ πλῆθος ὥστ' εἶναι κρείττους πάντων τούτων, ἕν τι τῶν ἀδυνάτων ἐστίν. ἀλλὰ μὴν ὅτι γε δεῖ τοὺς ἄρχοντας διαφέρειν τῶν ἀρχομένων, ἀναμφισβήτητον. πῶς οὖν ταῦτ' ἔσται καὶ πῶς

13 εὐχειρώτους] 'manageable.'

πρότερον] Ch. VII.

παιδείας] in the widest sense, taking the child at the earliest stage. 'For men learn partly by practice, partly by precept.'

XIV. 1 τοῦτο δὴ σκεπτέον] This point was virtually settled in III. IV.

2 εἰ μὲν τοίνυν] Compare I. v. 8.

φανερὰν τοῖς ἀρχομένοις] 'evident to the ruled.'

3 Σκύλαξ] of Caryanda, Smith, *Biogr. Dict.*, where it is mentioned, 759 a, that Aristotle is the first writer who refers to him.

βασιλέας] depends on λαβεῖν.

ὁμοίως] 'on equal terms,' III. XVI. 3, and note on τὸ ἀνὰ μέρος ὡσαύτως.

4 οἱ κατὰ τὴν χώραν] 'all who, resident in the country, are not citizens.'

ἀλλὰ μὴν] 'on the other hand.'

Is the education to be the same for all the citizens?

μεθέξουσι, δεῖ σκέψασθαι τὸν νομοθέτην. εἴρηται δὲ πρό-
τερον περὶ αὐτοῦ. ἡ γὰρ φύσις δέδωκε τὴν αἵρεσιν, ποιή-
σασα αὐτῷ τῷ γένει ταὐτὸν τὸ μὲν νεώτερον τὸ δὲ πρεσβύ-
5 τερον, ὧν τοῖς μὲν ἄρχεσθαι πρέπει, τοῖς δ' ἄρχειν. ἀγαν-
ακτεῖ δὲ οὐδεὶς καθ' ἡλικίαν ἀρχόμενος, οὐδὲ νομίζει εἶναι
κρείττων, ἄλλως τε καὶ μέλλων ἀντιλαμβάνειν τοῦτον τὸν
6 ἔρανον, ὅταν τύχῃ τῆς ἱκνουμένης ἡλικίας. ἔστι μὲν ἄρα
ὡς τοὺς αὐτοὺς ἄρχειν καὶ ἄρχεσθαι φατέον, ἔστι δὲ ὡς ἑτέ-
1333 ρους. ὥστε καὶ τὴν παιδείαν ἔστιν ὡς τὴν αὐτὴν ἀναγκαῖον,
ἔστι δ' ὡς ἑτέραν εἶναι. τόν τε γὰρ μέλλοντα καλῶς ἄρχειν
ἀρχθῆναί φασι δεῖν πρῶτον. ἔστι δ' ἀρχή, καθάπερ ἐν
τοῖς πρώτοις εἴρηται λόγοις, ἡ μὲν τοῦ ἄρχοντος χάριν, ἡ
7 δὲ τοῦ ἀρχομένου. τούτων δὲ τὴν μὲν δεσποτικὴν εἶναί
φαμεν, τὴν δὲ τῶν ἐλευθέρων. διαφέρει δ' ἔνια τῶν ἐπι-
ταττομένων οὐ τοῖς ἔργοις ἀλλὰ τῷ τίνος ἕνεκα. διὸ πολλὰ
τῶν εἶναι δοκούντων διακονικῶν ἔργων καὶ τῶν νέων τοῖς
ἐλευθέροις καλὸν διακονεῖν· πρὸς γὰρ τὸ καλὸν καὶ τὸ μὴ
καλὸν οὐχ οὕτω διαφέρουσιν αἱ πράξεις καθ' αὑτὰς ὡς ἐν τῷ
8 τέλει καὶ τῷ τίνος ἕνεκεν. ἐπεὶ δὲ πολίτου καὶ ἄρχοντος

The objects of education.

τὴν αὐτὴν ἀρετὴν εἶναί φαμεν καὶ τοῦ ἀρίστου ἀνδρός, τὸν
δ' αὐτὸν ἀρχόμενόν τε δεῖν γίγνεσθαι πρότερον καὶ ἄρ-
χοντα ὕστερον, τοῦτ' ἂν εἴη τῷ νομοθέτῃ πραγματευτέον,
ὅπως ἄνδρες ἀγαθοὶ γίγνονται,[a] καὶ διὰ τίνων ἐπιτηδευ-
9 μάτων, καὶ τί τὸ τέλος τῆς ἀρίστης ζωῆς. διῄρηται δὲ δύο

[a] γίγνωνται Bekker.

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5 αὐτῷ τῷ γένει ταὐτόν] 'that which is in kind the same.'

καθ' ἡλικίαν] 'on the ground of age.'

ἀντιλαμβάνειν] 'to have this privilege in his turn, when he shall have reached the proper age.' ἔρανον is used in a very general sense.

7 οὐ τοῖς ἔργοις, κ.τ.λ.] 'not in what is done, but in the object for which it is done.'

καὶ τῶν νέων, κ.τ.λ.] 'even to the young freeman.'

ἐν τῷ τέλει] ὁρίζεται τῷ τέλει γὰρ ἕκαστον, *Eth.* III. 10, 6, p. 1115, 6, 22.

8 ἐπεὶ δέ, κ.τ.λ.] This is discussed at considerable length in III. IV. πολίτου καὶ ἄρχοντος must, in accordance with that chapter, be taken very closely together. 'The virtue of the citizen, if that citizen be also a ruler, and that of the best man, are identical.' πολίτου καὶ ἄρχοντος answers to the τινος πολίτου of III. IV. 9.

ὅπως γίγνονται] I adopt this reading in preference to Bekker's 'how good citizens are formed,' with an interrogative sense, that is, and not a final one.

9 διῄρηται] *Eth.* I. xiii. p. 1102; VI. ii. p. 1139 A.

The objects of education.

μέρη τῆς ψυχῆς, ὧν τὸ μὲν ἔχει λόγον καθ' αὑτό, τὸ δ' οὐκ
ἔχει μὲν καθ' αὑτό, λόγῳ δ' ὑπακούειν δυνάμενον· ὧν φαμὲν
τὰς ἀρετὰς εἶναι καθ' ἃς ἀνὴρ ἀγαθὸς λέγεταί πως. τού-
των δ' ἐν ποτέρῳ μᾶλλον τὸ τέλος, τοῖς μὲν οὕτω διαιροῦσιν
ὡς ἡμεῖς φαμὲν οὐκ ἄδηλον πῶς λεκτέον. αἰεὶ γὰρ τὸ χεῖ- 10
ρον τοῦ βελτίονός ἐστιν ἕνεκεν, καὶ τοῦτο φανερὸν ὁμοίως ἔν
τε τοῖς κατὰ τέχνην καὶ τοῖς κατὰ φύσιν, βέλτιον δὲ τὸ
λόγον ἔχον· διῄρηταί τε διχῇ, καθ' ὅνπερ εἰώθαμεν τρόπον
διαιρεῖν· ὁ μὲν γὰρ πρακτικός ἐστι λόγος ὁ δὲ θεωρητικός·
ὡσαύτως οὖν ἀνάγκη διῃρῆσθαι καὶ τοῦτο τὸ μέρος δῆλον 11
ὅτι, καὶ τὰς πράξεις δ' ἀνάλογον ἐροῦμεν ἔχειν, καὶ δεῖ τὰς
τοῦ φύσει βελτίονος αἱρετωτέρας εἶναι τοῖς δυναμένοις τυγ-
χάνειν ἢ πασῶν ἢ τοῖν δυοῖν· αἰεὶ γὰρ ἑκάστῳ τοῦθ' αἱρε-
τώτατον, οὗ τυχεῖν ἔστιν ἀκροτάτου. διῄρηται δὲ καὶ πᾶς 12
ὁ βίος εἰς ἀσχολίαν καὶ εἰς σχολὴν καὶ πόλεμον καὶ εἰρήνην,
καὶ τῶν πρακτῶν τὰ μὲν εἰς τὰ ἀναγκαῖα καὶ χρήσιμα τὰ δὲ
εἰς τὰ καλά. περὶ ὧν ἀνάγκη τὴν αὐτὴν αἵρεσιν εἶναι καὶ 13
τοῖς τῆς ψυχῆς μέρεσι καὶ ταῖς πράξεσιν αὐτῶν, πόλεμον
μὲν εἰρήνης χάριν, ἀσχολίαν δὲ σχολῆς, τὰ δ' ἀναγκαῖα καὶ
χρήσιμα τῶν καλῶν ἕνεκεν. πρὸς πάντα μὲν τοίνυν τῷ
πολιτικῷ βλέποντι νομοθετητέον, καὶ κατὰ τὰ μέρη τῆς
ψυχῆς καὶ κατὰ τὰς πράξεις αὐτῶν, μᾶλλον δὲ πρὸς τὰ
βελτίω καὶ τὰ τέλη. τὸν αὐτὸν δὲ τρόπον καὶ περὶ τοὺς 14
βίους καὶ τὰς τῶν πραγμάτων διαιρέσεις· δεῖ μὲν γὰρ ἀσχο-

δυνάμενον] should be δύναται. There is a similar inaccuracy in I. v. 9.

10 διῄρηται] sc. ὁ λόγος. 'The reason,' not 'the rational part,' τὸ λόγον ἔχον.

11 ὡσαύτως] 'To correspond with this division then must the part evidently be divided, and the actions of either division will admit of a corresponding division again.'

ἢ πασῶν ἢ τοῖν δυοῖν] Is the meaning: 'The actions of the higher part are more to be chosen by those who have it in their power to do so, than the actions of all the parts of our nature, or of the two parts concerned in moral action,' the συνθετόν of *Eth.* x. 7, 8, p. 1177, b. 28? Does he mean that we ought, if we can, exclusively to cultivate the highest part, to the entire exclusion, that is, of the lower? It is very difficult; yet this would give a sense.

12 καὶ πᾶς] 'a further division is that of all life, &c.'

καὶ τῶν πρακτῶν] carelessly stated. τὰ πρακτά, τὰ μὲν ἀναγκαῖα καὶ χρήσιμα, τὰ δὲ καλά.

13 αἵρεσιν] equivalent to διαίρεσιν.

The objects of education.

λεῖν δύνασθαι καὶ πολεμεῖν, μᾶλλον δ' εἰρήνην ἄγειν καὶ σχολάζειν· καὶ τἀναγκαῖα καὶ τὰ χρήσιμα δὲ πράττειν, τὰ δὲ καλὰ δεῖ μᾶλλον. ὥστε πρὸς τούτους τοὺς σκοποὺς καὶ
1333 B παῖδας ἔτι ὄντας παιδευτέον καὶ τὰς ἄλλας ἡλικίας, ὅσαι
15 δέονται παιδείας. οἱ δὲ νῦν ἄριστα δοκοῦντες πολιτεύεσθαι τῶν Ἑλλήνων, καὶ τῶν νομοθετῶν οἱ ταύτας καταστήσαντες τὰς πολιτείας, οὔτε πρὸς τὸ βέλτιον τέλος φαίνονται συντάξαντες τὰ περὶ τὰς πολιτείας οὔτε πρὸς πάσας τὰς ἀρετὰς τοὺς νόμους καὶ τὴν παιδείαν, ἀλλὰ φορτικῶς ἀπέκλιναν πρὸς τὰς χρησίμους εἶναι δοκούσας καὶ πλεονεκτικωτέρας.
16 παραπλησίως δὲ τούτοις καὶ τῶν ὕστερόν τινες γραψάντων ἀπεφήναντο τὴν αὐτὴν δόξαν· ἐπαινοῦντες γὰρ τὴν Λακεδαιμονίων πολιτείαν ἄγανται τοῦ νομοθέτου τὸν σκοπόν, ὅτι πάντα πρὸς τὸ κρατεῖν καὶ πρὸς πόλεμον ἐνομοθέτησεν· ἃ καὶ κατὰ τὸν λόγον ἐστὶν εὐέλεγκτα καὶ τοῖς ἔργοις ἐξε-
17 λήλεγκται νῦν. ὥσπερ γὰρ οἱ πλεῖστοι τῶν ἀνθρώπων ζητοῦσι τὸ[a] πολλῶν δεσπόζειν, ὅτι πολλὴ χορηγία γίγνεται τῶν εὐτυχημάτων, οὕτω καὶ Θίβρων ἀγάμενος φαίνεται τὸν τῶν Λακώνων νομοθέτην, καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ἕκαστος τῶν γραφόντων περὶ πολιτείας αὐτῶν, ὅτι διὰ τὸ γεγυμνάσθαι
18 πρὸς τοὺς κινδύνους πολλῶν ἦρχον. καίτοι δῆλον ὡς ἐπειδὴ νῦν γε οὐκέτι ὑπάρχει τοῖς Λάκωσι τὸ ἄρχειν, οὐκ εὐδαίμονες, οὐδ' ὁ νομοθέτης ἀγαθός. ἔστι[b] δὲ τοῦτο γελοῖον, εἰ μένοντες ἐν τοῖς νόμοις αὐτοῦ, καὶ μηδενὸς ἐμποδίζοντος πρὸς τὸ χρῆσθαι τοῖς νόμοις, ἀποβεβλήκασι τὸ ζῆν καλῶς.
19 οὐκ ὀρθῶς δ' ὑπολαμβάνουσιν οὐδὲ περὶ τῆς ἀρχῆς ἣν

[a] τῶν Bekker.
[b] ἔτι Bekker.

15 φορτικῶς] 'assez peu noblement,' St. Hil. 'in a low and vulgar spirit.'

πλεονεκτικωτέρας] 'the more grasping.'

16 ἐξελήλεγκται] 'have been thoroughly convicted now by experience.'

17 τῶν πολλῶν] I incline to the reading of one MS., τὸ πολλῶν.

πολλὴ χορηγία] 'a large supply of the goods of fortune.'

Θίβρων] unknown.

18 ἔστι δέ] seems a better reading than ἔτι. There is no new argument advanced.

μένοντες, κ.τ.λ.] 'though they remain constant to his laws, and though there is no hindrance to their obeying them.'

19 1, 5, 2. ἀεὶ βελτίων ἡ ἀρχὴ τῶν βελτιόνων.

The objects of education.

δεῖ τιμῶντα φαίνεσθαι τὸν νομοθέτην· τοῦ γὰρ δεσποτικῶς
ἄρχειν ἡ τῶν ἐλευθέρων ἀρχὴ καλλίων καὶ μᾶλλον μετ' ἀρε-
τῆς. ἔτι δ' οὐ διὰ τοῦτο δεῖ τὴν πόλιν εὐδαίμονα νομί-
ζειν καὶ τὸν νομοθέτην ἐπαινεῖν, ὅτι καρτερεῖν[a] ἤσκησεν ἐπὶ
τὸ τῶν πέλας ἄρχειν· ταῦτα γὰρ μεγάλην ἔχει βλάβην.
δῆλον γὰρ ὅτι καὶ τῶν πολιτῶν τῷ δυναμένῳ τοῦτο πει- 20
ρατέον διώκειν, ὅπως δύνηται τῆς οἰκείας πόλεως ἄρχειν·
ὅπερ ἐγκαλοῦσιν οἱ Λάκωνες Παυσανίᾳ τῷ βασιλεῖ, καίπερ
ἔχοντι τηλικαύτην τιμήν. οὔτε δὴ πολιτικὸς τῶν τοιούτων
λόγων καὶ νόμων οὐθεὶς οὔτε ὠφέλιμος οὔτε ἀληθής ἐστιν.
ταὐτὰ γὰρ ἄριστα καὶ ἰδίᾳ καὶ κοινῇ τὸν νομοθέτην ἐμ- 21
ποιεῖν δεῖ ταῦτα ταῖς ψυχαῖς τῶν ἀνθρώπων. τήν τε τῶν

War.

πολεμικῶν ἄσκησιν οὐ τούτου χάριν δεῖ μελετᾶν, ἵνα κατα-
δουλώσωνται τοὺς ἀναξίους, ἀλλ' ἵνα πρῶτον μὲν αὐτοὶ μὴ
δουλεύσωσιν ἑτέροις, ἔπειτα ὅπως ζητῶσι τὴν ἡγεμονίαν
τῆς ὠφελείας ἕνεκα τῶν ἀρχομένων, ἀλλὰ μὴ πάντων δε- 1334
σποτείας· τρίτον δὲ τὸ δεσπόζειν τῶν ἀξίων δουλεύειν. ὅτι 22
δὲ δεῖ τὸν νομοθέτην μᾶλλον σπουδάζειν ὅπως καὶ τὴν περὶ
τὰ πολεμικὰ καὶ τὴν ἄλλην νομοθεσίαν τοῦ σχολάζειν ἕνεκεν
τάξῃ καὶ τῆς εἰρήνης, μαρτυρεῖ τὰ γιγνόμενα τοῖς λόγοις·
αἱ γὰρ πλεῖσται τῶν τοιούτων πόλεων πολεμοῦσαι μὲν σώ-
ζονται, κατακτησάμεναι δὲ τὴν ἀρχὴν ἀπόλλυνται. τὴν γὰρ

[a] κρατεῖν Bekker.

καρτερεῖν] I read, instead of κρατεῖν, which Reiske saw the difficulty of, and wished to leave it out. καρτερεῖν agrees well with II. IX. 6. βουλόμενος τὴν πόλιν εἶναι καρτερικήν, whereas κρατεῖν jars with ἄρχειν. 'He trained them to endurance, with a view to their getting sway over their neighbours.'

20 δῆλον γάρ] 'For it is clear that if this end is a right one, it will hold good for the individual citizen.'

ὅπερ ἐγκαλοῦσιν] 'The very thing which the Lacedæmonians blame in Pausanias.' He was not king, but regent; but, as Mr Grote says, with "all the power of a Spartan king, and seemingly more," Vol. v. 362, note 2.

πολιτικός] 'consistent with a free constitution.'

21 ταὐτά] is superfluous, or καὶ should be inserted after κοινῇ.

War, to be justifiable, must be either defensive, or with beneficial purposes, such as it answered in the ancient civilization; or, thirdly, to carry out the intentions of nature, I. VIII. 12. ἡ πολεμικὴ φύσει κτητική πως ἔσται, κ.τ.λ.

22 κατακτησάμεναι] Comp. II. IX. 34. Grote, II. 550.

The objects of education.

βαφὴν ἀφιᾶσιν, ὥσπερ ὁ σίδηρος, εἰρήνην ἄγοντες. αἴτιος
δ' ὁ νομοθέτης οὐ παιδεύσας δύνασθαι σχολάζειν.

The true end of life.

15 Ἐπεὶ δὲ τὸ αὐτὸ τέλος εἶναι φαίνεται καὶ κοινῇ καὶ ἰδίᾳ
τοῖς ἀνθρώποις, καὶ τὸν αὐτὸν ὅρον ἀναγκαῖον εἶναι τῷ τε
ἀρίστῳ ἀνδρὶ καὶ τῇ ἀρίστῃ πολιτείᾳ, φανερὸν ὅτι δεῖ τὰς
εἰς τὴν σχολὴν ἀρετὰς ὑπάρχειν· τέλος γάρ, ὥσπερ εἴρηται
2 πολλάκις, εἰρήνη μὲν πολέμου, σχολὴ δ' ἀσχολίας. χρή-
σιμοι δὲ τῶν ἀρετῶν εἰσὶ πρὸς τὴν σχολὴν καὶ διαγωγήν,
ὧν τε ἐν τῇ σχολῇ τὸ ἔργον καὶ ὧν ἐν τῇ ἀσχολίᾳ. δεῖ
γὰρ πολλὰ τῶν ἀναγκαίων ὑπάρχειν, ὅπως ἐξῇ σχολάζειν.
διὸ σώφρονα τὴν πόλιν εἶναι προσήκει καὶ ἀνδρείαν καὶ
καρτερικήν· κατὰ γὰρ τὴν παροιμίαν, οὐ σχολὴ δούλοις, οἱ
δὲ μὴ δυνάμενοι κινδυνεύειν ἀνδρείως δοῦλοι τῶν ἐπιόντων
3 εἰσίν. ἀνδρίας μὲν οὖν καὶ καρτερίας δεῖ πρὸς τὴν ἀσχο-
λίαν, φιλοσοφίας δὲ πρὸς τὴν σχολήν, σωφροσύνης δὲ καὶ
δικαιοσύνης ἐν ἀμφοτέροις τοῖς χρόνοις, καὶ μᾶλλον εἰρήνην
ἄγουσι καὶ σχολάζουσιν· ὁ μὲν γὰρ πόλεμος ἀναγκάζει
δικαίους εἶναι καὶ σωφρονεῖν, ἡ δὲ τῆς εὐτυχίας ἀπόλαυσις
4 καὶ τὸ σχολάζειν μετ' εἰρήνης ὑβριστὰς ποιεῖ μᾶλλον. πολ-
λῆς οὖν δεῖ δικαιοσύνης καὶ πολλῆς σωφροσύνης τοὺς ἄριστα,
δοκοῦντας πράττειν καὶ πάντων τῶν μακαριζομένων ἀπο-
λαύοντας, οἷον εἴ τινές εἰσιν, ὥσπερ οἱ ποιηταί φασιν, ἐν
μακάρων νήσοις· μάλιστα γὰρ οὗτοι δεήσονται φιλοσοφίας
καὶ σωφροσύνης καὶ δικαιοσύνης, ὅσῳ μᾶλλον σχολάζουσιν
5 ἐν ἀφθονίᾳ τῶν τοιούτων ἀγαθῶν. διότι μὲν οὖν τὴν μέλ-
λουσαν εὐδαιμονήσειν καὶ σπουδαίαν ἔσεσθαι πόλιν τούτων

βαφὴν] 'They lose their temper.'

οὐ παιδεύσας] 'because he never trained them.'

XV. 1 *τὸν αὐτὸν ὅρον*] 'The same characteristics.'

ὑπάρχειν] sc. *τῇ πόλει*.

2 'None of the virtues are useless. Some may be more especially those of the active life; others, those of the contemplative, but all are needed. For, to enjoy leisure, you must secure certain requisites.'

3 *φιλοσοφίας*] 'intellectual cultivation.' The *σοφία* of Aristotle, *φρόνησις* of Plato; both are included under the term.

4 *πάντων τῶν μακαριζομένων*] 'all things that in the judgment of men are the constituents of happiness.'

5 *διότι, κ.τ.λ.*] This and the next section, as far as *ἀρετῆς*, are paren-

The true end of education.

δεῖ τῶν ἀρετῶν μετέχειν, φανερόν. αἰσχροῦ γὰρ ὄντος μὴ δύνασθαι χρῆσθαι τοῖς ἀγαθοῖς, ἔτι μᾶλλον μὴ δύνασθαι ἐν τῷ σχολάζειν χρῆσθαι, ἀλλ' ἀσχολοῦντας μὲν καὶ πολεμοῦντας φαίνεσθαι ἀγαθούς, εἰρήνην δ' ἄγοντας καὶ σχολάζοντας ἀνδραποδώδεις. διὸ δεῖ μὴ καθάπερ ἡ Λακεδαιμονίων πόλις 6
τὴν ἀρετὴν ἀσκεῖν. ἐκεῖνοι μὲν γὰρ οὐ ταύτῃ διαφέρουσι τῶν ἄλλων, τῷ μὴ νομίζειν ταὐτὰ τοῖς ἄλλοις μέγιστα τῶν 1334 B
ἀγαθῶν, ἀλλὰ τῷ γενέσθαι ταῦτα μᾶλλον διά τινος ἀρετῆς. Ἐπεὶ δὲ μείζω τε ἀγαθὰ ταῦτα, καὶ τὴν ἀπόλαυσιν τὴν τούτων ἢ τὴν τῶν ἀρετῶν, καὶ ὅτι δι' αὐτήν, φανερὸν ἐκ τούτων, πῶς δὲ καὶ διὰ τίνων ἔσται, τοῦτο δὴ θεωρητέον. τυγχάνομεν δὴ διῃρημένοι πρότερον ὅτι φύσεως καὶ ἔθους 7
καὶ λόγου δεῖ. τούτων δὲ ποίους μέν τινας εἶναι χρὴ τὴν φύσιν, διώρισται πρότερον, λοιπὸν δὲ θεωρῆσαι πότερον παιδευτέοι τῷ λόγῳ πρότερον ἢ τοῖς ἔθεσιν. ταῦτα γὰρ δεῖ πρὸς ἄλληλα συμφωνεῖν συμφωνίαν τὴν ἀρίστην· ἐνδέχεται γὰρ διημαρτηκέναι καὶ τὸν λόγον τῆς βελτίστης ὑποθέσεως, καὶ διὰ τῶν ἐθῶν ὁμοίως ἦχθαι. φανερὸν δὴ τοῦτό 8
γε πρῶτον μέν, καθάπερ ἐν τοῖς ἄλλοις, ὡς ἡ γένεσις ἀπ'

The order to be observed in education.

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thetical. διότι may be either 'why' or 'that,' the latter more probably.

τῶν ἀρετῶν] sc. τῶν ἠθικῶν.

ἀνδραποδώδεις] In illustration of this compare *Eth.* I. 3. 3, p. 1095, b. 19, οἱ πολλοὶ παντελῶς ἀνδραποδώδεις φαίνονται βοσκημάτων βίον προαιρούμενοι, 'like slaves brutish in their pleasures.'

6 τῷ μὴ νομίζειν] 'by their having a different standard from others.' γενέσθαι depends on νομίζειν.

διά τινος ἀρετῆς] 'by a definite virtue.' Their error is as to the virtue.

μείζω τε ἀγαθὰ ταῦτα] sc. εἶναι φανερόν. By ταῦτα are meant τὰ μακαριζόμενα, of § 4. ἡ ἀπόλαυσις τῆς εὐτυχίας, καὶ τὸ σχολάζειν μετ' εἰρήνης.

τῶν ἀρετῶν] again τῶν ἠθικῶν, or τῶν πρὸς ἀσχολίαν καὶ πόλεμον.

δι' αὐτήν] better than αὐτήν, 'and that it is self-dependent.'

πῶς δέ] the apodosis.

7 τούτων] 'With regard to these.'

πρότερον] It is only a question of priority, not of the exclusion of either.

γάρ] 'for they must harmonise, &c.'

ἐνδέχεται γάρ] 'for it is possible that even the reason may have gone wrong, and not formed a right conception of the true primary idea of life, and yet that the man may have been trained by habits as well as if the reason had not so erred.' This is one sense, but I am not sure that it is the right one. Stahr thinks it means, that man may be led astray by his reason as well as by his training.

8 ἡ γένεσις, κ.τ.λ.] 'The birth of

The order to be observed in education.

ἀρχῆς ἐστὶ καὶ τὸ τέλος ἀπό τινος ἀρχῆς ἄλλου τέλους. ὁ δὲ λόγος ἡμῖν καὶ ὁ νοῦς τῆς φύσεως τέλος. ὥστε πρὸς τούτους τὴν γένεσιν καὶ τὴν τῶν ἐθῶν δεῖ παρασκευάζειν
9 μελέτην. ἔπειτα ὥσπερ ψυχὴ καὶ σῶμα δύ' ἐστίν, οὕτω καὶ τῆς ψυχῆς ὁρῶμεν δύο μέρη, τό τε ἄλογον καὶ τὸ λόγον ἔχον, καὶ τὰς ἕξεις τὰς τούτων δύο τὸν ἀριθμόν, ὧν τὸ μέν ἐστιν ὄρεξις τὸ δὲ νοῦς. ὥσπερ δὲ τὸ σῶμα πρότερον τῇ γενέσει τῆς ψυχῆς, οὕτω καὶ τὸ ἄλογον τοῦ λόγον ἔχοντος.
10 φανερὸν δὲ καὶ τοῦτο· θυμὸς γὰρ καὶ βούλησις, ἔτι δὲ ἐπιθυμία καὶ γενομένοις εὐθὺς ὑπάρχει τοῖς παιδίοις, ὁ δὲ λογισμὸς καὶ ὁ νοῦς προϊοῦσιν ἐγγίνεσθαι πέφυκεν. διὸ πρῶτον μὲν τοῦ σώματος τὴν ἐπιμέλειαν ἀναγκαῖον εἶναι προτέραν ἢ τὴν τῆς ψυχῆς, ἔπειτα τὴν τῆς ὀρέξεως, ἕνεκα μέντοι τοῦ νοῦ τὴν τῆς ὀρέξεως, τὴν δὲ τοῦ σώματος τῆς ψυχῆς.

Η' 16 Marriage.

Εἴπερ οὖν ἀπ' ἀρχῆς τὸν νομοθέτην ὁρᾶν δεῖ ὅπως βέλτιστα τὰ σώματα γένηται τῶν τρεφομένων, πρῶτον μὲν ἐπιμελητέον περὶ τὴν σύζευξιν, πότε καὶ ποίους τινὰς ὄντας
2 χρὴ ποιεῖσθαι πρὸς ἀλλήλους τὴν γαμικὴν ὁμιλίαν. δεῖ δ' ἀποβλέποντα νομοθετεῖν ταύτην τὴν κοινωνίαν πρὸς αὐτούς τε καὶ τὸν τοῦ ζῆν χρόνον, ἵνα συγκαταβαίνωσι ταῖς ἡλικίαις ἐπὶ τὸν αὐτὸν καιρὸν καὶ μὴ διαφωνῶσιν αἱ δυνάμεις τοῦ μὲν ἔτι δυναμένου γεννᾶν τῆς δὲ μὴ δυναμένης, ἢ ταύτης μὲν τοῦ δ' ἀνδρὸς μή· ταῦτα γὰρ ποιεῖ καὶ στάσεις πρὸς

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the child is not the first step in the process.' ἀπ' ἀρχῆς ἐστί, 'It is the end from a given beginning, and is itself the beginning of another end.' But the language is obscure.

ὁ δὲ λόγος] 'Now in the nature of man the ultimate end of all is his reason and his intellect. As these then are the ultimate end, all must be subservient to them, the mere natural birth itself and the moral discipline,' τὴν μελέτην τῶν ἐθῶν.

9 ὄρεξις, κ.τ.λ.] *Eth.* VI. 2. 1[2], p. 1139, 18.

τὸ ἄλογον] = ἡ ὄρεξις. τοῦ λόγον ἔχοντος = τοῦ νοῦ.

10. καὶ γενομένοις εὐθύς] 'immediately after their birth.'

XVI. 1 ἀπ' ἀρχῆς] 'From the beginning,' as alluded to in xv. 8. It is the marriage of the parents.

2 συγκαταβαίνωσι] 'may come down together,' 'in their ages there may be no disproportion,' "dans un rapport convenable," St. Hil.

ἀλλήλους καὶ διαφοράς. ἔπειτα καὶ πρὸς τὴν τῶν τέκνων διαδοχήν. δεῖ γὰρ οὔτε λίαν ὑπολείπεσθαι ταῖς ἡλικίαις 3
Marriage.

τὰ τέκνα τῶν πατέρων (ἀνόνητος γὰρ τοῖς μὲν πρεσβυτέροις ἡ χάρις παρὰ τῶν τέκνων, ἡ δὲ παρὰ τῶν πατέρων βοήθεια 1335
τοῖς τέκνοις), οὔτε λίαν πάρεγγυς εἶναι. πολλὴν γὰρ ἔχει δυσχέρειαν· ἥ τε γὰρ αἰδὼς ἧττον ὑπάρχει τοῖς τοιούτοις ὥσπερ ἡλικιώταις, καὶ περὶ τὴν οἰκονομίαν ἐγκληματικὸν τὸ πάρεγγυς. ἔτι δ', ὅθεν ἀρχόμενοι δεῦρο μετέβημεν, ὅπως 4
τὰ σώματα τῶν γεννωμένων ὑπάρχῃ πρὸς τὴν τοῦ νομοθέτου βούλησιν. σχεδὸν δὴ πάντα ταῦτα συμβαίνει κατὰ μίαν ἐπιμέλειαν. ἐπεὶ γὰρ ὥρισται τέλος τῆς γεννήσεως ὡς ἐπὶ 5
τὸ πλεῖστον εἰπεῖν ἀνδράσι μὲν ὁ τῶν ἑβδομήκοντα ἐτῶν ἀριθμὸς ἔσχατος, πεντήκοντα δὲ γυναιξίν, δεῖ τὴν ἀρχὴν τῆς συζεύξεως κατὰ τὴν ἡλικίαν εἰς τοὺς χρόνους καταβαίνειν τούτους. ἔστι δ' ὁ τῶν νέων συνδυασμὸς φαῦλος πρὸς 6
τεκνοποιίαν· ἐν γὰρ πᾶσι ζῴοις ἀτελῆ τὰ τῶν νέων ἔγγονα καὶ θηλυτόκα μᾶλλον καὶ μικρὰ τὴν μορφήν, ὥστ' ἀναγκαῖον ταὐτὸ τοῦτο συμβαίνειν καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν ἀνθρώπων. τεκμήριον δέ· ἐν ὅσαις γὰρ τῶν πόλεων ἐπιχωριάζεται τὸ νέους συζευγνύναι καὶ νέας, ἀτελεῖς καὶ μικροὶ τὰ σώματά εἰσιν. ἔτι δὲ ἐν τοῖς τόκοις αἱ νέαι πονοῦσί τε μᾶλλον 7
καὶ διαφθείρονται πλείους· διὸ καὶ τὸν χρησμὸν γενέσθαι τινές φασι διὰ τοιαύτην αἰτίαν τοῖς Τροιζηνίοις, ὡς πολλῶν διαφθειρομένων διὰ τὸ γαμίσκεσθαι τὰς νεωτέρας, ἀλλ' οὐ

διαδοχήν] 'the succession of the children.'

3 ἡ χάρις παρὰ τῶν τέκνων] 'The natural pleasures which children give.'

περὶ τὴν οἰκονομίαν] 'In the management of the family very great nearness in point of age gives a great opening for disputes.'

4 ὑπάρχῃ] 'may be ready for,' Ch. IV. III.

σχεδὸν δὴ] 'It is quite possible then to secure all these objects by one and the same care.'

5 ὥρισται] 'is limited.'

καταβαίνειν] 'to be regulated upon, to be made to adapt itself to.'

6 ἔγγονα] This is Bekker's reading, yet in § 16 it is ἔκγονα. "The fruit of the womb."

ὥστ' ἀναγκαῖον] He rests very confidently on the argument from other animals. The question is one which entirely concerns us as animals.

ἐπιχωριάζεται] 'it is a prevailing custom.'

7 τὸν χρησμόν] μὴ τέμνε νεὰν ἄλοκα. So St. Hilaire gives it in his note. Comp. Grote II. 510.

Marriage. πρὸς τὴν τῶν καρπῶν κομιδήν. ἔτι δὲ καὶ πρὸς σωφρο-
8 σύνην συμφέρει τὰς ἐκδόσεις ποιεῖσθαι πρεσβυτέραις· ἀκο-
λαστότεραι γὰρ εἶναι δοκοῦσι νέαι χρησάμεναι ταῖς συνου-
σίαις. καὶ τὰ τῶν ἀρρένων δὲ σώματα βλάπτεσθαι δοκεῖ
πρὸς τὴν αὔξησιν, ἐὰν ἔτι τοῦ σώματος αὐξανομένου
ποιῶνται τὴν συνουσίαν· καὶ γὰρ τούτου τις ὡρισμένος
9 χρόνος, ὃν οὐχ ὑπερβαίνει πληθύον ἔτι. διὸ τὰς μὲν
ἁρμόττει περὶ τὴν τῶν ὀκτωκαίδεκα ἐτῶν ἡλικίαν συζευγ-
νύναι, τοὺς δ' ἑπτὰ καὶ τριάκοντα, ἢ μικρόν· ἐν τοσούτῳ
γὰρ ἀκμάζουσί τε τοῖς σώμασι σύζευξις ἔσται, καὶ πρὸς
τὴν παῦλαν τῆς τεκνοποιίας συγκαταβήσεται τοῖς χρόνοις
10 εὐκαίρως. ἔτι δὲ ἡ διαδοχὴ τῶν τέκνων τοῖς μὲν ἀρχομένης
ἔσται τῆς ἀκμῆς, ἐὰν γίγνηται κατὰ λόγον εὐθὺς ἡ γένεσις,
τοῖς δὲ ἤδη καταλελυμένης τῆς ἡλικίας πρὸς τὸν τῶν ἑβδο-
μήκοντα ἐτῶν ἀριθμόν. Περὶ μὲν οὖν τοῦ πότε δεῖ ποιεῖ-
σθαι τὴν σύζευξιν, εἴρηται, τοῖς δὲ περὶ τὴν ὥραν χρόνοις
ὡς οἱ πολλοὶ χρῶνται καλῶς καὶ νῦν, ὁρίσαντες χειμῶνος
11 τὴν συναυλίαν ποιεῖσθαι ταύτην. δεῖ δὴ καὶ αὐτοὺς ἤδη
θεωρεῖν πρὸς τὴν τεκνοποιίαν τά τε παρὰ τῶν ἰατρῶν λε-
γόμενα καὶ τὰ παρὰ τῶν φυσικῶν· οἵ τε γὰρ ἰατροὶ τοὺς
1335 B. καιροὺς τῶν σωμάτων ἱκανῶς λέγουσι, καὶ περὶ τῶν πνευ-
μάτων οἱ φυσικοί, τὰ βόρεια τῶν νοτίων ἐπαινοῦντες μᾶλ-

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8 τὰς ἐκδόσεις ποιεῖσθαι] Plato *de Legg.* 924, D. τὴν ἔκδοσιν ποιῆται.

βλάπτεσθαι πρὸς τὴν αὔξησιν] 'injured for growth.'

τούτου] sc. τοῦ αὐξάνεσθαι.

ὃν οὐχ, κ.τ.λ.] 'beyond which the body does not continue to grow.'

9 Plato *de Rep.* v. 460, E, names 20 as the woman's prime, 30 as the man's.

ἑπτά] Spengel wishes to read πέντε, p. 9, note 11. The reason is that 35 is 7 × 5. But if Aristotle married himself at 37 (and it could not have been earlier), it might account for this slight deviation. In any case, the interval is greater than quite accords with the prevalent notions in our own time. Even Plato's interval would be thought too great by many.

10 τοῖς μέν] sc. τοῖς τέκνοις.

ἀρχομένης τῆς ἀκμῆς] 'at the beginning of their prime,' æt. 30.

τοῖς δέ] τοῖς γονεῦσι, 'when their age is now already in its decline,' "stricken in years."

συναυλίαν] An odd use of the word, though the connection of this meaning with its commoner one of 'duet,' 'concert,' may be traced easily.

11 These minute regulations point to the much greater attention paid to the sound bodily condition by the Greeks than by modern nations.

λον. Ποίων δέ τινων τῶν σωμάτων ὑπαρχόντων μάλιστα Marriage.
ὄφελος εἴη τοῖς γεννωμένοις, ἐπιστήσασι μὲν μᾶλλον λεκτέον 12
ἐν τοῖς περὶ τῆς παιδονομίας, τύπῳ δὲ ἱκανὸν εἰπεῖν καὶ νῦν. οὔτε γὰρ ἡ τῶν ἀθλητῶν χρήσιμος ἕξις πρὸς πολιτικὴν εὐεξίαν οὐδὲ πρὸς ὑγίειαν καὶ τεκνοποιίαν, οὔτε ἡ θεραπευτικὴ καὶ κακοπονητικὴ λίαν, ἀλλ' ἡ μέση τούτων. πεπονη- 13
μένην μὲν οὖν ἔχειν δεῖ τὴν ἕξιν, πεπονημένην δὲ πόνοις μὴ βιαίοις, μηδὲ πρὸς ἕνα μόνον, ὥσπερ ἡ τῶν ἀθλητῶν ἕξις, ἀλλὰ πρὸς τὰς τῶν ἐλευθερίων πράξεις. ὁμοίως δὲ δεῖ ταῦτα ὑπάρχειν ἀνδράσι καὶ γυναιξίν. χρὴ δὲ καὶ τὰς ἐγ- 14
κύους ἐπιμελεῖσθαι τῶν σωμάτων, μὴ ῥαθυμούσας μηδ' ἀραιᾷ τροφῇ χρωμένας. τοῦτο δὲ ῥᾴδιον τῷ νομοθέτῃ ποιῆσαι προστάξαντι καθ' ἡμέραν τινὰ ποιεῖσθαι πορείαν πρὸς θεῶν ἀποθεραπείαν τῶν εἰληχότων τὴν περὶ τῆς γενέσεως τιμήν. τὴν μέντοι διάνοιαν τοὐναντίον τῶν σωμάτων ῥαθυμοτέρως ἁρμόττει διάγειν· ἀπολαύοντα γὰρ φαίνεται τὰ γενόμενα τῆς ἐχούσης ὥσπερ καὶ τὰ φυόμενα τῆς γῆς.
Περὶ δὲ ἀποθέσεως καὶ τροφῆς τῶν γιγνομένων, ἔστω 15
νόμος μηδὲν πεπηρωμένον τρέφειν, διὰ δὲ πλῆθος τέκνων, ἐὰν ἡ τάξις τῶν ἐθῶν κωλύῃ, μηδὲν ἀποτίθεσθαι τῶν γιγνομένων· ὥρισται γὰρ δὴ τῆς τεκνοποιίας τὸ πλῆθος. ἐὰν δέ

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12 ὄφελος εἴη] ἂν is required.

ἐπιστήσασι] *Eth.* VI. 13. 8, p. 1144, 22, λεκτέον δ' ἐπιστήσασι σαφέστερον περὶ αὐτῶν, 'we must concentrate more attention on the subject.'

εὐεξίαν πολιτικὴν] 'in good state of body, such as the citizen requires it.'

θεραπευτικὴ] 'requiring constant attention, and always suffering,' the invalid state.

13 πεπονημένην] 'strong by exertion.'

πρὸς ἕνα] sc. πόνον.

ἐλευθερίων] We should have expected ἐλευθέρων.

14 ἀραιᾷ] 'scanty food.

καθ' ἡμέραν, κ.τ.λ.] 'daily to take a certain walk in discharge of the service due to the gods whose province it is to preside over birth.'

ἀποθεραπείαν] "a regular service," L. & S. I prefer the meaning given above. "Zur Vollziehung einer Gottesverehrung," Stahr.

ἀπολαύοντα] 'affected by.'

15 διὰ πλῆθος δὲ τέκνων] 'But not on account of the number of children, supposing that the arrangements of the social state forbid beyond a certain number, must it be allowed to abandon any child born.'

ὥρισται γάρ] This is in explanation of κωλύῃ. 'For in our own state there is fixed a limit to the production of children.' For the matter in ques-

Marriage. τισι γίγνηται παρὰ ταῦτα συνδυασθέντων, πρὶν αἴσθησιν ἐγγενέσθαι καὶ ζωήν, ἐμποιεῖσθαι δεῖ τὴν ἄμβλωσιν· τὸ γὰρ ὅσιον καὶ τὸ μὴ διωρισμένον τῇ αἰσθήσει καὶ τῷ ζῆν ἔσται.

16 Ἐπεὶ δ' ἡ μὲν ἀρχὴ τῆς ἡλικίας ἀνδρὶ καὶ γυναικὶ διώρισται, πότε ἄρχεσθαι χρὴ τῆς συζεύξεως, καὶ πόσον χρόνον λειτουργεῖν ἁρμόττει πρὸς τεκνοποιίαν ὡρίσθω· τὰ γὰρ τῶν πρεσβυτέρων ἔκγονα, καθάπερ τὰ τῶν νεωτέρων, ἀτελῆ γίνεται καὶ τοῖς σώμασι καὶ ταῖς διανοίαις, τὰ δὲ τῶν γεγη-
17 ρακότων ἀσθενῆ. διὸ κατὰ τὴν τῆς διανοίας ἀκμήν· αὕτη δ' ἐστὶν ἐν τοῖς πλείστοις ἥνπερ τῶν ποιητῶν τινὲς εἰρήκασιν οἱ μετροῦντες ταῖς ἑβδομάσι τὴν ἡλικίαν, περὶ τὸν χρόνον τὸν τῶν πεντήκοντα ἐτῶν. ὥστε τέτταρσιν ἢ πέντε ἔτεσιν ὑπερβάλλοντα τὴν ἡλικίαν ταύτην ἀφεῖσθαι δεῖ τῆς εἰς τὸ φανερὸν γεννήσεως· τὸ δὲ λοιπὸν ὑγιείας χάριν ἤ τινος ἄλλης τοιαύτης αἰτίας φαίνεσθαι δεῖ ποιουμένους τὴν
18 ὁμιλίαν. περὶ δὲ τῆς πρὸς ἄλλην ἢ πρὸς ἄλλον, ἔστω μὲν ἁπλῶς μὴ καλὸν ἁπτόμενον φαίνεσθαι μηδαμῇ μηδαμῶς, ὅταν ᾖ καὶ προσαγορευθῇ πόσις, περὶ δὲ τὸν χρόνον τὸν τῆς τεκνοποιίας ἐάν τις φαίνηται τοιοῦτόν τι δρῶν, ἀτιμίᾳ
1336 ζημιούσθω πρεπούσῃ πρὸς τὴν ἁμαρτίαν.

Early education. Γενομένων δὲ τῶν τέκνων οἴεσθαι μεγάλην εἶναι διαφορὰν
17 πρὸς τὴν τῶν σωμάτων δύναμιν τὴν τροφήν, ὁποία τις ἂν ᾖ. φαίνεται δὲ διά τε τῶν ἄλλων ζῴων ἐπισκοποῦσι, καὶ διὰ τῶν ἐθνῶν οἷς ἐπιμελές ἐστιν εἰσάγειν τὴν πολεμικὴν ἕξιν, ἡ τοῦ γάλακτος πληθύουσα τροφὴ μάλιστ' οἰκεία
2 τοῖς σώμασιν· ἀοινοτέρα δὲ διὰ τὰ νοσήματα. ἔτι δὲ καὶ κινήσεις ὅσας ἐνδέχεται ποιεῖσθαι τηλικούτων συμφέρει. πρὸς δὲ τὸ μὴ διαστρέφεσθαι τὰ μέλη δι' ἁπαλότητα χρῶνται καὶ νῦν ἔνια τῶν ἐθνῶν ὀργάνοις τισὶ μηχανικοῖς, ἃ

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tion compare Plato, *De Rep*. v. 460, c. who agrees with Aristotle.

17 τὸν χρόνον τὸν τῶν πεντήκοντα] Compare *Rhet*. ii. 14, p. 1390, b. 11, where forty-nine is the age fixed on. 7 × 7.

18 περὶ δὲ τῆς] sc. ὁμιλίας.

XVII. 1 οἴεσθαι] sc. δεῖ.

οἷς ἐπιμελές] 'to whom it is a great object.'

ἀοινοτέρα] 'the less wine the better,' a precept far too much neglected at present.

2 τηλικούτων] 'when quite young.'

Early education.

τὸ σῶμα ποιεῖ τῶν τοιούτων ἀστραβές. συμφέρει δ' εὐθὺς καὶ πρὸς τὰ ψύχη συνεθίζειν ἐκ μικρῶν παίδων· τοῦτο γὰρ καὶ πρὸς ὑγίειαν καὶ πρὸς πολεμικὰς πράξεις εὐχρηστότατον. διὸ παρὰ πολλοῖς ἐστὶ τῶν βαρβάρων ἔθος τοῖς 3
μὲν εἰς ποταμὸν ἀποβάπτειν τὰ γιγνόμενα ψυχρόν, τοῖς δὲ σκέπασμα μικρὸν ἀμπίσχειν, οἷον Κελτοῖς. πάντα γὰρ ὅσα δυνατὸν ἐθίζειν, εὐθὺς ἀρχομένων[a] βέλτιον μὲν ἐθίζειν, ἐκ προσαγωγῆς δ' ἐθίζειν. εὐφυὴς δ' ἡ τῶν παίδων ἕξις διὰ θερμότητα πρὸς τὴν τῶν ψυχρῶν ἄσκησιν. περὶ μὲν 4
οὖν τὴν πρώτην συμφέρει ποιεῖσθαι τὴν ἐπιμέλειαν τοιαύτην τε καὶ τὴν ταύτῃ παραπλησίαν· τὴν δ' ἐχομένην ταύτης ἡλικίαν μέχρι πέντε ἐτῶν, ἣν οὔτε πω πρὸς μάθησιν καλῶς ἔχει προσάγειν οὐδεμίαν οὔτε πρὸς ἀναγκαίους πόνους, ὅπως μὴ τὴν αὔξησιν ἐμποδίζωσιν, δεῖ τοσαύτης τυγχάνειν κινήσεως ὥστε διαφεύγειν τὴν ἀργίαν τῶν σωμάτων· ἣν χρὴ παρασκευάζειν καὶ δι' ἄλλων πράξεων καὶ διὰ τῆς παιδιᾶς. δεῖ δὲ καὶ τὰς παιδιὰς εἶναι μήτε ἀνελευθέρους μήτε ἐπι- 5
πόνους μήτε ἀνειμένας. καὶ περὶ λόγων δὲ καὶ μύθων, ποίους τινὰς ἀκούειν δεῖ τοὺς τηλικούτους, ἐπιμελὲς ἔστω τοῖς ἄρχουσιν οὓς καλοῦσι παιδονόμους. πάντα γὰρ δεῖ τὰ τοιαῦτα προοδοποιεῖν πρὸς τὰς ὕστερον διατριβάς. διὸ τὰς παιδιὰς εἶναι δεῖ τὰς πολλὰς μιμήσεις τῶν ὕστερον σπουδαζομένων. τὰς δὲ διατάσεις τῶν παίδων καὶ κλαυθ- 6
μοὺς οὐκ ὀρθῶς ἀπαγορεύουσιν οἱ κωλύοντες ἐν τοῖς νόμοις· συμφέρουσι γὰρ πρὸς αὔξησιν. γίνεται γὰρ τρόπον τινὰ γυμνασία τοῖς σώμασιν· ἡ γὰρ τοῦ πνεύματος κάθεξις ποιεῖ τὴν ἰσχὺν τοῖς πονοῦσιν, ὃ συμβαίνει καὶ τοῖς παιδίοις

[a] ἀρχομένῳ Bekker.

3 ἀρχομένων] Stahr adopts this reading, and it seems an improvement on Bekker's ἀρχομένῳ.

εὐφυής] 'is naturally adapted for this training.'

4 τὴν πρώτην] sc. ἡλικίαν.

ἀναγκαίους] 'compulsory.'

τὴν ἀργίαν τῶν σωμάτων] 'a lazy habit of body.'

ἣν] sc. κίνησιν.

5 ἀνειμένας] 'uncontrolled.'

προοδοποιεῖν] 'prepare the way for,' II. IX. 11.

6 διατάσεις] 'stretchings,' 'exertions.'

ἐν τοῖς νόμοις] *de Legg.* VII. 792.

Is the education to be the same for all the citizens?

μεθέξουσι, δεῖ σκέψασθαι τὸν νομοθέτην. εἴρηται δὲ πρό-
τερον περὶ αὐτοῦ. ἡ γὰρ φύσις δέδωκε τὴν αἵρεσιν, ποιή-
σασα αὐτῷ τῷ γένει ταὐτὸν τὸ μὲν νεώτερον τὸ δὲ πρεσβύ-
5 τερον, ὧν τοῖς μὲν ἄρχεσθαι πρέπει, τοῖς δ' ἄρχειν. ἀγαν-
ακτεῖ δὲ οὐδεὶς καθ' ἡλικίαν ἀρχόμενος, οὐδὲ νομίζει εἶναι
κρείττων, ἄλλως τε καὶ μέλλων ἀντιλαμβάνειν τοῦτον τὸν
6 ἔρανον, ὅταν τύχῃ τῆς ἱκνουμένης ἡλικίας. ἔστι μὲν ἄρα
ὡς τοὺς αὐτοὺς ἄρχειν καὶ ἄρχεσθαι φατέον, ἔστι δὲ ὡς ἑτέ-
1333 ρους. ὥστε καὶ τὴν παιδείαν ἔστιν ὡς τὴν αὐτὴν ἀναγκαῖον,
ἔστι δ' ὡς ἑτέραν εἶναι. τόν τε γὰρ μέλλοντα καλῶς ἄρχειν
ἀρχθῆναί φασι δεῖν πρῶτον. ἔστι δ' ἀρχή, καθάπερ ἐν
τοῖς πρώτοις εἴρηται λόγοις, ἡ μὲν τοῦ ἄρχοντος χάριν, ἡ
7 δὲ τοῦ ἀρχομένου. τούτων δὲ τὴν μὲν δεσποτικὴν εἶναί
φαμεν, τὴν δὲ τῶν ἐλευθέρων. διαφέρει δ' ἔνια τῶν ἐπι-
ταττομένων οὐ τοῖς ἔργοις ἀλλὰ τῷ τίνος ἕνεκα. διὸ πολλὰ
τῶν εἶναι δοκούντων διακονικῶν ἔργων καὶ τῶν νέων τοῖς
ἐλευθέροις καλὸν διακονεῖν· πρὸς γὰρ τὸ καλὸν καὶ τὸ μὴ
καλὸν οὐχ οὕτω διαφέρουσιν αἱ πράξεις καθ' αὑτὰς ὡς ἐν τῷ
8 τέλει καὶ τῷ τίνος ἕνεκεν. ἐπεὶ δὲ πολίτου καὶ ἄρχοντος
τὴν αὐτὴν ἀρετὴν εἶναί φαμεν καὶ τοῦ ἀρίστου ἀνδρός, τὸν
δ' αὐτὸν ἀρχόμενόν τε δεῖν γίγνεσθαι πρότερον καὶ ἄρ-
χοντα ὕστερον, τοῦτ' ἂν εἴη τῷ νομοθέτῃ πραγματευτέον,
ὅπως ἄνδρες ἀγαθοὶ γίγνονται,[a] καὶ διὰ τίνων ἐπιτηδευ-
9 μάτων, καὶ τί τὸ τέλος τῆς ἀρίστης ζωῆς. διῄρηται δὲ δύο

The objects of education.

[a] γίγνωνται Bekker.

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5 αὐτῷ τῷ γένει ταὐτόν] 'that which is in kind the same.'

καθ' ἡλικίαν] 'on the ground of age.'

ἀντιλαμβάνειν] 'to have this privilege in his turn, when he shall have reached the proper age.' ἔρανον is used in a very general sense.

7 οὐ τοῖς ἔργοις, κ.τ.λ.] 'not in what is done, but in the object for which it is done.'

καὶ τῶν νέων, κ.τ.λ.] 'even to the young freeman.'

ἐν τῷ τέλει] ὁρίζεται τῷ τέλει γὰρ ἕκαστον, *Eth.* III. 10, 6, p. 1115, 6, 22.

8 ἐπεὶ δέ, κ.τ.λ.] This is discussed at considerable length in III. IV. πολίτου καὶ ἄρχοντος must, in accordance with that chapter, be taken very closely together. 'The virtue of the citizen, if that citizen be also a ruler, and that of the best man, are identical.' πολίτου καὶ ἄρχοντος answers to the τινος πολίτου of III. IV. 9.

ὅπως γίγνονται] I adopt this reading in preference to Bekker's 'how good citizens are formed,' with an interrogative sense, that is, and not a final one.

9 διῄρηται] *Eth.* I. xiii. p. 1102; VI. ii. p. 1139 A.

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μέρη τῆς ψυχῆς, ὧν τὸ μὲν ἔχει λόγον καθ' αὑτό, τὸ δ' οὐκ ἔχει μὲν καθ' αὑτό, λόγῳ δ' ὑπακούειν δυνάμενον· ὧν φαμὲν τὰς ἀρετὰς εἶναι καθ' ἃς ἀνὴρ ἀγαθὸς λέγεταί πως. τούτων δ' ἐν ποτέρῳ μᾶλλον τὸ τέλος, τοῖς μὲν οὕτω διαιροῦσιν ὡς ἡμεῖς φαμὲν οὐκ ἄδηλον πῶς λεκτέον. αἰεὶ γὰρ τὸ χεῖ- 10
ρον τοῦ βελτίονός ἐστιν ἕνεκεν, καὶ τοῦτο φανερὸν ὁμοίως ἔν τε τοῖς κατὰ τέχνην καὶ τοῖς κατὰ φύσιν, βέλτιον δὲ τὸ λόγον ἔχον· διῄρηταί τε διχῇ, καθ' ὅνπερ εἰώθαμεν τρόπον διαιρεῖν· ὁ μὲν γὰρ πρακτικός ἐστι λόγος ὁ δὲ θεωρητικός· ὡσαύτως οὖν ἀνάγκη διῃρῆσθαι καὶ τοῦτο τὸ μέρος δῆλον 11
ὅτι, καὶ τὰς πράξεις δ' ἀνάλογον ἐροῦμεν ἔχειν, καὶ δεῖ τὰς τοῦ φύσει βελτίονος αἱρετωτέρας εἶναι τοῖς δυναμένοις τυγχάνειν ἢ πασῶν ἢ τοῖν δυοῖν· αἰεὶ γὰρ ἑκάστῳ τοῦθ' αἱρετώτατον, οὗ τυχεῖν ἔστιν ἀκροτάτου. διῄρηται δὲ καὶ πᾶς 12
ὁ βίος εἰς ἀσχολίαν καὶ εἰς σχολὴν καὶ πόλεμον καὶ εἰρήνην, καὶ τῶν πρακτῶν τὰ μὲν εἰς τὰ ἀναγκαῖα καὶ χρήσιμα τὰ δὲ εἰς τὰ καλά. περὶ ὧν ἀνάγκη τὴν αὐτὴν αἵρεσιν εἶναι καὶ 13
τοῖς τῆς ψυχῆς μέρεσι καὶ ταῖς πράξεσιν αὐτῶν, πόλεμον μὲν εἰρήνης χάριν, ἀσχολίαν δὲ σχολῆς, τὰ δ' ἀναγκαῖα καὶ χρήσιμα τῶν καλῶν ἕνεκεν. πρὸς πάντα μὲν τοίνυν τῷ πολιτικῷ βλέποντι νομοθετητέον, καὶ κατὰ τὰ μέρη τῆς ψυχῆς καὶ κατὰ τὰς πράξεις αὐτῶν, μᾶλλον δὲ πρὸς τὰ βελτίω καὶ τὰ τέλη. τὸν αὐτὸν δὲ τρόπον καὶ περὶ τοὺς 14
βίους καὶ τὰς τῶν πραγμάτων διαιρέσεις· δεῖ μὲν γὰρ ἀσχο-

δυνάμενον] should be δύναται. There is a similar inaccuracy in I. v. 9.

10 διῄρηται] sc. ὁ λόγος. 'The reason,' not 'the rational part,' τὸ λόγον ἔχον.

11 ὡσαύτως] 'To correspond with this division then must the part evidently be divided, and the actions of either division will admit of a corresponding division again.'

ἢ πασῶν ἢ τοῖν δυοῖν] Is the meaning: 'The actions of the higher part are more to be chosen by those who have it in their power to do so, than the actions of all the parts of our nature, or of the two parts concerned in moral action,' the συνθετόν of *Eth.* x. 7, 8, p. 1177, b. 28? Does he mean that we ought, if we can, exclusively to cultivate the highest part, to the entire exclusion, that is, of the lower? It is very difficult; yet this would give a sense.

12 καὶ πᾶς] 'a further division is that of all life, &c.'

καὶ τῶν πρακτῶν] carelessly stated. τὰ πρακτά, τὰ μὲν ἀναγκαῖα καὶ χρήσιμα, τὰ δὲ καλά.

13 αἵρεσιν] equivalent to διαίρεσιν.

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λεῖν δύνασθαι καὶ πολεμεῖν, μᾶλλον δ' εἰρήνην ἄγειν καὶ σχολάζειν· καὶ τἀναγκαῖα καὶ τὰ χρήσιμα δὲ πράττειν, τὰ δὲ καλὰ δεῖ μᾶλλον. ὥστε πρὸς τούτους τοὺς σκοποὺς καὶ
1333 b παῖδας ἔτι ὄντας παιδευτέον καὶ τὰς ἄλλας ἡλικίας, ὅσαι
15 δέονται παιδείας. οἱ δὲ νῦν ἄριστα δοκοῦντες πολιτεύεσθαι τῶν Ἑλλήνων, καὶ τῶν νομοθετῶν οἱ ταύτας καταστήσαντες τὰς πολιτείας, οὔτε πρὸς τὸ βέλτιον τέλος φαίνονται συντάξαντες τὰ περὶ τὰς πολιτείας οὔτε πρὸς πάσας τὰς ἀρετὰς τοὺς νόμους καὶ τὴν παιδείαν, ἀλλὰ φορτικῶς ἀπέκλιναν πρὸς τὰς χρησίμους εἶναι δοκούσας καὶ πλεονεκτικωτέρας.
16 παραπλησίως δὲ τούτοις καὶ τῶν ὕστερόν τινες γραψάντων ἀπεφήναντο τὴν αὐτὴν δόξαν· ἐπαινοῦντες γὰρ τὴν Λακεδαιμονίων πολιτείαν ἄγανται τοῦ νομοθέτου τὸν σκοπόν, ὅτι πάντα πρὸς τὸ κρατεῖν καὶ πρὸς πόλεμον ἐνομοθέτησεν· ἃ καὶ κατὰ τὸν λόγον ἐστὶν εὐέλεγκτα καὶ τοῖς ἔργοις ἐξε-
17 λήλεγκται νῦν. ὥσπερ γὰρ οἱ πλεῖστοι τῶν ἀνθρώπων ζητοῦσι τὸ[a] πολλῶν δεσπόζειν, ὅτι πολλὴ χορηγία γίγνεται τῶν εὐτυχημάτων, οὕτω καὶ Θίβρων ἀγάμενος φαίνεται τὸν τῶν Λακώνων νομοθέτην, καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ἕκαστος τῶν γραφόντων περὶ πολιτείας αὐτῶν, ὅτι διὰ τὸ γεγυμνάσθαι
18 πρὸς τοὺς κινδύνους πολλῶν ἦρχον. καίτοι δῆλον ὡς ἐπειδὴ νῦν γε οὐκέτι ὑπάρχει τοῖς Λάκωσι τὸ ἄρχειν, οὐκ εὐδαίμονες, οὐδ' ὁ νομοθέτης ἀγαθός. ἔστι[b] δὲ τοῦτο γελοῖον, εἰ μένοντες ἐν τοῖς νόμοις αὐτοῦ, καὶ μηδενὸς ἐμποδίζοντος πρὸς τὸ χρῆσθαι τοῖς νόμοις, ἀποβεβλήκασι τὸ ζῆν καλῶς.
19 οὐκ ὀρθῶς δ' ὑπολαμβάνουσιν οὐδὲ περὶ τῆς ἀρχῆς ἣν

[a] τῶν Bekker. [b] ἔτι Bekker.

15 φορτικῶς] 'assez peu noblement,' St. Hil. 'in a low and vulgar spirit.'

πλεονεκτικωτέρας] 'the more grasping.'

16 ἐξελήλεγκται] 'have been thoroughly convicted now by experience.'

17 τῶν πολλῶν] I incline to the reading of one MS., τὸ πολλῶν.

πολλὴ χορηγία] 'a large supply of the goods of fortune.'

Θίβρων] unknown.

18 ἔστι δέ] seems a better reading than ἔτι. There is no new argument advanced.

μένοντες, κ.τ.λ.] 'though they remain constant to his laws, and though there is no hindrance to their obeying them.'

19 I, 5, 2. ἀεὶ βελτίων ἡ ἀρχὴ τῶν βελτιόνων.

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δεῖ τιμῶντα φαίνεσθαι τὸν νομοθέτην· τοῦ γὰρ δεσποτικῶς ἄρχειν ἡ τῶν ἐλευθέρων ἀρχὴ καλλίων καὶ μᾶλλον μετ' ἀρετῆς. ἔτι δ' οὐ διὰ τοῦτο δεῖ τὴν πόλιν εὐδαίμονα νομίζειν καὶ τὸν νομοθέτην ἐπαινεῖν, ὅτι καρτερεῖν[a] ἤσκησεν ἐπὶ τὸ τῶν πέλας ἄρχειν· ταῦτα γὰρ μεγάλην ἔχει βλάβην.
20 δῆλον γὰρ ὅτι καὶ τῶν πολιτῶν τῷ δυναμένῳ τοῦτο πειρατέον διώκειν, ὅπως δύνηται τῆς οἰκείας πόλεως ἄρχειν· ὅπερ ἐγκαλοῦσιν οἱ Λάκωνες Παυσανίᾳ τῷ βασιλεῖ, καίπερ ἔχοντι τηλικαύτην τιμήν. οὔτε δὴ πολιτικὸς τῶν τοιούτων λόγων καὶ νόμων οὐθεὶς οὔτε ὠφέλιμος οὔτε ἀληθής ἐστιν.
21 ταὐτὰ γὰρ ἄριστα καὶ ἰδίᾳ καὶ κοινῇ τὸν νομοθέτην ἐμποιεῖν δεῖ ταῦτα ταῖς ψυχαῖς τῶν ἀνθρώπων.

War.

τήν τε τῶν πολεμικῶν ἄσκησιν οὐ τούτου χάριν δεῖ μελετᾶν, ἵνα καταδουλώσωνται τοὺς ἀναξίους, ἀλλ' ἵνα πρῶτον μὲν αὐτοὶ μὴ δουλεύσωσιν ἑτέροις, ἔπειτα ὅπως ζητῶσι τὴν ἡγεμονίαν τῆς ὠφελείας ἕνεκα τῶν ἀρχομένων, ἀλλὰ μὴ πάντων δε- 1334
σποτείας· τρίτον δὲ τὸ δεσπόζειν τῶν ἀξίων δουλεύειν.
22 ὅτι δὲ δεῖ τὸν νομοθέτην μᾶλλον σπουδάζειν ὅπως καὶ τὴν περὶ τὰ πολεμικὰ καὶ τὴν ἄλλην νομοθεσίαν τοῦ σχολάζειν ἕνεκεν τάξῃ καὶ τῆς εἰρήνης, μαρτυρεῖ τὰ γιγνόμενα τοῖς λόγοις· αἱ γὰρ πλεῖσται τῶν τοιούτων πόλεων πολεμοῦσαι μὲν σώζονται, κατακτησάμεναι δὲ τὴν ἀρχὴν ἀπόλλυνται. τὴν γὰρ

[a] κρατεῖν Bekker.

καρτερεῖν] I read, instead of κρατεῖν, which Reiske saw the difficulty of, and wished to leave it out. καρτερεῖν agrees well with II. ix. 6. βουλόμενος τὴν πόλιν εἶναι καρτερικήν, whereas κρατεῖν jars with ἄρχειν. 'He trained them to endurance, with a view to their getting sway over their neighbours.'

20 δῆλον γάρ] 'For it is clear that if this end is a right one, it will hold good for the individual citizen.'

ὅπερ ἐγκαλοῦσιν] 'The very thing which the Lacedæmonians blame in Pausanias.' He was not king, but regent; but, as Mr Grote says, with "all the power of a Spartan king, and seemingly more," Vol. v. 362, note 2.

πολιτικός] 'consistent with a free constitution.'

21 ταὐτά] is superfluous, or καὶ should be inserted after κοινῇ.

War, to be justifiable, must be either defensive, or with beneficial purposes, such as it answered in the ancient civilization; or, thirdly, to carry out the intentions of nature, I. viii. 12. ἡ πολεμικὴ φύσει κτητική πως ἔσται, κ.τ.λ.

22 κατακτησάμεναι] Comp. II. ix. 34. Grote, II. 550.

The objects of education. βαφὴν ἀφιᾶσιν, ὥσπερ ὁ σίδηρος, εἰρήνην ἄγοντες. αἴτιος δ᾽ ὁ νομοθέτης οὐ παιδεύσας δύνασθαι σχολάζειν.

15 The true end of life. Ἐπεὶ δὲ τὸ αὐτὸ τέλος εἶναι φαίνεται καὶ κοινῇ καὶ ἰδίᾳ τοῖς ἀνθρώποις, καὶ τὸν αὐτὸν ὅρον ἀναγκαῖον εἶναι τῷ τε ἀρίστῳ ἀνδρὶ καὶ τῇ ἀρίστῃ πολιτείᾳ, φανερὸν ὅτι δεῖ τὰς εἰς τὴν σχολὴν ἀρετὰς ὑπάρχειν· τέλος γάρ, ὥσπερ εἴρηται
2 πολλάκις, εἰρήνη μὲν πολέμου, σχολὴ δ᾽ ἀσχολίας. χρήσιμοι δὲ τῶν ἀρετῶν εἰσὶ πρὸς τὴν σχολὴν καὶ διαγωγήν, ὧν τε ἐν τῇ σχολῇ τὸ ἔργον καὶ ὧν ἐν τῇ ἀσχολίᾳ. δεῖ γὰρ πολλὰ τῶν ἀναγκαίων ὑπάρχειν, ὅπως ἐξῇ σχολάζειν. διὸ σώφρονα τὴν πόλιν εἶναι προσήκει καὶ ἀνδρείαν καὶ καρτερικήν· κατὰ γὰρ τὴν παροιμίαν, οὐ σχολὴ δούλοις, οἱ δὲ μὴ δυνάμενοι κινδυνεύειν ἀνδρείως δοῦλοι τῶν ἐπιόντων
3 εἰσίν. ἀνδρίας μὲν οὖν καὶ καρτερίας δεῖ πρὸς τὴν ἀσχολίαν, φιλοσοφίας δὲ πρὸς τὴν σχολήν, σωφροσύνης δὲ καὶ δικαιοσύνης ἐν ἀμφοτέροις τοῖς χρόνοις, καὶ μᾶλλον εἰρήνην ἄγουσι καὶ σχολάζουσιν· ὁ μὲν γὰρ πόλεμος ἀναγκάζει δικαίους εἶναι καὶ σωφρονεῖν, ἡ δὲ τῆς εὐτυχίας ἀπόλαυσις
4 καὶ τὸ σχολάζειν μετ᾽ εἰρήνης ὑβριστὰς ποιεῖ μᾶλλον. πολλῆς οὖν δεῖ δικαιοσύνης καὶ πολλῆς σωφροσύνης τοὺς ἄριστα δοκοῦντας πράττειν καὶ πάντων τῶν μακαριζομένων ἀπολαύοντας, οἷον εἴ τινές εἰσιν, ὥσπερ οἱ ποιηταί φασιν, ἐν μακάρων νήσοις· μάλιστα γὰρ οὗτοι δεήσονται φιλοσοφίας καὶ σωφροσύνης καὶ δικαιοσύνης, ὅσῳ μᾶλλον σχολάζουσιν
5 ἐν ἀφθονίᾳ τῶν τοιούτων ἀγαθῶν. διότι μὲν οὖν τὴν μέλλουσαν εὐδαιμονήσειν καὶ σπουδαίαν ἔσεσθαι πόλιν τούτων

βαφὴν] ‘They lose their temper.’

οὐ παιδεύσας] ‘because he never trained them.’

XV. 1 τὸν αὐτὸν ὅρον] ‘The same characteristics.’

ὑπάρχειν] sc. τῇ πόλει.

2 ‘None of the virtues are useless. Some may be more especially ... the active life; others, those ...mplative, but all are needed. For, to enjoy leisure, you must secure certain requisites.’

3 φιλοσοφίας] ‘intellectual cultivation.’ The σοφία of Aristotle, φρόνησις of Plato; both are included under the term.

4 πάντων τῶν μακαριζομένων] ‘all things that in the judgment of men are the constituents of happiness.’

5 διότι, κ.τ.λ.] This and the next section, as far as ἀρετῆς, are paren-

δεῖ τῶν ἀρετῶν μετέχειν, φανερόν. αἰσχροῦ γὰρ ὄντος μὴ δύνασθαι χρῆσθαι τοῖς ἀγαθοῖς, ἔτι μᾶλλον μὴ δύνασθαι ἐν τῷ σχολάζειν χρῆσθαι, ἀλλ' ἀσχολοῦντας μὲν καὶ πολεμοῦντας φαίνεσθαι ἀγαθούς, εἰρήνην δ' ἄγοντας καὶ σχολάζοντας ἀνδραποδώδεις. διὸ δεῖ μὴ καθάπερ ἡ Λακεδαιμονίων πόλις 6
τὴν ἀρετὴν ἀσκεῖν. ἐκεῖνοι μὲν γὰρ οὐ ταύτῃ διαφέρουσι
τῶν ἄλλων, τῷ μὴ νομίζειν ταὐτὰ τοῖς ἄλλοις μέγιστα τῶν 1334 B
ἀγαθῶν, ἀλλὰ τῷ γενέσθαι ταῦτα μᾶλλον διά τινος ἀρετῆς. Ἐπεὶ δὲ μείζω τε ἀγαθὰ ταῦτα, καὶ τὴν ἀπόλαυσιν τὴν τούτων ἢ τὴν τῶν ἀρετῶν, καὶ ὅτι δι' αὑτήν, φανερὸν ἐκ τούτων, πῶς δὲ καὶ διὰ τίνων ἔσται, τοῦτο δὴ θεωρητέον. τυγχάνομεν δὴ διῃρημένοι πρότερον ὅτι φύσεως καὶ ἔθους 7
καὶ λόγου δεῖ. τούτων δὲ ποίους μέν τινας εἶναι χρὴ τὴν φύσιν, διώρισται πρότερον, λοιπὸν δὲ θεωρῆσαι πότερον παιδευτέοι τῷ λόγῳ πρότερον ἢ τοῖς ἔθεσιν. ταῦτα γὰρ δεῖ πρὸς ἄλληλα συμφωνεῖν συμφωνίαν τὴν ἀρίστην· ἐνδέχεται γὰρ διημαρτηκέναι καὶ τὸν λόγον τῆς βελτίστης ὑποθέσεως, καὶ διὰ τῶν ἐθῶν ὁμοίως ἦχθαι. Φανερὸν δὴ τοῦτό 8
γε πρῶτον μέν, καθάπερ ἐν τοῖς ἄλλοις, ὡς ἡ γένεσις ἀπ'

The true end of education.

The order to be observed in education.

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thetical. διότι may be either 'why' or 'that,' the latter more probably.

τῶν ἀρετῶν] sc. τῶν ἠθικῶν.

ἀνδραποδώδεις] In illustration of this compare *Eth.* I. 3. 3, p. 1095, b. 19, οἱ πολλοὶ παντελῶς ἀνδραποδώδεις φαίνονται βοσκημάτων βίον προαιρούμενοι, 'like slaves brutish in their pleasures.'

6 τῷ μὴ νομίζειν] 'by their having a different standard from others.' γενέσθαι depends on νομίζειν.

διά τινος ἀρετῆς] 'by a definite virtue.' Their error is as to the virtue.

μείζω τε ἀγαθὰ ταῦτα] sc. εἶναι φανερόν. By ταῦτα are meant τὰ μακαριζόμενα, of § 4. ἡ ἀπόλαυσις τῆς εὐτυχίας, καὶ τὸ σχολάζειν μετ' εἰρήνης.

τῶν ἀρετῶν] again τῶν ἠθικῶν, or τῶν πρὸς ἀσχολίαν καὶ πόλεμον.

δι' αὑτήν] better than αὐτήν, 'and that it is self-dependent.'

πῶς δέ] the apodosis.

7 τούτων] 'With regard to these.'

πρότερον] It is only a question of priority, not of the exclusion of either.

γάρ] 'for they must harmonise, &c.'

ἐνδέχεται γάρ] 'for it is possible that even the reason may have gone wrong, and not formed a right conception of the true primary idea of life, and yet that the man may have been trained by habits as well as if the reason had not so erred.' This is one sense, but I am not sure that it is the right one. Stahr thinks it means, that man may be led astray by his reason as well as by his training.

8 ἡ γένεσις, κ.τ.λ.] 'The birth of

The order to be observed in education.

ἀρχῆς ἐστὶ καὶ τὸ τέλος ἀπό τινος ἀρχῆς ἄλλου τέλους. ὁ δὲ λόγος ἡμῖν καὶ ὁ νοῦς τῆς φύσεως τέλος. ὥστε πρὸς τούτους τὴν γένεσιν καὶ τὴν τῶν ἐθῶν δεῖ παρασκευάζειν
9 μελέτην. ἔπειτα ὥσπερ ψυχὴ καὶ σῶμα δύ' ἐστίν, οὕτω καὶ τῆς ψυχῆς ὁρῶμεν δύο μέρη, τό τε ἄλογον καὶ τὸ λόγον ἔχον, καὶ τὰς ἕξεις τὰς τούτων δύο τὸν ἀριθμόν, ὧν τὸ μέν ἐστιν ὄρεξις τὸ δὲ νοῦς. ὥσπερ δὲ τὸ σῶμα πρότερον τῇ γενέσει τῆς ψυχῆς, οὕτω καὶ τὸ ἄλογον τοῦ λόγον ἔχοντος.
10 φανερὸν δὲ καὶ τοῦτο· θυμὸς γὰρ καὶ βούλησις, ἔτι δὲ ἐπιθυμία καὶ γενομένοις εὐθὺς ὑπάρχει τοῖς παιδίοις, ὁ δὲ λογισμὸς καὶ ὁ νοῦς προϊοῦσιν ἐγγίνεσθαι πέφυκεν. διὸ πρῶτον μὲν τοῦ σώματος τὴν ἐπιμέλειαν ἀναγκαῖον εἶναι προτέραν ἢ τὴν τῆς ψυχῆς, ἔπειτα τὴν τῆς ὀρέξεως, ἕνεκα μέντοι τοῦ νοῦ τὴν τῆς ὀρέξεως, τὴν δὲ τοῦ σώματος τῆς ψυχῆς.

Marriage.

II 16 Εἴπερ οὖν ἀπ' ἀρχῆς τὸν νομοθέτην ὁρᾶν δεῖ ὅπως βέλτιστα τὰ σώματα γένηται τῶν τρεφομένων, πρῶτον μὲν ἐπιμελητέον περὶ τὴν σύζευξιν, πότε καὶ ποίους τινὰς ὄντας
2 χρὴ ποιεῖσθαι πρὸς ἀλλήλους τὴν γαμικὴν ὁμιλίαν. δεῖ δ' ἀποβλέποντα νομοθετεῖν ταύτην τὴν κοινωνίαν πρὸς αὐτούς τε καὶ τὸν τοῦ ζῆν χρόνον, ἵνα συγκαταβαίνωσι ταῖς ἡλικίαις ἐπὶ τὸν αὐτὸν καιρὸν καὶ μὴ διαφωνῶσιν αἱ δυνάμεις τοῦ μὲν ἔτι δυναμένου γεννᾶν τῆς δὲ μὴ δυναμένης, ἢ ταύτης μὲν τοῦ δ' ἀνδρὸς μή· ταῦτα γὰρ ποιεῖ καὶ στάσεις πρὸς

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the child is not the first step in the process.' ἀπ' ἀρχῆς ἐστί, 'It is the end from a given beginning, and is itself the beginning of another end.' But the language is obscure.

ὁ δὲ λόγος] 'Now in the nature of man the ultimate end of all is his reason and his intellect. As these then are the ultimate end, all must be subservient to them, the mere natural birth itself and the moral discipline,' τὴν μελέτην τῶν ἐθῶν.

9 ὄρεξις, κ.τ.λ.] *Eth.* VI. 2. 1[2], p. 1139, 18.

τὸ ἄλογον] = ἡ ὄρεξις. τοῦ λόγον ἔχοντος = τοῦ νοῦ.

10. καὶ γενομένοις εὐθύς] 'immediately after their birth.'

XVI. 1 ἀπ' ἀρχῆς] 'From the beginning,' as alluded to in xv. 8. It is the marriage of the parents.

2 συγκαταβαίνωσι] 'may come down together,' 'in their ages there may be no disproportion,' "dans un rapport convenable," St. Hil.

Marriage.

ἀλλήλους καὶ διαφοράς. ἔπειτα καὶ πρὸς τὴν τῶν τέκνων διαδοχήν. δεῖ γὰρ οὔτε λίαν ὑπολείπεσθαι ταῖς ἡλικίαις 3
τὰ τέκνα τῶν πατέρων (ἀνόνητος γὰρ τοῖς μὲν πρεσβυτέροις ἡ χάρις παρὰ τῶν τέκνων, ἡ δὲ παρὰ τῶν πατέρων βοήθεια 1335
τοῖς τέκνοις), οὔτε λίαν πάρεγγυς εἶναι. πολλὴν γὰρ ἔχει δυσχέρειαν· ἥ τε γὰρ αἰδὼς ἧττον ὑπάρχει τοῖς τοιούτοις ὥσπερ ἡλικιώταις, καὶ περὶ τὴν οἰκονομίαν ἐγκληματικὸν τὸ πάρεγγυς. ἔτι δ', ὅθεν ἀρχόμενοι δεῦρο μετέβημεν, ὅπως 4
τὰ σώματα τῶν γεννωμένων ὑπάρχῃ πρὸς τὴν τοῦ νομοθέτου βούλησιν. σχεδὸν δὴ πάντα ταῦτα συμβαίνει κατὰ μίαν ἐπιμέλειαν. ἐπεὶ γὰρ ὥρισται τέλος τῆς γεννήσεως ὡς ἐπὶ 5
τὸ πλεῖστον εἰπεῖν ἀνδράσι μὲν ὁ τῶν ἑβδομήκοντα ἐτῶν ἀριθμὸς ἔσχατος, πεντήκοντα δὲ γυναιξίν, δεῖ τὴν ἀρχὴν τῆς συζεύξεως κατὰ τὴν ἡλικίαν εἰς τοὺς χρόνους καταβαίνειν τούτους. ἔστι δ' ὁ τῶν νέων συνδυασμὸς φαῦλος πρὸς 6
τεκνοποιίαν· ἐν γὰρ πᾶσι ζῴοις ἀτελῆ τὰ τῶν νέων ἔγγονα καὶ θηλυτόκα μᾶλλον καὶ μικρὰ τὴν μορφήν, ὥστ' ἀναγκαῖον ταὐτὸ τοῦτο συμβαίνειν καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν ἀνθρώπων. τεκμήριον δέ· ἐν ὅσαις γὰρ τῶν πόλεων ἐπιχωριάζεται τὸ νέους συζευγνύναι καὶ νέας, ἀτελεῖς καὶ μικροὶ τὰ σώματά εἰσιν. ἔτι δὲ ἐν τοῖς τόκοις αἱ νέαι πονοῦσί τε μᾶλλον 7
καὶ διαφθείρονται πλείους· διὸ καὶ τὸν χρησμὸν γενέσθαι τινές φασι διὰ τοιαύτην αἰτίαν τοῖς Τροιζηνίοις, ὡς πολλῶν διαφθειρομένων διὰ τὸ γαμίσκεσθαι τὰς νεωτέρας, ἀλλ' οὐ

διαδοχήν] 'the succession of the children.'

3 ἡ χάρις παρὰ τῶν τέκνων] 'The natural pleasures which children give.'

περὶ τὴν οἰκονομίαν] 'In the management of the family very great nearness in point of age gives a great opening for disputes.'

4 ὑπάρχῃ] 'may be ready for,' Ch. IV. III.

σχεδὸν δή] 'It is quite possible then to secure all these objects by one and the same care.'

5 ὥρισται] 'is limited.'

καταβαίνειν] 'to be regulated upon, to be made to adapt itself to.'

6 ἔγγονα] This is Bekker's reading, yet in § 16 it is ἔκγονα. "The fruit of the womb."

ὥστ' ἀναγκαῖον] He rests very confidently on the argument from other animals. The question is one which entirely concerns us as animals.

ἐπιχωριάζεται] 'it is a prevailing custom.'

7 τὸν χρησμόν] μὴ τέμνε νεὰν ἄλοκα. So St. Hilaire gives it in his note. Comp. Grote II. 510.

πρὸς τὴν τῶν καρπῶν κομιδήν. ἔτι δὲ καὶ πρὸς σωφρο-
8 σύνην συμφέρει τὰς ἐκδόσεις ποιεῖσθαι πρεσβυτέραις· ἀκο-
λαστότεραι γὰρ εἶναι δοκοῦσι νέαι χρησάμεναι ταῖς συνου-
σίαις. καὶ τὰ τῶν ἀρρένων δὲ σώματα βλάπτεσθαι δοκεῖ
πρὸς τὴν αὔξησιν, ἐὰν ἔτι τοῦ σώματος αὐξανομένου
ποιῶνται τὴν συνουσίαν· καὶ γὰρ τούτου τις ὡρισμένος
9 χρόνος, ὃν οὐχ ὑπερβαίνει πληθύον ἔτι. διὸ τὰς μὲν
ἁρμόττει περὶ τὴν τῶν ὀκτωκαίδεκα ἐτῶν ἡλικίαν συζευγ-
νύναι, τοὺς δ' ἑπτὰ καὶ τριάκοντα, ἢ μικρόν· ἐν τοσούτῳ
γὰρ ἀκμάζουσί τε τοῖς σώμασι σύζευξις ἔσται, καὶ πρὸς
τὴν παῦλαν τῆς τεκνοποιίας συγκαταβήσεται τοῖς χρόνοις
10 εὐκαίρως. ἔτι δὲ ἡ διαδοχὴ τῶν τέκνων τοῖς μὲν ἀρχομένης
ἔσται τῆς ἀκμῆς, ἐὰν γίγνηται κατὰ λόγον εὐθὺς ἡ γένεσις,
τοῖς δὲ ἤδη καταλελυμένης τῆς ἡλικίας πρὸς τὸν τῶν ἑβδο-
μήκοντα ἐτῶν ἀριθμόν. Περὶ μὲν οὖν τοῦ πότε δεῖ ποιεῖ-
σθαι τὴν σύζευξιν, εἴρηται, τοῖς δὲ περὶ τὴν ὥραν χρόνοις
οἷς οἱ πολλοὶ χρῶνται καλῶς καὶ νῦν, ὁρίσαντες χειμῶνος
11 τὴν συναυλίαν ποιεῖσθαι ταύτην. δεῖ δὴ καὶ αὐτοὺς ἤδη
θεωρεῖν πρὸς τὴν τεκνοποιίαν τά τε παρὰ τῶν ἰατρῶν λε-
γόμενα καὶ τὰ παρὰ τῶν φυσικῶν· οἵ τε γὰρ ἰατροὶ τοὺς
1335 b. καιροὺς τῶν σωμάτων ἱκανῶς λέγουσι, καὶ περὶ τῶν πνευ-
μάτων οἱ φυσικοί, τὰ βόρεια τῶν νοτίων ἐπαινοῦντες μᾶλ-

8 τὰς ἐκδόσεις ποιεῖσθαι] Plato *de Legg.* 924, D. τὴν ἔκδοσιν ποιῆται.

βλάπτεσθαι πρὸς τὴν αὔξησιν] 'injured for growth.'

τούτου] sc. τοῦ αὐξάνεσθαι.

ὃν οὐχ, κ.τ.λ.] 'beyond which the body does not continue to grow.'

9 Plato *de Rep.* v. 460, E, names 20 as the woman's prime, 30 as the man's.

ἑπτά] Spengel wishes to read πέντε, p. 9, note 11. The reason is that 35 is 7 × 5. But if Aristotle married himself at 37 (and it could not have been earlier), it might account for this slight deviation. In any case, the interval is greater than quite accords with the prevalent notions in our own time. Even Plato's interval would be thought too great by many.

10 τοῖς μέν] sc. τοῖς τέκνοις.

ἀρχομένης τῆς ἀκμῆς] 'at the beginning of their prime,' æt. 30.

τοῖς δέ] τοῖς γονεῦσι, 'when their age is now already in its decline,' "stricken in years."

συναυλίαν] An odd use of the word, though the connection of this meaning with its commoner one of 'duet,' 'concert,' may be traced easily.

11 These minute regulations point to the much greater attention paid to the sound bodily condition by the Greeks than by modern nations.

λον. Ποίων δέ τινων τῶν σωμάτων ὑπαρχόντων μάλιστα Marriage.
ὄφελος εἴη τοῖς γεννωμένοις, ἐπιστήσασι μὲν μᾶλλον λεκτέον 12
ἐν τοῖς περὶ τῆς παιδονομίας, τύπῳ δὲ ἱκανὸν εἰπεῖν καὶ νῦν.
οὔτε γὰρ ἡ τῶν ἀθλητῶν χρήσιμος ἕξις πρὸς πολιτικὴν
εὐεξίαν οὐδὲ πρὸς ὑγίειαν καὶ τεκνοποιίαν, οὔτε ἡ θεραπευ-
τικὴ καὶ κακοπονητικὴ λίαν, ἀλλ' ἡ μέση τούτων. πεπονη- 13
μένην μὲν οὖν ἔχειν δεῖ τὴν ἕξιν, πεπονημένην δὲ πόνοις μὴ
βιαίοις, μηδὲ πρὸς ἕνα μόνον, ὥσπερ ἡ τῶν ἀθλητῶν ἕξις,
ἀλλὰ πρὸς τὰς τῶν ἐλευθερίων πράξεις. ὁμοίως δὲ δεῖ
ταῦτα ὑπάρχειν ἀνδράσι καὶ γυναιξίν. χρὴ δὲ καὶ τὰς ἐγ- 14
κύους ἐπιμελεῖσθαι τῶν σωμάτων, μὴ ῥαθυμούσας μηδ'
ἀραιᾷ τροφῇ χρωμένας. τοῦτο δὲ ῥᾴδιον τῷ νομοθέτῃ
ποιῆσαι προστάξαντι καθ' ἡμέραν τινὰ ποιεῖσθαι πορείαν
πρὸς θεῶν ἀποθεραπείαν τῶν εἰληχότων τὴν περὶ τῆς γενέ-
σεως τιμήν. τὴν μέντοι διάνοιαν τοὐναντίον τῶν σωμάτων
ῥαθυμοτέρως ἁρμόττει διάγειν· ἀπολαύοντα γὰρ φαίνεται
τὰ γενόμενα τῆς ἐχούσης ὥσπερ καὶ τὰ φυόμενα τῆς γῆς.
Περὶ δὲ ἀποθέσεως καὶ τροφῆς τῶν γιγνομένων, ἔστω 15
νόμος μηδὲν πεπηρωμένον τρέφειν, διὰ δὲ πλῆθος τέκνων,
ἐὰν ἡ τάξις τῶν ἐθῶν κωλύῃ, μηδὲν ἀποτίθεσθαι τῶν γιγνο-
μένων· ὥρισται γὰρ δὴ τῆς τεκνοποιίας τὸ πλῆθος. ἐὰν δέ

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12 **ὄφελος εἴη**] **ἂν** is required.

ἐπιστήσασι] *Eth.* VI. 13. 8, p. 1144, 22, **λεκτέον δ' ἐπιστήσασι σαφέστερον περὶ αὐτῶν**, 'we must concentrate more attention on the subject.'

εὐεξίαν πολιτικὴν] 'in good state of body, such as the citizen requires it.'

θεραπευτική] 'requiring constant attention, and always suffering,' the invalid state.

13 **πεπονημένην**] 'strong by exertion.'

πρὸς ἕνα] sc. **πόνον**.

ἐλευθερίων] We should have expected **ἐλευθέρων**.

14 **ἀραιᾷ**] 'scanty food.

καθ' ἡμέραν, κ.τ.λ.] 'daily to take a certain walk in discharge of the service due to the gods whose province it is to preside over birth.'

ἀποθεραπείαν] "a regular service," L. & S. I prefer the meaning given above. "Zur Vollziehung einer Gottesverehrung," Stahr.

ἀπολαύοντα] 'affected by.'

15 **διὰ πλῆθος δὲ τέκνων**] 'But not on account of the number of children, supposing that the arrangements of the social state forbid beyond a certain number, must it be allowed to abandon any child born.'

ὥρισται γάρ] This is in explanation of **κωλύῃ**. 'For in our own state there is fixed a limit to the production of children.' For the matter in ques-

[illegible]

[illegible] the less wine the better.'

[illegible] precept far too much neglected at present.

[illegible] ἡλικιώτων] 'when quite young.'

Early education.

τὸ σῶμα ποιεῖ τῶν τοιούτων ἀστραβές. συμφέρει δ' εὐθὺς καὶ πρὸς τὰ ψύχη συνεθίζειν ἐκ μικρῶν παίδων· τοῦτο γὰρ καὶ πρὸς ὑγίειαν καὶ πρὸς πολεμικὰς πράξεις εὐχρηστότατον. διὸ παρὰ πολλοῖς ἐστὶ τῶν βαρβάρων ἔθος τοῖς 3
μὲν εἰς ποταμὸν ἀποβάπτειν τὰ γιγνόμενα ψυχρόν, τοῖς δὲ σκέπασμα μικρὸν ἀμπίσχειν, οἷον Κελτοῖς. πάντα γὰρ ὅσα δυνατὸν ἐθίζειν, εὐθὺς ἀρχομένων[a] βέλτιον μὲν ἐθίζειν, ἐκ προσαγωγῆς δ' ἐθίζειν. εὐφυὴς δ' ἡ τῶν παίδων ἕξις διὰ θερμότητα πρὸς τὴν τῶν ψυχρῶν ἄσκησιν. περὶ μὲν 4
οὖν τὴν πρώτην συμφέρει ποιεῖσθαι τὴν ἐπιμέλειαν τοιαύτην τε καὶ τὴν ταύτῃ παραπλησίαν· τὴν δ' ἐχομένην ταύτης ἡλικίαν μέχρι πέντε ἐτῶν, ἣν οὔτε πω πρὸς μάθησιν καλῶς ἔχει προσάγειν οὐδεμίαν οὔτε πρὸς ἀναγκαίους πόνους, ὅπως μὴ τὴν αὔξησιν ἐμποδίζωσιν, δεῖ τοσαύτης τυγχάνειν κινήσεως ὥστε διαφεύγειν τὴν ἀργίαν τῶν σωμάτων· ἣν χρὴ παρασκευάζειν καὶ δι' ἄλλων πράξεων καὶ διὰ τῆς παιδιᾶς. δεῖ δὲ καὶ τὰς παιδιὰς εἶναι μήτε ἀνελευθέρους μήτε ἐπι- 5
πόνους μήτε ἀνειμένας. καὶ περὶ λόγων δὲ καὶ μύθων, ποίους τινὰς ἀκούειν δεῖ τοὺς τηλικούτους, ἐπιμελὲς ἔστω τοῖς ἄρχουσιν οὓς καλοῦσι παιδονόμους. πάντα γὰρ δεῖ τὰ τοιαῦτα προοδοποιεῖν πρὸς τὰς ὕστερον διατριβάς. διὸ τὰς παιδιὰς εἶναι δεῖ τὰς πολλὰς μιμήσεις τῶν ὕστερον σπουδαζομένων. τὰς δὲ διατάσεις τῶν παίδων καὶ κλαυθ- 6
μοὺς οὐκ ὀρθῶς ἀπαγορεύουσιν οἱ κωλύοντες ἐν τοῖς νόμοις· συμφέρουσι γὰρ πρὸς αὔξησιν. γίνεται γὰρ τρόπον τινὰ γυμνασία τοῖς σώμασιν· ἡ γὰρ τοῦ πνεύματος κάθεξις ποιεῖ τὴν ἰσχὺν τοῖς πονοῦσιν, ὃ συμβαίνει καὶ τοῖς παιδίοις

[a] ἀρχομένῳ Bekker.

3 ἀρχομένων] Stahr adopts this reading, and it seems an improvement on Bekker's ἀρχομένῳ.

εὐφυὴς] 'is naturally adapted for this training.'

4 τὴν πρώτην] sc. ἡλικίαν.

ἀναγκαίους] 'compulsory.'

τὴν ἀργίαν τῶν σωμάτων] 'a lazy habit of body.'

ἣν] sc. κίνησιν.

5 ἀνειμένας] 'uncontrolled.'

προοδοποιεῖν] 'prepare the way for,' II. IX. 11.

6 διατάσεις] 'stretchings,' 'exertions.'

ἐν τοῖς νόμοις] *de Legg.* VII. 792.

Early education.

διατεινομένοις. Ἐπισκεπτέον δὲ τοῖς παιδονόμοις τὴν
7 τούτων διαγωγὴν τήν τ' ἄλλην, καὶ ὅπως ὅτι ἥκιστα μετὰ
1336 a δούλων ἔσται. ταύτην γὰρ τὴν ἡλικίαν, καὶ μέχρι τῶν
ἑπτὰ ἐτῶν, ἀναγκαῖον οἴκοι τὴν τροφὴν ἔχειν. εὔλογον οὖν
ἀπελαύνειν ἀπὸ τῶν ἀκουσμάτων καὶ τῶν ὁραμάτων ἀνε-
8 λευθερίας καὶ τηλικούτους ὄντας. ὅλως μὲν οὖν αἰσχρολο-
γίαν ἐκ τῆς πόλεως, ὥσπερ ἄλλο τι, δεῖ τὸν νομοθέτην ἐξο-
ρίζειν· (ἐκ τοῦ γὰρ εὐχερῶς λέγειν ὁτιοῦν τῶν αἰσχρῶν γί-
νεται καὶ τὸ ποιεῖν σύνεγγυς.) μάλιστα μὲν οὖν ἐκ τῶν
9 νέων, ὅπως μήτε λέγωσι μήτε ἀκούωσι μηδὲν τοιοῦτον. ἐὰν
δέ τις φαίνηταί τι λέγων ἢ πράττων τῶν ἀπηγορευμένων,
τὸν μὲν ἐλεύθερον μήπω δὲ κατακλίσεως ἠξιωμένον ἐν τοῖς
συσσιτίοις ἀτιμίαις κολάζειν καὶ πληγαῖς, τὸν δὲ πρεσβύ-
τερον τῆς ἡλικίας ταύτης ἀτιμίαις ἀνελευθέροις ἀνδραπο-
δωδίας χάριν. ἐπεὶ δὲ τὸ λέγειν τι τῶν τοιούτων ἐξορί-
ζομεν, φανερὸν ὅτι καὶ τὸ θεωρεῖν ἢ γραφὰς ἢ λόγους
10 ἀσχήμονας. ἐπιμελὲς μὲν οὖν ἔστω τοῖς ἄρχουσι μηθὲν
μήτε ἄγαλμα μήτε γραφὴν εἶναι τοιούτων πράξεων μίμησιν,
εἰ μὴ παρά τισι θεοῖς τοιούτοις οἷς καὶ τὸν τωθασμὸν
ἀποδίδωσιν ὁ νόμος· πρὸς δὲ τούτοις ἀφίησιν ὁ νόμος τοὺς
ἔχοντας ἡλικίαν πλέον προήκουσαν καὶ ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν καὶ

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7 τὴν τούτων διαγωγὴν] 'both the way in which they pass their time in general.'

ταύτην γάρ] 'They must be with slaves in some degree, for at this age they must be at home.'

καὶ τηλικούτους] 'even at this tender age.'

8 ὥσπερ ἄλλο τι] the same expression occurs, VIII. (V.) viii. 2.

ἐκ τῶν νέων] 'away from the young,' he had said ἐκ τῆς πόλεως, and repeats the same proposition.

9 κατακλίσεως] 'a seat at the public mess.'

θεωρεῖν ἢ γραφὰς ἢ λόγους ἀσχήμονας] Eur. *Hipp*. 1004, 5, Dind., quoted in illustration of this by Raoul Rochette, quoted in Stahr,

> πλὴν λόγῳ κλύων
> γραφῇ τε λεύσσων.

10 τωθασμόν] 'jesting.'

πρὸς δὲ τούτοις] It is desired by some editors to change this dative for the accusative. Compare Stahr on the passage, who retains the dative, and translates it with reference to the Gods, "an diesen erlaubt," u.s.w. This seems to me difficult with the dative. I think it is good sense if construed in its most natural sense, with an adverbial modification, 'in addition to this,' 'besides.' 'Besides there is no reason for bringing the young into contact with such things at all, as the law permits those of a more suitable age to honour the

Early education.

τέκνων καὶ γυναικῶν τιμαλφεῖν τοὺς θεούς. τοὺς δὲ νεωτέρους οὔτ' ἰάμβων οὔτε κωμῳδίας θεατὰς νομοθετητέον, πρὶν
ἢ τὴν ἡλικίαν λάβωσιν ἐν ᾗ καὶ κατακλίσεως ὑπάρξει κοινω- 11
νεῖν ἤδη καὶ μέθης καὶ τῆς ἀπὸ τῶν τοιούτων γιγνομένης
βλάβης ἀπαθεῖς ἡ παιδεία ποιήσει πάντας. νῦν μὲν οὖν 12
τούτων ἐν παραδρομῇ πεποιήμεθα τὸν λόγον· ὕστερον δ' ἐπιστήσαντας δεῖ διορίσαι μᾶλλον, εἴτε μὴ δεῖ πρῶτον εἴτε δεῖ διαπορήσαντας, καὶ πῶς δεῖ· κατὰ δὲ τὸν παρόντα καιρὸν
ἐμνήσθημεν ὡς ἀναγκαῖον. ἴσως γὰρ οὐ κακῶς ἔλεγε τὸ 13
τοιοῦτον Θεόδωρος ὁ τῆς τραγῳδίας ὑποκριτής· οὐθενὶ γὰρ πώποτε παρῆκεν ἑαυτοῦ προεισάγειν, οὐδὲ τῶν εὐτελῶν ὑποκριτῶν, ὡς οἰκειουμένων τῶν θεατῶν ταῖς πρώταις ἀκοαῖς. συμβαίνει δὲ ταὐτὸ τοῦτο καὶ πρὸς τὰς τῶν ἀνθρώπων ὁμιλίας καὶ πρὸς τὰς τῶν πραγμάτων· πάντα γὰρ στέργομεν
τὰ πρῶτα μᾶλλον. διὸ δεῖ τοῖς νέοις πάντα ποιεῖν ξένα τὰ 14
φαῦλα, μάλιστα δ' αὐτῶν ὅσα ἔχει ἢ μοχθηρίαν ἢ δυσμένειαν. διελθόντων δὲ τῶν πέντε ἐτῶν τὰ δύο μέχρι τῶν ἑπτὰ δεῖ θεωροὺς ἤδη γίγνεσθαι τῶν μαθήσεων, ἃς δεήσει μανθάνειν
αὐτούς. δύο δ' εἰσὶν ἡλικίαι πρὸς ἃς ἀναγκαῖον διῃρῆσθαι 15
τὴν παιδείαν, μετὰ τὴν ἀπὸ τῶν ἑπτὰ μέχρι ἥβης καὶ πάλιν μετὰ τὴν ἀφ' ἥβης μέχρι τῶν ἑνὸς καὶ εἴκοσιν ἐτῶν. οἱ γὰρ ταῖς ἑβδομάσι διαιροῦντες τὰς ἡλικίας ὡς ἐπὶ τὸ πολὺ λέγουσιν οὐ κακῶς,[a] δεῖ δὲ τῇ διαιρέσει τῆς φύσεως

[a] καλῶς Bekker.

Gods on behalf of themselves, their wives, and children.'

τιμαλφεῖν] L. and S. on this word quote it from Pindar and Æschylus, but state that it is rare in prose.

11 ἰάμβων] an iambic poem, a lampoon, in this sense usually plural. L. and S. on this passage. Spengel, p. 9, note 11, remarks that somewhere or other in his work Aristotle must have expressed himself on the question, whether Homer and the tragedians should, as Plato wished, be banished from the state.

12 ἐπιστήσαντας] above, Ch. XVI. xii.

13 Theodorus, mentioned Demosth. *Fals. Leg.* 418.

ὡς οἰκειουμένων, κ.τ.λ.] 'on the ground that the spectators adapted themselves,' &c. Compare Plato, *Protagoras*, 326, B.

14 μοχθηρίαν ἢ δυσμένειαν] 'vice or ill will.'

15 οὐ κακῶς] Such I agree with Spengel, p. 8, note 11, and with Muretus, Vol. III. 76, ed. Ruhnken and *Rhet.* II. 14, p. 1390, b. 10,

Early education. ἐπακολουθεῖν· πᾶσα γὰρ τέχνη καὶ παιδεία τὸ προσλεῖπον βούλεται τῆς φύσεως ἀναπληροῦν. Πρῶτον μὲν οὖν σκεπ-
16 τέον εἰ ποιητέον τάξιν τινὰ περὶ τοὺς παῖδας, ἔπειτα πότερον συμφέρει κοινῇ ποιεῖσθαι τὴν ἐπιμέλειαν αὐτῶν ἢ κατ' ἴδιον τρόπον (ὃ γίνεται καὶ νῦν ἐν ταῖς πλείσταις τῶν πόλεων), τρίτον δὲ ποίαν τινὰ δεῖ ταύτην.

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should be the reading, not καλῶς. 'For they who divide the ages of man's life by periods of seven years as a general rule are tolerably right, only it must not be pressed too strictly, but the division of nature herself must be followed,' and she draws no rigid line in this case. The age of puberty is variable within certain limits, Carpenter, *Manual of Physiology*, § 788.

πᾶσα γὰρ τέχνη, κ.τ.λ.] Compare *Eth.* I. iv. 15, p. 1097, 5, τὸ ἐνδεὲς ἐπιζητοῦσαι. 'For it is the object of all man's art, and that particular branch of it which is directed to the fashioning of men, education, to supply that which nature leaves wanting.' Compare Plato, I. 341, II. E.

16 Three questions started. Is there to be a system of education? Is it to be public or private? What is it to be? The first two are answered perfectly, as, in fact, they admit of a ready answer. The third is only partially answered, many of its most important elements either received no treatment or it has been lost.

BOOK V. (VIII.) SUMMARY.

IT is not denied that education is one of the highest objects of the legislator's attention. It is not to be denied, secondly, that it should be one and uniform—public, and not left to individual caprice. What the education shall be, what the system adopted, this, the third question, is not so easily answered. It suggests many others. Is it intellect or the moral nature that you want to train more especially? Then, in the things taught, shall they be those which are practically useful, or those which conduce to excellence, or shall they be the higher subjects of speculation? Just touching on the evident limits, that all useful things cannot be discarded, and that no illiberal study is to be pursued, Aristotle proceeds to consider the actually existing system. There are in this system four branches. Reading, with its accompaniments; gymnastics, or bodily training; music and design. The first and fourth are taught as useful, the second as tending to form brave men. It is on the question of music that the issue may be taken. The discussion that immediately follows we need not dwell on, as it is only a statement of the various difficulties and the subject is resumed later. The only result definitely is, that he sees good reason for refusing to submit, in all cases, to the test of mere utility in the ordinary sense of the term. Remembering his order of education given in the last book, he turns to that which comes first, the bodily training, gymnastics (Ch. I.—III.).

In regard to this, we must beware of two evils into which others have fallen, some have aimed too much at forming an *athletic* habit of body, others have aimed at too fierce a character. In both the type is too low, and in the last case, that of the Lacedæmonians, the education given has been proved a failure by experience. His regulations are—light and easy training till the age of puberty, so as to favour the growth. The three years after this age are to be devoted to acquiring the rudiments of knowledge. Then severe bodily training and hard diet may be introduced. In no case are body and mind to be worked hard at the same time (Ch. IV.).

Passing to the question of music: Is it taught as an amuse-

The order to be observed in education.

ἀρχῆς ἐστὶ καὶ τὸ τέλος ἀπό τινος ἀρχῆς ἄλλου τέλους. ὁ δὲ λόγος ἡμῖν καὶ ὁ νοῦς τῆς φύσεως τέλος. ὥστε πρὸς τούτους τὴν γένεσιν καὶ τὴν τῶν ἐθῶν δεῖ παρασκευάζειν

9 μελέτην. ἔπειτα ὥσπερ ψυχὴ καὶ σῶμα δύ' ἐστίν, οὕτω καὶ τῆς ψυχῆς ὁρῶμεν δύο μέρη, τό τε ἄλογον καὶ τὸ λόγον ἔχον, καὶ τὰς ἕξεις τὰς τούτων δύο τὸν ἀριθμόν, ὧν τὸ μέν ἐστιν ὄρεξις τὸ δὲ νοῦς. ὥσπερ δὲ τὸ σῶμα πρότερον τῇ γενέσει τῆς ψυχῆς, οὕτω καὶ τὸ ἄλογον τοῦ λόγον ἔχοντος.

10 φανερὸν δὲ καὶ τοῦτο· θυμὸς γὰρ καὶ βούλησις, ἔτι δὲ ἐπιθυμία καὶ γενομένοις εὐθὺς ὑπάρχει τοῖς παιδίοις, ὁ δὲ λογισμὸς καὶ ὁ νοῦς προϊοῦσιν ἐγγίνεσθαι πέφυκεν. διὸ πρῶτον μὲν τοῦ σώματος τὴν ἐπιμέλειαν ἀναγκαῖον εἶναι προτέραν ἢ τὴν τῆς ψυχῆς, ἔπειτα τὴν τῆς ὀρέξεως, ἕνεκα μέντοι τοῦ νοῦ τὴν τῆς ὀρέξεως, τὴν δὲ τοῦ σώματος τῆς ψυχῆς.

Η' 16 *Marriage.* Εἴπερ οὖν ἀπ' ἀρχῆς τὸν νομοθέτην ὁρᾶν δεῖ ὅπως βέλτιστα τὰ σώματα γένηται τῶν τρεφομένων, πρῶτον μὲν ἐπιμελητέον περὶ τὴν σύζευξιν, πότε καὶ ποίους τινὰς ὄντας

2 χρὴ ποιεῖσθαι πρὸς ἀλλήλους τὴν γαμικὴν ὁμιλίαν. δεῖ δ' ἀποβλέποντα νομοθετεῖν ταύτην τὴν κοινωνίαν πρὸς αὐτούς τε καὶ τὸν τοῦ ζῆν χρόνον, ἵνα συγκαταβαίνωσι ταῖς ἡλικίαις ἐπὶ τὸν αὐτὸν καιρὸν καὶ μὴ διαφωνῶσιν αἱ δυνάμεις τοῦ μὲν ἔτι δυναμένου γεννᾶν τῆς δὲ μὴ δυναμένης, ἢ ταύτης μὲν τοῦ δ' ἀνδρὸς μή· ταῦτα γὰρ ποιεῖ καὶ στάσεις πρὸς

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the child is not the first step in the process.' ἀπ' ἀρχῆς ἐστί, 'It is the end from a given beginning, and is itself the beginning of another end.' But the language is obscure.

8 ὁ δὲ λόγος] 'Now in the nature of man the ultimate end of all is his reason and his intellect. As these then are the ultimate end, all must be subservient to them, the mere natural birth itself and the moral discipline,' τὴν μελέτην τῶν ἐθῶν.

9 ὄρεξις, κ.τ.λ.] Eth. vi. 2. 1, p. 1139, 18.

τὸ ἄλογον] = ἡ ὄρεξις. τοῦ λόγον ἔχοντος = τοῦ νοῦ.

10. καὶ γενομένοις εὐθύς] 'immediately after their birth.'

XVI. 1 ἀπ' ἀρχῆς] 'From the beginning,' as alluded to in xv. 8. It is the marriage of the parents.

2 συγκαταβαίνωσι] 'may come down together,' 'in their ages there may be no disproportion,' "dans un rapport convenable," St. Hil.

Marriage.

ἀλλήλους καὶ διαφοράς. ἔπειτα καὶ πρὸς τὴν τῶν τέκνων διαδοχήν. δεῖ γὰρ οὔτε λίαν ὑπολείπεσθαι ταῖς ἡλικίαις 3
τὰ τέκνα τῶν πατέρων (ἀνόνητος γὰρ τοῖς μὲν πρεσβυτέροις ἡ χάρις παρὰ τῶν τέκνων, ἡ δὲ παρὰ τῶν πατέρων βοήθεια 1335
τοῖς τέκνοις), οὔτε λίαν πάρεγγυς εἶναι. πολλὴν γὰρ ἔχει δυσχέρειαν· ἥ τε γὰρ αἰδὼς ἧττον ὑπάρχει τοῖς τοιούτοις ὥσπερ ἡλικιώταις, καὶ περὶ τὴν οἰκονομίαν ἐγκληματικὸν τὸ πάρεγγυς. ἔτι δ', ὅθεν ἀρχόμενοι δεῦρο μετέβημεν, ὅπως 4
τὰ σώματα τῶν γεννωμένων ὑπάρχῃ πρὸς τὴν τοῦ νομοθέτου βούλησιν. σχεδὸν δὴ πάντα ταῦτα συμβαίνει κατὰ μίαν ἐπιμέλειαν. ἐπεὶ γὰρ ὥρισται τέλος τῆς γεννήσεως ὡς ἐπὶ 5
τὸ πλεῖστον εἰπεῖν ἀνδράσι μὲν ὁ τῶν ἑβδομήκοντα ἐτῶν ἀριθμὸς ἔσχατος, πεντήκοντα δὲ γυναιξίν, δεῖ τὴν ἀρχὴν τῆς συζεύξεως κατὰ τὴν ἡλικίαν εἰς τοὺς χρόνους καταβαίνειν τούτους. ἔστι δ' ὁ τῶν νέων συνδυασμὸς φαῦλος πρὸς 6
τεκνοποιίαν· ἐν γὰρ πᾶσι ζῴοις ἀτελῆ τὰ τῶν νέων ἔγγονα καὶ θηλυτόκα μᾶλλον καὶ μικρὰ τὴν μορφήν, ὥστ' ἀναγκαῖον ταὐτὸ τοῦτο συμβαίνειν καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν ἀνθρώπων. τεκμήριον δέ· ἐν ὅσαις γὰρ τῶν πόλεων ἐπιχωριάζεται τὸ νέους συζευγνύναι καὶ νέας, ἀτελεῖς καὶ μικροὶ τὰ σώματά εἰσιν. ἔτι δὲ ἐν τοῖς τόκοις αἱ νέαι πονοῦσί τε μᾶλλον 7
καὶ διαφθείρονται πλείους· διὸ καὶ τὸν χρησμὸν γενέσθαι τινές φασι διὰ τοιαύτην αἰτίαν τοῖς Τροιζηνίοις, ὡς πολλῶν διαφθειρομένων διὰ τὸ γαμίσκεσθαι τὰς νεωτέρας, ἀλλ' οὐ

διαδοχὴν] 'the succession of the children.'

3 ἡ χάρις παρὰ τῶν τέκνων] 'The natural pleasures which children give.'

περὶ τὴν οἰκονομίαν] 'In the management of the family very great nearness in point of age gives a great opening for disputes.'

4 ὑπάρχῃ] 'may be ready for,' Ch. IV. III.

σχεδὸν δὴ] 'It is quite possible then to secure all these objects by one and the same care.'

5 ὥρισται] 'is limited.'

καταβαίνειν] 'to be regulated upon, to be made to adapt itself to.'

6 ἔγγονα] This is Bekker's reading, yet in § 16 it is ἔκγονα. "The fruit of the womb."

ὥστ' ἀναγκαῖον] He rests very confidently on the argument from other animals. The question is one which entirely concerns us as animals.

ἐπιχωριάζεται] 'it is a prevailing custom.'

7 τὸν χρησμόν] μὴ τέμνε νεὰν ἄλοκα. So St. Hilaire gives it in his note. Comp. Grote II. 510.

Marriage. πρὸς τὴν τῶν καρπῶν κομιδήν. ἔτι δὲ καὶ πρὸς σωφρο-
8 σύνην συμφέρει τὰς ἐκδόσεις ποιεῖσθαι πρεσβυτέραις· ἀκο-
λαστότεραι γὰρ εἶναι δοκοῦσι νέαι χρησάμεναι ταῖς συνου-
σίαις. καὶ τὰ τῶν ἀρρένων δὲ σώματα βλάπτεσθαι δοκεῖ
πρὸς τὴν αὔξησιν, ἐὰν ἔτι τοῦ σώματος αὐξανομένου
ποιῶνται τὴν συνουσίαν· καὶ γὰρ τούτου τις ὡρισμένος
9 χρόνος, ὃν οὐχ ὑπερβαίνει πληθύον ἔτι. διὸ τὰς μὲν
ἁρμόττει περὶ τὴν τῶν ὀκτωκαίδεκα ἐτῶν ἡλικίαν συζευγ-
νύναι, τοὺς δ' ἑπτὰ καὶ τριάκοντα, ἢ μικρόν· ἐν τοσούτῳ
γὰρ ἀκμάζουσί τε τοῖς σώμασι σύζευξις ἔσται, καὶ πρὸς
τὴν παῦλαν τῆς τεκνοποιίας συγκαταβήσεται τοῖς χρόνοις
10 εὐκαίρως. ἔτι δὲ ἡ διαδοχὴ τῶν τέκνων τοῖς μὲν ἀρχομένης
ἔσται τῆς ἀκμῆς, ἐὰν γίγνηται κατὰ λόγον εὐθὺς ἡ γένεσις,
τοῖς δὲ ἤδη καταλελυμένης τῆς ἡλικίας πρὸς τὸν τῶν ἑβδο-
μήκοντα ἐτῶν ἀριθμόν. Περὶ μὲν οὖν τοῦ πότε δεῖ ποιεῖ-
σθαι τὴν σύζευξιν, εἴρηται, τοῖς δὲ περὶ τὴν ὥραν χρόνοις
ὡς οἱ πολλοὶ χρῶνται καλῶς καὶ νῦν, ὁρίσαντες χειμῶνος
11 τὴν συναυλίαν ποιεῖσθαι ταύτην. δεῖ δὴ καὶ αὐτοὺς ἤδη
θεωρεῖν πρὸς τὴν τεκνοποιίαν τά τε παρὰ τῶν ἰατρῶν λε-
γόμενα καὶ τὰ παρὰ τῶν φυσικῶν· οἵ τε γὰρ ἰατροὶ τοὺς
1335 a. καιροὺς τῶν σωμάτων ἱκανῶς λέγουσι, καὶ περὶ τῶν πνευ-
μάτων οἱ φυσικοί, τὰ βόρεια τῶν νοτίων ἐπαινοῦντες μᾶλ-

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8 τὰς ἐκδόσεις ποιεῖσθαι] Plato *de Legg.* 924, D. τὴν ἔκδοσιν ποιῆται.

βλάπτεσθαι πρὸς τὴν αὔξησιν] 'injured for growth.'

τούτου] sc. τοῦ αὐξάνεσθαι.

ὃν οὐχ, κ.τ.λ.] 'beyond which the body does not continue to grow.'

9 Plato *de Rep.* v. 460, E, names 20 as the woman's prime, 30 as the man's.

ἑπτά] Spengel wishes to read πέντε, p. 9, note 11. The reason is that 35 is 7 × 5. But if Aristotle married himself at 37 (and it could not have been earlier), it might account for this slight deviation. In any case, the interval is greater than quite accords with the prevalent notions in our own time. Even Plato's interval would be thought too great by many.

10 τοῖς μέν] sc. τοῖς τέκνοις.

ἀρχομένης τῆς ἀκμῆς] 'at the beginning of their prime,' æt. 30.

τοῖς δέ] τοῖς γονεῦσι, 'when their age is now already in its decline,' "stricken in years."

συναυλίαν] An odd use of the word, though the connection of this meaning with its commoner one of 'duet,' 'concert,' may be traced easily.

11 These minute regulations point to the much greater attention paid to the sound bodily condition by the Greeks than by modern nations.

λον. Ποίων δέ τινων τῶν σωμάτων ὑπαρχόντων μάλιστα Marriage.
ὄφελος εἴη τοῖς γεννωμένοις, ἐπιστήσασι μὲν μᾶλλον λεκτέον 12
ἐν τοῖς περὶ τῆς παιδονομίας, τύπῳ δὲ ἱκανὸν εἰπεῖν καὶ νῦν. οὔτε γὰρ ἡ τῶν ἀθλητῶν χρήσιμος ἕξις πρὸς πολιτικὴν εὐεξίαν οὐδὲ πρὸς ὑγίειαν καὶ τεκνοποιίαν, οὔτε ἡ θεραπευτικὴ καὶ κακοπονητικὴ λίαν, ἀλλ' ἡ μέση τούτων. πεπονη- 13
μένην μὲν οὖν ἔχειν δεῖ τὴν ἕξιν, πεπονημένην δὲ πόνοις μὴ βιαίοις, μηδὲ πρὸς ἕνα μόνον, ὥσπερ ἡ τῶν ἀθλητῶν ἕξις, ἀλλὰ πρὸς τὰς τῶν ἐλευθερίων πράξεις. ὁμοίως δὲ δεῖ ταῦτα ὑπάρχειν ἀνδράσι καὶ γυναιξίν. χρὴ δὲ καὶ τὰς ἐγ- 14
κύους ἐπιμελεῖσθαι τῶν σωμάτων, μὴ ῥαθυμούσας μηδ' ἀραιᾷ τροφῇ χρωμένας. τοῦτο δὲ ῥάδιον τῷ νομοθέτῃ ποιῆσαι προστάξαντι καθ' ἡμέραν τινὰ ποιεῖσθαι πορείαν πρὸς θεῶν ἀποθεραπείαν τῶν εἰληχότων τὴν περὶ τῆς γενέσεως τιμήν. τὴν μέντοι διάνοιαν τοὐναντίον τῶν σωμάτων ῥαθυμοτέρως ἁρμόττει διάγειν· ἀπολαύοντα γὰρ φαίνεται τὰ γενόμενα τῆς ἐχούσης ὥσπερ καὶ τὰ φυόμενα τῆς γῆς.
Περὶ δὲ ἀποθέσεως καὶ τροφῆς τῶν γιγνομένων, ἔστω 15
νόμος μηδὲν πεπηρωμένον τρέφειν, διὰ δὲ πλῆθος τέκνων, ἐὰν ἡ τάξις τῶν ἐθῶν κωλύῃ, μηδὲν ἀποτίθεσθαι τῶν γιγνομένων· ὥρισται γὰρ δὴ τῆς τεκνοποιίας τὸ πλῆθος. ἐὰν δέ

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12 ὄφελος εἴη] ἂν is required.

ἐπιστήσασι] *Eth.* VI. 13. 8, p. 1144, 22, λεκτέον δ' ἐπιστήσασι σαφέστερον περὶ αὐτῶν, 'we must concentrate more attention on the subject.'

εὐεξίαν πολιτικήν] 'in good state of body, such as the citizen requires it.'

θεραπευτική] 'requiring constant attention, and always suffering,' the invalid state.

13 πεπονημένην] 'strong by exertion.'

πρὸς ἕνα] sc. πόνον.

ἐλευθερίων] We should have expected ἐλευθέρων.

14 ἀραιᾷ] 'scanty food.

καθ' ἡμέραν, κ.τ.λ.] 'daily to take a certain walk in discharge of the service due to the gods whose province it is to preside over birth.'

ἀποθεραπείαν] "a regular service," L. & S. I prefer the meaning given above. "Zur Vollziehung einer Gottesverehrung," Stahr.

ἀπολαύοντα] 'affected by.'

15 διὰ πλῆθος δὲ τέκνων] 'But not on account of the number of children, supposing that the arrangements of the social state forbid beyond a certain number, must it be allowed to abandon any child born.'

ὥρισται γάρ] This is in explanation of κωλύῃ. 'For in our own state there is fixed a limit to the production of children.' For the matter in ques-

Marriage. τισι γίγνηται παρὰ ταῦτα συνδυασθέντων, πρὶν αἴσθησιν ἐγγενέσθαι καὶ ζωήν, ἐμποιεῖσθαι δεῖ τὴν ἄμβλωσιν· τὸ γὰρ ὅσιον καὶ τὸ μὴ διωρισμένον τῇ αἰσθήσει καὶ τῷ ζῆν ἔσται.

16 Ἐπεὶ δ' ἡ μὲν ἀρχὴ τῆς ἡλικίας ἀνδρὶ καὶ γυναικὶ διώρισται, πότε ἄρχεσθαι χρὴ τῆς συζεύξεως, καὶ πόσον χρόνον λειτουργεῖν ἁρμόττει πρὸς τεκνοποιίαν ὡρίσθω· τὰ γὰρ τῶν πρεσβυτέρων ἔκγονα, καθάπερ τὰ τῶν νεωτέρων, ἀτελῆ γίνεται καὶ τοῖς σώμασι καὶ ταῖς διανοίαις, τὰ δὲ τῶν γεγη-
17 ρακότων ἀσθενῆ. διὸ κατὰ τὴν τῆς διανοίας ἀκμήν· αὕτη δ' ἐστὶν ἐν τοῖς πλείστοις ἥνπερ τῶν ποιητῶν τινὲς εἰρήκασιν οἱ μετροῦντες ταῖς ἑβδομάσι τὴν ἡλικίαν, περὶ τὸν χρόνον τὸν τῶν πεντήκοντα ἐτῶν. ὥστε τέτταρσιν ἢ πέντε ἔτεσιν ὑπερβάλλοντα τὴν ἡλικίαν ταύτην ἀφεῖσθαι δεῖ τῆς εἰς τὸ φανερὸν γεννήσεως· τὸ δὲ λοιπὸν ὑγιείας χάριν ἤ τινος ἄλλης τοιαύτης αἰτίας φαίνεσθαι δεῖ ποιουμένους τὴν
18 ὁμιλίαν. περὶ δὲ τῆς πρὸς ἄλλην ἢ πρὸς ἄλλον, ἔστω μὲν ἁπλῶς μὴ καλὸν ἁπτόμενον φαίνεσθαι μηδαμῇ μηδαμῶς, ὅταν ᾖ καὶ προσαγορευθῇ πόσις, περὶ δὲ τὸν χρόνον τὸν τῆς τεκνοποιίας ἐάν τις φαίνηται τοιοῦτόν τι δρῶν, ἀτιμίᾳ
1336b ζημιούσθω πρεπούσῃ πρὸς τὴν ἁμαρτίαν.

Early education. Γενομένων δὲ τῶν τέκνων οἴεσθαι μεγάλην εἶναι διαφορὰν
17 πρὸς τὴν τῶν σωμάτων δύναμιν τὴν τροφήν, ὁποία τις ἂν ᾖ. φαίνεται δὲ διά τε τῶν ἄλλων ζῴων ἐπισκοποῦσι, καὶ διὰ τῶν ἐθνῶν οἷς ἐπιμελές ἐστιν εἰσάγειν τὴν πολεμικὴν ἕξιν, ἡ τοῦ γάλακτος πληθύουσα τροφὴ μάλιστ' οἰκεία
2 τοῖς σώμασιν· ἀοινοτέρα δὲ διὰ τὰ νοσήματα. ἔτι δὲ καὶ κινήσεις ὅσας ἐνδέχεται ποιεῖσθαι τηλικούτων συμφέρει. πρὸς δὲ τὸ μὴ διαστρέφεσθαι τὰ μέλη δι' ἁπαλότητα χρῶνται καὶ νῦν ἔνια τῶν ἐθνῶν ὀργάνοις τισὶ μηχανικοῖς, ἃ

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tion compare Plato, *De Rep.* v. 460, c. who agrees with Aristotle.

17 τὸν χρόνον τὸν τῶν πεντήκοντα] Compare *Rhet.* II. 14, p. 1390, b. 11, where forty-nine is the age fixed on. 7 × 7.

18 περὶ δὲ τῆς] sc. ὁμιλίας.

XVII. 1 οἴεσθαι] sc. δεῖ.

οἷς ἐπιμελές] 'to whom it is a great object.'

ἀοινοτέρα] 'the less wine the better,' a precept far too much neglected at present.

2 τηλικούτων] 'when quite young.'

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τὸ σῶμα ποιεῖ τῶν τοιούτων ἀστραβές. συμφέρει δ' εὐθὺς καὶ πρὸς τὰ ψύχη συνεθίζειν ἐκ μικρῶν παίδων· τοῦτο γὰρ καὶ πρὸς ὑγίειαν καὶ πρὸς πολεμικὰς πράξεις εὐχρηστότατον. διὸ παρὰ πολλοῖς ἐστὶ τῶν βαρβάρων ἔθος τοῖς 3 μὲν εἰς ποταμὸν ἀποβάπτειν τὰ γιγνόμενα ψυχρόν, τοῖς δὲ σκέπασμα μικρὸν ἀμπίσχειν, οἷον Κελτοῖς. πάντα γὰρ ὅσα δυνατὸν ἐθίζειν, εὐθὺς ἀρχομένων[a] βέλτιον μὲν ἐθίζειν, ἐκ προσαγωγῆς δ' ἐθίζειν. εὐφυὴς δ' ἡ τῶν παίδων ἕξις διὰ θερμότητα πρὸς τὴν τῶν ψυχρῶν ἄσκησιν. περὶ μὲν 4 οὖν τὴν πρώτην συμφέρει ποιεῖσθαι τὴν ἐπιμέλειαν τοιαύτην τε καὶ τὴν ταύτῃ παραπλησίαν· τὴν δ' ἐχομένην ταύτης ἡλικίαν μέχρι πέντε ἐτῶν, ἣν οὔτε πω πρὸς μάθησιν καλῶς ἔχει προσάγειν οὐδεμίαν οὔτε πρὸς ἀναγκαίους πόνους, ὅπως μὴ τὴν αὔξησιν ἐμποδίζωσιν, δεῖ τοσαύτης τυγχάνειν κινήσεως ὥστε διαφεύγειν τὴν ἀργίαν τῶν σωμάτων· ἣν χρὴ παρασκευάζειν καὶ δι' ἄλλων πράξεων καὶ διὰ τῆς παιδιᾶς. δεῖ δὲ καὶ τὰς παιδιὰς εἶναι μήτε ἀνελευθέρους μήτε ἐπι- 5 πόνους μήτε ἀνειμένας. καὶ περὶ λόγων δὲ καὶ μύθων, ποίους τινὰς ἀκούειν δεῖ τοὺς τηλικούτους, ἐπιμελὲς ἔστω τοῖς ἄρχουσιν οὓς καλοῦσι παιδονόμους. πάντα γὰρ δεῖ τὰ τοιαῦτα προοδοποιεῖν πρὸς τὰς ὕστερον διατριβάς. διὸ τὰς παιδιὰς εἶναι δεῖ τὰς πολλὰς μιμήσεις τῶν ὕστερον σπουδαζομένων. τὰς δὲ διατάσεις τῶν παίδων καὶ κλαυθ- 6 μοὺς οὐκ ὀρθῶς ἀπαγορεύουσιν οἱ κωλύοντες ἐν τοῖς νόμοις· συμφέρουσι γὰρ πρὸς αὔξησιν. γίνεται γὰρ τρόπον τινὰ γυμνασία τοῖς σώμασιν· ἡ γὰρ τοῦ πνεύματος κάθεξις ποιεῖ τὴν ἰσχὺν τοῖς πονοῦσιν, ὃ συμβαίνει καὶ τοῖς παιδίοις

[a] ἀρχομένῳ Bekker.

3 ἀρχομένων] Stahr adopts this reading, and it seems an improvement on Bekker's ἀρχομένῳ.

εὐφυής] 'is naturally adapted for this training.'

4 τὴν πρώτην] sc. ἡλικίαν.

ἀναγκαίους] 'compulsory.'

τὴν ἀργίαν τῶν σωμάτων] 'a lazy habit of body.'

ἥν] sc. κίνησιν.

5 ἀνειμένας] 'uncontrolled.'

προοδοποιεῖν] 'prepare the way for,' II. IX. 11.

6 διατάσεις] 'stretchings,' 'exertions.'

ἐν τοῖς νόμοις] *de Legg.* VII. 792.

Early education.

διατεινομένοις. Ἐπισκεπτέον δὲ τοῖς παιδονόμοις τὴν
τούτων διαγωγὴν τήν τ' ἄλλην, καὶ ὅπως ὅτι ἥκιστα μετὰ
7 1336 B δούλων ἔσται. ταύτην γὰρ τὴν ἡλικίαν, καὶ μέχρι τῶν
ἑπτὰ ἐτῶν, ἀναγκαῖον οἴκοι τὴν τροφὴν ἔχειν. εὔλογον οὖν
ἀπελαύνειν ἀπὸ τῶν ἀκουσμάτων καὶ τῶν ὁραμάτων ἀνε-
8 λευθερίας καὶ τηλικούτους ὄντας. ὅλως μὲν οὖν αἰσχρολο-
γίαν ἐκ τῆς πόλεως, ὥσπερ ἄλλο τι, δεῖ τὸν νομοθέτην ἐξο-
ρίζειν· (ἐκ τοῦ γὰρ εὐχερῶς λέγειν ὁτιοῦν τῶν αἰσχρῶν γί-
νεται καὶ τὸ ποιεῖν σύνεγγυς.) μάλιστα μὲν οὖν ἐκ τῶν
9 νέων, ὅπως μήτε λέγωσι μήτε ἀκούωσι μηδὲν τοιοῦτον. ἐὰν
δέ τις φαίνηταί τι λέγων ἢ πράττων τῶν ἀπηγορευμένων,
τὸν μὲν ἐλεύθερον μήπω δὲ κατακλίσεως ἠξιωμένον ἐν τοῖς
συσσιτίοις ἀτιμίαις κολάζειν καὶ πληγαῖς, τὸν δὲ πρεσβύ-
τερον τῆς ἡλικίας ταύτης ἀτιμίαις ἀνελευθέροις ἀνδραπο-
δωδίας χάριν. ἐπεὶ δὲ τὸ λέγειν τι τῶν τοιούτων ἐξορί-
ζομεν, φανερὸν ὅτι καὶ τὸ θεωρεῖν ἢ γραφὰς ἢ λόγους
10 ἀσχήμονας. ἐπιμελὲς μὲν οὖν ἔστω τοῖς ἄρχουσι μηθὲν
μήτε ἄγαλμα μήτε γραφὴν εἶναι τοιούτων πράξεων μίμησιν,
εἰ μὴ παρά τισι θεοῖς τοιούτοις οἷς καὶ τὸν τωθασμὸν
ἀποδίδωσιν ὁ νόμος· πρὸς δὲ τούτοις ἀφίησιν ὁ νόμος τοὺς
ἔχοντας ἡλικίαν πλέον προήκουσαν καὶ ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν καὶ

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7 τὴν τούτων διαγωγήν] 'both the way in which they pass their time in general.'

ταύτην γάρ] 'They must be with slaves in some degree, for at this age they must be at home.'

καὶ τηλικούτους] 'even at this tender age.'

8 ὥσπερ ἄλλο τι] the same expression occurs, VIII. (V.) VIII. 2.

ἐκ τῶν νέων] 'away from the young,' he had said ἐκ τῆς πόλεως, and repeats the same proposition.

9 κατακλίσεως] 'a seat at the public mess.'

θεωρεῖν ἢ γραφὰς ἢ λόγους ἀσχήμονας] Eur. *Hipp.* 1004, 5, Dind., quoted in illustration of this by Raoul Rochette, quoted in Stahr,

πλὴν λόγῳ κλύων
γραφῇ τε λεύσσων.

10 τωθασμόν] 'jesting.'

πρὸς δὲ τούτοις] It is desired by some editors to change this dative for the accusative. Compare Stahr on the passage, who retains the dative, and translates it with reference to the Gods, "an diesen erlaubt," u.s.w. This seems to me difficult with the dative. I think it is good sense if construed in its most natural sense, with an adverbial modification, 'in addition to this,' 'besides.' 'Be sides there is no reason for bringing the young into contact with such things at all, as the law permits those of a more suitable age to honour the

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τέκνων καὶ γυναικῶν τιμαλφεῖν τοὺς θεούς. τοὺς δὲ νεωτέ-
ρους οὔτ' ἰάμβων οὔτε κωμῳδίας θεατὰς νομοθετητέον, πρὶν
ἢ τὴν ἡλικίαν λάβωσιν ἐν ᾗ καὶ κατακλίσεως ὑπάρξει κοινω- 11
νεῖν ἤδη καὶ μέθης καὶ τῆς ἀπὸ τῶν τοιούτων γιγνομένης
βλάβης ἀπαθεῖς ἡ παιδεία ποιήσει πάντας. νῦν μὲν οὖν 12
τούτων ἐν παραδρομῇ πεποιήμεθα τὸν λόγον· ὕστερον δ'
ἐπιστήσαντας δεῖ διορίσαι μᾶλλον, εἴτε μὴ δεῖ πρῶτον εἴτε
δεῖ διαπορήσαντας, καὶ πῶς δεῖ· κατὰ δὲ τὸν παρόντα καιρὸν
ἐμνήσθημεν ὡς ἀναγκαῖον. ἴσως γὰρ οὐ κακῶς ἔλεγε τὸ 13
τοιοῦτον Θεόδωρος ὁ τῆς τραγῳδίας ὑποκριτής· οὐθενὶ γὰρ
πώποτε παρῆκεν ἑαυτοῦ προεισάγειν, οὐδὲ τῶν εὐτελῶν
ὑποκριτῶν, ὡς οἰκειουμένων τῶν θεατῶν ταῖς πρώταις ἀκοαῖς.
συμβαίνει δὲ ταὐτὸ τοῦτο καὶ πρὸς τὰς τῶν ἀνθρώπων
ὁμιλίας καὶ πρὸς τὰς τῶν πραγμάτων· πάντα γὰρ στέργομεν
τὰ πρῶτα μᾶλλον. διὸ δεῖ τοῖς νέοις πάντα ποιεῖν ξένα τὰ 14
φαῦλα, μάλιστα δ' αὐτῶν ὅσα ἔχει ἢ μοχθηρίαν ἢ δυσμένειαν.
διελθόντων δὲ τῶν πέντε ἐτῶν τὰ δύο μέχρι τῶν ἑπτὰ δεῖ
θεωροὺς ἤδη γίγνεσθαι τῶν μαθήσεων, ἃς δεήσει μανθάνειν
αὐτούς. δύο δ' εἰσὶν ἡλικίαι πρὸς ἃς ἀναγκαῖον διῃρῆσθαι 15
τὴν παιδείαν, μετὰ τὴν ἀπὸ τῶν ἑπτὰ μέχρι ἥβης καὶ
πάλιν μετὰ τὴν ἀφ' ἥβης μέχρι τῶν ἑνὸς καὶ εἴκοσιν ἐτῶν.
οἱ γὰρ ταῖς ἑβδομάσι διαιροῦντες τὰς ἡλικίας ὡς ἐπὶ τὸ
πολὺ λέγουσιν οὐ κακῶς,[a] δεῖ δὲ τῇ διαιρέσει τῆς φύσεως

[a] καλῶς Bekker.

Gods on behalf of themselves, their wives, and children.'

τιμαλφεῖν] L. and S. on this word quote it from Pindar and Æschylus, but state that it is rare in prose.

11 ἰάμβων] an iambic poem, a lampoon, in this sense usually plural. L. and S. on this passage. Spengel, p. 9, note 11, remarks that somewhere or other in his work Aristotle must have expressed himself on the question, whether Homer and the tragedians should, as Plato wished, be banished from the state.

12 ἐπιστήσαντας] above, Ch. XVI. XII.

13 Theodorus, mentioned Demosth. *Fals. Leg.* 418.

ὡς οἰκειουμένων, κ.τ.λ.] 'on the ground that the spectators adapted themselves,' &c. Compare Plato, *Protagoras*, 326, B.

14 μοχθηρίαν ἢ δυσμένειαν] 'vice or ill will.'

15 οὐ κακῶς] Such I agree with Spengel, p. 8, note 11, and with Muretus, Vol. III. 76, ed. Ruhnken and *Rhet.* II. 14, p. 1390, b. 10,

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ἐπακολουθεῖν· πᾶσα γὰρ τέχνη καὶ παιδεία τὸ προσλεῖπον βούλεται τῆς φύσεως ἀναπληροῦν.
16 Πρῶτον μὲν οὖν σκεπτέον εἰ ποιητέον τάξιν τινὰ περὶ τοὺς παῖδας, ἔπειτα πότερον συμφέρει κοινῇ ποιεῖσθαι τὴν ἐπιμέλειαν αὐτῶν ἢ κατ' ἴδιον τρόπον (ὃ γίνεται καὶ νῦν ἐν ταῖς πλείσταις τῶν πόλεων), τρίτον δὲ ποίαν τινὰ δεῖ ταύτην.

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should be the reading, not καλῶς. 'For they who divide the ages of man's life by periods of seven years as a general rule are tolerably right, only it must not be pressed too strictly, but the division of nature herself must be followed,' and she draws no rigid line in this case. The age of puberty is variable within certain limits, Carpenter, *Manual of Physiology*, § 788.

πᾶσα γὰρ τέχνη, κ.τ.λ.] Compare *Eth.* I. iv. 15, p. 1097. 5, τὸ ἐνδεὲς ἐπιζητοῦσαι. 'For it is the object of all man's art, and that particular branch of it which is directed to the fashioning of men, education, to supply that which nature leaves wanting.' Compare Plato, I. 341, II. E.

16 Three questions started. Is there to be a system of education? Is it to be public or private? What is it to be? The first two are answered perfectly, as, in fact, they admit of a ready answer. The third is only partially answered, many of its most important elements either received no treatment or it has been lost.

BOOK V. (VIII.) SUMMARY.

IT is not denied that education is one of the highest objects of the legislator's attention. It is not to be denied, secondly, that it should be one and uniform—public, and not left to individual caprice. What the education shall be, what the system adopted, this, the third question, is not so easily answered. It suggests many others. Is it intellect or the moral nature that you want to train more especially? Then, in the things taught, shall they be those which are practically useful, or those which conduce to excellence, or shall they be the higher subjects of speculation? Just touching on the evident limits, that all useful things cannot be discarded, and that no illiberal study is to be pursued, Aristotle proceeds to consider the actually existing system. There are in this system four branches. Reading, with its accompaniments; gymnastics, or bodily training; music and design. The first and fourth are taught as useful, the second as tending to form brave men. It is on the question of music that the issue may be taken. The discussion that immediately follows we need not dwell on, as it is only a statement of the various difficulties and the subject is resumed later. The only result definitely is, that he sees good reason for refusing to submit, in all cases, to the test of mere utility in the ordinary sense of the term. Remembering his order of education given in the last book, he turns to that which comes first, the bodily training, gymnastics (Ch. I.—III.).

In regard to this, we must beware of two evils into which others have fallen, some have aimed too much at forming an *athletic* habit of body, others have aimed at too fierce a character. In both the type is too low, and in the last case, that of the Lacedæmonians, the education given has been proved a failure by experience. His regulations are—light and easy training till the age of puberty, so as to favour the growth. The three years after this age are to be devoted to acquiring the rudiments of knowledge. Then severe bodily training and hard diet may be introduced. In no case are body and mind to be worked hard at the same time (Ch. IV.).

Passing to the question of music: Is it taught as an amuse-

ment, a recreation? or as a training, an educational accomplishment, a means to an end, which end secured, the means may be thrown aside? or is it taught as something additional, an ornament of life in its highest form, when the man has passed the restlessness of childhood, ever in want of amusement; has passed the struggles of youth and earlier manhood, the period of learning, of discipline, of formation of character; and has reached the settled state of life and mature manhood, to be spent not in business or in war, but as a period of rest and peaceful contemplation? Music is for all of these, is the answer. It amuses—it influences the character—it s a high intellectual pleasure. Has not the soul itself been said to be a harmony? (Ch. V.).

There remains for consideration the question, How is it to be taught? By actual practice, is the answer, stopping short of course of professional skill, and therefore discarding all that tends to form that, both as to the music learnt and the instruments on which it is learnt. No kind of music is to be rejected absolutely, it will find its place and audience somewhere, but different music is of course used in education from that which would be allowed on other occasions. The Dorian music is especially favoured from the educational point of view (Ch. VI. VII.).

The question whether Aristotle left the book in the state in which we have it, whether he ever developed more fully his treatise on education, is one we have no means of answering. But it seems difficult to dispute the conclusion that the treatment of the subject is incomplete, and that this book contains but a fragment of it. If we turn to the conclusion of the first book (I. 13, 15, 16.) we shall, I think, be inclined to suspect that a very large portion of his work has been lost to us, as much as two or three books very probably. For even granting that the subject of music, in Aristotle's sense of the term, is complete, there remains the kindred subject of poetry, its influence and its proper place in education. In itself this must have attracted his attention, and its full treatment by Plato in the second and third books of his Republic, is enough, for any one who estimates duly the close connexion between Aristotle's moral and political theories and those of Plato, to convince him that, either in intention or in fact, Aristotle also treated it systematically. The same consideration also applies to the question of the family. In respect to that, we may be quite sure that Aristotle was not content with the negative view of the second book, but that the criticism there given was meant to be but the clearing of the ground for the erection of his own positive views,—a dogmatical

construction antagonistic to that of Plato. I might take other points and argue in the same way. But the two mentioned are sufficient. Other omissions will be most clearly appreciated by any reader of the Republic who will thoughtfully compare the points treated in it with those treated by Aristotle. My conclusion would be that not only is this fifth book a fragment, but that we have between it and the sixth a gap of considerable extent which nothing now can supply. And I should conjecture that it was the sense of this that led the earliest arrangers of the work to place the fifth book last. They argued that a work would be unfinished at the end, not in the middle, so when they met evident traces of incompleteness, there they concluded was the point where the author had broken off his labours. Be this conjecture erroneous or not, the common arrangement stands so much in the way of a right understanding of the work, that I have not hesitated to change it.

ΠΟΛΙΤΙΚΩΝ Ε. (Θ.)

Education a state question.

ΟΤΙ μὲν οὖν τῷ νομοθέτῃ μάλιστα πραγματευτέον περὶ τὴν τῶν νέων παιδείαν, οὐδεὶς ἂν ἀμφισβητήσειεν· καὶ γὰρ ἐν ταῖς πόλεσιν οὐ γιγνόμενον τοῦτο βλάπτει τὰς
2 πολιτείας. δεῖ γὰρ πρὸς ἑκάστην πολιτεύεσθαι. τὸ γὰρ ἦθος τῆς πολιτείας ἑκάστης τὸ οἰκεῖον καὶ φυλάττειν εἴωθε τὴν πολιτείαν καὶ καθίστησιν ἐξ ἀρχῆς, οἷον τὸ μὲν δημοκρατικὸν δημοκρατίαν, τὸ δ' ὀλιγαρχικὸν ὀλιγαρχίαν· ἀεὶ δὲ τὸ βέλτιστον ἦθος βελτίονος αἴτιον πολιτείας. ἔτι δὲ πρὸς πάσας δυνάμεις καὶ τέχνας ἔστιν ἃ δεῖ προπαιδεύεσθαι καὶ προεθίζεσθαι πρὸς τὰς ἑκάστων ἐργασίας,
3 ὥστε δῆλον ὅτι καὶ πρὸς τὰς τῆς ἀρετῆς πράξεις. ἐπεὶ δ'

Of the three questions started at the end of the last book, the first, εἰ ποιητέον τάξιν τινα περὶ τοὺς παῖδας, is answered in the first two sections of this book, and answered affirmatively. Each constitution requires for its establishment and maintenance a certain character in its citizens. This must be formed in them. Besides this reason, in our ideal state, in which the aim is, to have all the citizens virtuous, certain previous instruction and training will be necessary, for virtue requires this for its practice as much as any other faculty or act in man. The necessity of this previous training for virtuous action was pointed out *Eth.* II. i. p. 1103, b. 21; and that this training is best given in the state is made clear in *Eth.* X. x. p. 1179. So that a lengthened discussion of the point here would have been superfluous.

I. 1 μάλιστα πραγματευτέον] 'must of absolute necessity direct his attention.'

οὐ γιγνόμενον τοῦτο] 'The omission of this,' ἐν ταῖς πόλεσιν, 'in existing states.'

2 τὸ γὰρ ἦθος] And this cannot be without education, for education alone can form the character which is required in its citizens by each constitution.

βέλτιστον] Spengel proposes βέλτιον, but the change is unnecessary; 'the best character in each case will have the effect in each case of ameliorating the constitution.'

πρὸς τὰς ἑκάστων ἐργασίας] 'for the performance of each,' ἃ γὰρ δεῖ μαθόντας ποιεῖν ταῦτα ποιοῦντες μανθάνομεν, *Eth.* II. i. 4. p. 1103, 32.

3 In sections 3 and 4, we have the answer to the second question, πότερον συμφέρει κοινῇ ποιεῖσθαι, κ.τ.λ.

ἓν τὸ τέλος τῇ πόλει πάσῃ, φανερὸν ὅτι καὶ τὴν παιδείαν μίαν καὶ τὴν αὐτὴν ἀναγκαῖον εἶναι πάντων καὶ ταύτης τὴν ἐπιμέλειαν εἶναι κοινὴν καὶ μὴ κατ' ἰδίαν, ὃν τρόπον νῦν ἕκαστος ἐπιμελεῖται τῶν αὑτοῦ τέκνων ἰδίᾳ τε καὶ μάθησιν ἰδίαν, ἣν ἂν δόξῃ, διδάσκων. δεῖ δὲ τῶν κοινῶν κοινὴν ποιεῖσθαι καὶ τὴν ἄσκησιν. ἅμα δὲ οὐδὲ χρὴ νομίζειν 4 αὐτὸν αὑτοῦ τινὰ εἶναι τῶν πολιτῶν, ἀλλὰ πάντας τῆς πόλεως· μόριον γὰρ ἕκαστος τῆς πόλεως. ἡ δ' ἐπιμέλεια πέφυκεν ἑκάστου μορίου βλέπειν πρὸς τὴν τοῦ ὅλου ἐπιμέλειαν. ἐπαινέσειε δ' ἄν τις κατὰ[a] τοῦτο Λακεδαιμονίους· καὶ γὰρ πλείστην ποιοῦνται σπουδὴν περὶ τοὺς παῖδας καὶ κοινῇ ταύτην. Ὅτι μὲν οὖν νομοθετητέον περὶ παιδείας 2 καὶ ταύτην κοινὴν ποιητέον, φανερόν· τίς δ' ἐστὶν ἡ παιδεία, καὶ πῶς χρὴ παιδεύεσθαι, δεῖ μὴ λανθάνειν. νῦν γὰρ ἀμφισβητεῖται περὶ τῶν ἔργων· οὐ γὰρ ταὐτὰ πάντες ὑπολαμβάνουσι δεῖν μανθάνειν τοὺς νέους οὔτε πρὸς ἀρετὴν

Education a state question.

What is to be taught.

[a] καὶ Bekker.

φανερόν, κ.τ.λ.] 'The education must be one and the same, public, and not left, as it is now left, to individuals;' ὃν τρόπον connects closely with κατ' ἰδίαν. Compare *Eth.* x. x. p. 1179. By changing the stopping at διδάσκων, the next remark is brought into as close a connexion as possible with what precedes. Education is now private, but it is a national interest, and should not be treated as a private one.

4 ἅμα δέ, κ.τ.λ.] this is the true form of Socialism, or rather it is the truth which that word might express, had not all kinds of errors grouped themselves around it, so as to make it almost hopeless to use it, from the misconceptions on the one side of its advocates or disciples, from the passionate and unreasoning horror of many of its opponents on the other. I will content myself here with stating that I think there is a true Socialism, and that even in its erroneous interpretations of that truth, what is called Socialism is nobler than that which greets it with such hatred, the dominant selfishness of the majority.

ἡ ἐπιμέλεια] Compare I. xiii. 15.

καὶ τοῦτο] It is better to read κατὰ τοῦτο, Sylburg's correction. The καὶ makes no sense.

Λακεδαιμονίους] "The Lacedæmonian system," says Mr. Lewis (*Authority, &c.* p. 320), "was too extensive an interference with parental authority and natural affection for imitation, even by the most military republics of antiquity, such as the Roman; and in modern times no such entire substitution of the political for domestic control over children is likely to be seriously entertained."

II. 1 περὶ τῶν ἔργων] 'the things to be taught.' So Stahr, "die Gegenstände."

Existing uncertainty as to what should be taught and why.

οὔτε πρὸς τὸν βίον τὸν ἄριστον· οὐδὲ φανερὸν πότερον
πρὸς τὴν διάνοιαν πρέπει μᾶλλον ἢ πρὸς τὸ τῆς ψυχῆς
ἦθος. ἔκ τε τῆς ἐμποδὼν παιδείας ταραχώδης ἡ σκέψις, καὶ
δῆλον οὐδὲν πότερον ἀσκεῖν δεῖ τὰ χρήσιμα πρὸς τὸν βίον
1337 B 2 ἢ τὰ τείνοντα πρὸς ἀρετην ἢ τὰ περιττά· πάντα γὰρ
εἴληφε ταῦτα κριτάς τινας. περί τε τῶν πρὸς ἀρετὴν
οὐθέν ἐστιν ὁμολογούμενον· καὶ γὰρ τὴν ἀρετὴν οὐ τὴν
αὐτὴν εὐθὺς πάντες τιμῶσιν, ὥστ' εὐλόγως διαφέρονται καὶ
3 πρὸς τὴν ἄσκησιν αὐτῆς. ὅτι μὲν οὖν τὰ ἀναγκαῖα δεῖ
διδάσκεσθαι τῶν χρησίμων, οὐκ ἄδηλον· ὅτι δὲ οὐ πάντα,
διῃρημένων τῶν τε ἐλευθέρων ἔργων καὶ τῶν ἀνελευθέρων,
φανερὸν ὅτι τῶν τοιούτων δεῖ μετέχειν ὅσα τῶν χρησίμων
4 ποιήσει τὸν μετέχοντα μὴ βάναυσον. βάναυσον δ' ἔργον

πότερον πρὸς τὴν διάνοιαν] 'ought education to aim at the cultivation of the intellect, or rather at the formation of the moral character?' The opposition between διάνοια and ἦθος is the same as that *Eth.* I. xiii. p. 1103, 5, and the question was discussed IV. xv. 9, 10.

2 ἐμποδών] 'actual,' 'in the way.' There is an ambiguity in the word, which perhaps did not escape Aristotle, though it may be safest to take it as a simply neutral term, 'the education which meets us when we begin our inquiries on the subject.' In his day, as in ours, the question of education was not to be solved by an appeal to practical experience. The only answer returned was a confused one, and must be so, as the actual education was not based on any well determined, well understood principles. In fact, the object to be aimed at was yet entirely a matter under discussion, and some would have nothing taught but merely that which in the most ordinary sense was useful for life.

τὰ περιττά] *Eth.* VI. vii. 5, p. 1141, b. 6, περιττὰ μὲν καὶ θαυμαστὰ καὶ χαλεπὰ καὶ δαιμόνια, 'res divinæ ac naturales,' Vict.; 'die höheren speculativen Wissenschaften,' Stahr. This seems the meaning ultimately, but the translation is not easy, for 'the higher branches of science' seems to lose the proper sense of the word, which, in the mouths of those who use it with reference to education, has somewhat of a sneer in it, 'out-of-the-way knowledge,' 'the 'ideology' of the elder Napoleon, the 'theory' or 'philosophy' of men of ordinary education amongst ourselves.

κριτὰς εἴληφε] *Metaph.* I. viii. 89, a. 7. ed. Bonitz. 'auctores,' 'judgments in their favour.'

περί τε, κ.τ.λ.] 'and if we adopt the second object, and say that our education should tend to virtue, still there is no agreement.'

εὐθύς] 'for at the outset it is not the same virtue that all value.'

3 Compare I. VII. The clause ὅτι δὲ οὐ πάντα is not quite regular, but there is no difficulty in the meaning. 'It is clear that we must not have all useful things taught; it is clear, in fact, that we must have them taught only so far as, &c.' Compare, for the question of βάναυσοι, III. v.

εἶναι δεῖ τοῦτο νομίζειν καὶ τέχνην ταύτην καὶ μάθησιν, ὅσαι πρὸς τὰς χρήσεις καὶ τὰς πράξεις τὰς τῆς ἀρετῆς ἄχρηστον ἀπεργάζονται τὸ σῶμα τῶν ἐλευθέρων ἢ τὴν ψυχὴν ἢ τὴν διάνοιαν. διὸ τάς τε τοιαύτας τέχνας ὅσαι τὸ σῶμα παρασκευάζουσι χεῖρον διακεῖσθαι βαναύσους 5 καλοῦμεν, καὶ τὰς μισθαρνικὰς ἐργασίας· ἄσχολον γὰρ ποιοῦσι τὴν διάνοιαν καὶ ταπεινήν. ἔστι δὲ καὶ τῶν ἐλευθερίων ἐπιστημῶν μέχρι μέν τινος ἐνίων μετέχειν οὐκ ἀνελεύθερον, προσεδρεύειν δὲ λίαν πρὸς τὸ ἐντελὲς ἔνοχον ταῖς εἰρημέναις βλάβαις. ἔχει δὲ πολλὴν διαφορὰν καὶ τὸ 6 τίνος χάριν πράττει τις ἢ μανθάνει· αὑτοῦ μὲν γὰρ χάριν ἢ φίλων ἢ δι' ἀρετὴν οὐκ ἀνελεύθερον, ὁ δὲ αὐτὸ τοῦτο πράττων δι' ἄλλους πολλάκις θητικὸν καὶ δουλικὸν δόξειεν ἂν πράττειν. Αἱ μὲν οὖν καταβεβλημέναι νῦν μαθήσεις, καθάπερ ἐλέχθη πρότερον, ἐπαμφοτερίζουσιν. ἔστι δὲ 3 τέτταρα σχεδὸν ἃ παιδεύειν εἰώθασι, γράμματα καὶ γυμναστικὴν καὶ μουσικὴν καὶ τέταρτον ἔνιοι γραφικήν, τὴν μὲν γραμματικὴν καὶ γραφικὴν ὡς χρησίμους πρὸς τὸν βίον

Existing uncertainty as to what should be taught, and why?

The four branches of ordinary Greek education.

5 *μισθαρνικὰς ἐργασίας*] 'occupations à gages.' Compare I. xi. 3, 4, for *μισθαρνία*. The comparison of the two passages would seem to limit the expression here, as the French translation limits it, to the exclusion of the artizan class.

ταπεινήν] 'abject, servile.'

ἔστι δὲ καί, κ.τ.λ.] 'and even in some of the sciences which freemen may know.'

μέχρι μέν τινος] 'though up to a certain point.'

προσεδρεύειν δέ] 'Yet to devote oneself too assiduously to them, with a view to attain perfection in them.'

6 Compare V. (VII.) xiv. 7. *πολλάκις θητικόν*] 'might well be thought to be doing a menial and servile thing.'

καταβεβλημέναι] 'in vogue, in use,' *Eth.* I. iii. 8, p. 1096, 9, *καίτοι πολλοὶ λόγοι πρὸς αὐτὰ καταβέβληνται.*

ἐπαμφοτερίζουσιν] 'are susceptible of more than one interpretation,' IV. (VII.) xiii. 11.

III. 1 The fourfold division of Greek education. In the *Republic*, Book ii., Plato gives only the twofold division with *γυμναστική* and *μουσική*. In the first both agree. It is the second which Aristotle takes in a more restricted sense than Plato, and limits it to music in the modern sense; whereas in Plato it stands for the whole mental training, as distinct from the bodily.

γράμματα] 'reading and writing,' the elements of letters.

γραφικήν] 'the arts of design—drawing.'

χρησίμους πρὸς τὸν βίον] 'as practically useful for the ordinary purposes of daily life, and available at every turn.'

The four branches of ordinary Greek education. Why is music learnt?

οὔσας καὶ πολυχρήστους, τὴν δὲ γυμναστικὴν ὡς συντείνουσαν πρὸς ἀνδρίαν· τὴν δὲ μουσικὴν ἤδη διαπορήσειεν ἄν τις. νῦν μὲν γὰρ ὡς ἡδονῆς χάριν οἱ πλεῖστοι μετέχουσιν αὐτῆς· οἱ δ' ἐξ ἀρχῆς ἔταξαν ἐν παιδείᾳ διὰ τὸ τὴν φύσιν αὐτὴν ζητεῖν, ὅπερ πολλάκις εἴρηται, μὴ μόνον
2 ἀσχολεῖν ὀρθῶς ἀλλὰ καὶ σχολάζειν δύνασθαι καλῶς· αὕτη
3 γὰρ ἀρχὴ πάντων, ἵνα καὶ πάλιν εἴπωμεν περὶ αὐτῆς. εἰ γὰρ ἄμφω μὲν δεῖ, μᾶλλον δὲ αἱρετὸν τὸ σχολάζειν τῆς ἀσχολίας, καὶ ὅλως ζητητέον τί ποιοῦντας δεῖ σχολάζειν. οὐ γὰρ δὴ παίζοντας· τέλος γὰρ ἀναγκαῖον εἶναι τοῦ βίου
4 τὴν παιδιὰν ἡμῖν. εἰ δὲ τοῦτο ἀδύνατον, καὶ μᾶλλον ἐν ταῖς ἀσχολίαις χρηστέον ταῖς παιδιαῖς (ὁ γὰρ πονῶν δεῖται τῆς ἀναπαύσεως, ἡ δὲ παιδιὰ χάριν ἀναπαύσεώς ἐστιν· τὸ δ' ἀσχολεῖν συμβαίνει μετὰ πόνου καὶ συντονίας), διὰ τοῦτο δεῖ παιδιὰς εἰσάγεσθαι καιροφυλακτοῦντας τὴν

ὡς συντείνουσαν] 'as an element in the formation of courage,' so necessary for the Greek citizen.

τὴν δὲ μουσικὴν] The defence on the score of utility, mere usefulness, is least clear in the case of music. So music, in its limited sense, is taken as the battle-ground for this question of utility in the general, and it is his so taking it that sufficiently explains the limited sense he chooses to attach to the word.

2 νῦν μὲν γάρ] 'For although at the present day most learn it as for the sake of the pleasure, yet originally, those who made it a branch of education did not adopt this defence.'

αὕτη γὰρ ἀρχή] This αὕτη might be referred to φύσις, but it is better to take it as referring to σχολή, contained in σχολάζειν, or perhaps, without any definite reference to either of the two terms, it may be translated, 'for here, in the position just laid down, that the nature of man looks not merely to exertion, but also to the right management of leisure, we have the principle of all things, the fundamental position from which we start.' Stahr's translation is, 'denn diese Müsse, um es noch einmal zu sagen, ist Grund und Ziel aller Geschäftigkeit.'

3 εἰ γὰρ ἄμφω μὲν δεῖ, κ.τ.λ.] 'For if whilst both, activity and leisure, must be attended to, leisure is yet the preferable object of attention, it follows that we cannot possibly escape the inquiry in what we are to employ our leisure.'

τέλος γὰρ ἀναγκαῖον] 'For in that case amusement were the end of life.' In *Eth.* x. vi. p. 1176, we have the same point discussed.

4 ἐν ταῖς ἀσχολίαις, κ.τ.λ.] amusements, games, &c., are but the recreations of one immersed in business, their object being to enable him to exert himself the more.

ὁ γὰρ πονῶν, κ.τ.λ.] Herod. II. 173.

καιροφυλακτοῦντας τὴν χρῆσιν] 'watching the proper occasions for its use,' Dem. 678. 17. καιροφυλακεῖν is

Why is music learnt?

χρῆσιν, ὡς προσάγοντας φαρμακείας χάριν· ἄνεσις γὰρ ἡ
τοιαύτη κίνησις τῆς ψυχῆς, καὶ διὰ τὴν ἡδονὴν ἀνάπαυσις·
τὸ δὲ σχολάζειν ἔχειν αὐτὸ δοκεῖ τὴν ἡδονὴν καὶ τὴν 1338
εὐδαιμονίαν καὶ τὸ ζῆν μακαρίως. τοῦτο δ' οὐ τοῖς 5
ἀσχολοῦσιν ὑπάρχει ἀλλὰ τοῖς σχολάζουσιν. ὁ μὲν γὰρ
ἀσχολῶν ἕνεκά τινος ἀσχολεῖ τέλους ὡς οὐχ ὑπάρχοντος, ἡ
δ' εὐδαιμονία τέλος ἐστὶν, ἣν οὐ μετὰ λύπης ἀλλὰ μεθ'
ἡδονῆς οἴονται πάντες εἶναι. ταύτην μέντοι τὴν ἡδονὴν
οὐκέτι τὴν αὐτὴν τιθέασιν, ἀλλὰ καθ' ἑαυτοὺς ἕκαστος καὶ
τὴν ἕξιν τὴν αὑτῶν, ὁ δὲ ἄριστος τὴν ἀρίστην καὶ τὴν ἀπὸ
τῶν καλλίστων. ὥστε φανερὸν ὅτι δεῖ καὶ πρὸς τὴν ἐν 6
τῇ διαγωγῇ σχολὴν μανθάνειν ἄττα καὶ παιδεύεσθαι, καὶ
ταῦτα μὲν τὰ παιδεύματα καὶ ταύτας τὰς μαθήσεις ἑαυτῶν
εἶναι χάριν, τὰς δὲ πρὸς τὴν ἀσχολίαν ὡς ἀναγκαίας καὶ
χάριν ἄλλων. διὸ καὶ τὴν μουσικὴν οἱ πρότερον εἰς 7

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the form preferred by Lobeck *ad Phryn.* 575.

ἡ τοιαύτη κίνησις] 'The movement or excitement of the mind in games.'

διὰ τὴν ἡδονὴν] from the pleasure it brings with it we work easily, and so it acts as a relief.

αὐτό] 'in itself.' It is opposed to the *εἰσάγεσθαι, προσάγοντας*.

5 *τοῦτο*] sc. *τὸ ζῆν μακαρίως*.

ὁ μὲν γὰρ ἀσχολῶν] In his own language, then, *ἀσχολία* is a *γένεσις*, aims at producing some result, and *οὐδεμία γένεσις συγγενὴς τοῖς τέλεσιν*, *Eth.* VII. xii. 3, p. 1152, 13. The aiming at a result implies its non-attainment hitherto.

ὡς οὐχ ὑπάρχοντος] 'Happiness is a result, an end, and all think it is accompanied, not by pain, but by pleasure.'

ταύτην μέντοι] 'Here, however, the agreement stops. The kind of pleasure is not agreed upon.' Comp. *Eth.* I. x. 10, p. 1099, 8 *ἑκάστῳ γάρ ἐστιν ἡδὺ πρὸς ὃ λέγεται φιλοτοιοῦτος*, κ.τ.λ.

6 *τὴν ἐν τῇ διαγωγῇ = τὴν ἐν τῇ σχολῇ διαγωγήν*] The question is, what is *διαγωγή*? Compare Bonitz on the word, in a note, *ad Metaph.* 81, b. 18; and my remarks in the summary of this book. I may add, that the word seems to mark the time when life is lived for its own sake, and not for the sake of some object to be attained, be it the formation of our characters or the attainment of success in war or political power. It is the *βίος θεωρητικός* of *Ethics* x. vii. p. 1177, *ὁ κατὰ σοφίαν*, or *κατὰ νοῦν βίος*, its object the contemplation of truth. It is the life of the *φύλακες* of Plato, after their education is completed, and also after they have discharged their duty to their country and their fellow-citizens by mixing for a time in political affairs.

ταῦτα μὲν τὰ παιδεύματα] 'and whilst the branches of education which have reference to this period should be pursued for their own sakes.'

Why is music learnt?

παιδείαν ἔταξαν οὐχ ὡς ἀναγκαῖον (οὐδὲν γὰρ ἔχει τοιοῦτον) οὐδ' ὡς χρήσιμον, ὥσπερ τὰ γράμματα πρὸς χρηματισμὸν καὶ πρὸς οἰκονομίαν καὶ πρὸς μάθησιν καὶ πρὸς πολιτικὰς πράξεις πολλάς· δοκεῖ δὲ καὶ γραφικὴ χρήσιμος εἶναι πρὸς τὸ κρίνειν τὰ τῶν τεχνιτῶν ἔργα κάλλιον· οὐδ' αὖ καθάπερ ἡ γυμναστικὴ πρὸς ὑγίειαν καὶ ἀλκήν· οὐδέτερον γὰρ τούτων
8 ὁρῶμεν γιγνόμενον ἐκ τῆς μουσικῆς. λείπεται τοίνυν πρὸς τὴν ἐν τῇ σχολῇ διαγωγήν, εἰς ὅπερ καὶ φαίνονται παράγοντες αὐτήν· ἣν γὰρ οἴονται διαγωγὴν εἶναι τῶν ἐλευθέρων, ἐν ταύτῃ τάττουσιν. διόπερ Ὅμηρος οὕτως ἐποίησεν

ἀλλ' οἷον μέν ἐστι καλεῖν ἐπὶ δαῖτα θαλείην.

9 καὶ οὕτω προειπὼν ἑτέρους τινὰς

οἳ καλέουσιν ἀοιδόν φησιν, ὅ κεν τέρπῃσιν ἅπαντας.

καὶ ἐν ἄλλοις δέ φησιν Ὀδυσσεὺς ταύτην ἀρίστην εἶναι διαγωγήν, ὅταν εὐφραινομένων τῶν ἀνθρώπων

δαιτυμόνες δ' ἀνὰ δώματ' ἀκουάζωνται ἀοιδοῦ
ἥμενοι ἑξείης.

Mere utility rejected as a test.

10 Ὅτι μὲν τοίνυν ἐστὶ παιδεία τις ἣν οὐχ ὡς χρήσιμον[a] παιδευτέον τοὺς υἱεῖς οὐδ' ὡς ἀναγκαίαν ἀλλ' ὡς ἐλευθέριον καὶ καλήν, φανερόν ἐστιν· πότερον δὲ μία τὸν ἀριθμὸν ἢ πλείους,
11 καὶ τίνες αὗται καὶ πῶς, ὕστερον λεκτέον περὶ αὐτῶν. νῦν δὲ τοσοῦτον ἡμῖν εἶναι πρὸ ὁδοῦ γέγονεν, ὅτι καὶ παρὰ τῶν ἀρχαίων ἔχομέν τινα μαρτυρίαν ἐκ τῶν καταβεβλημένων

[a] χρησίμην Bekker.

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7 δοκεῖ δὲ καὶ γραφική.] Why should not music be useful in the same sense in which he here says the art of design is?

8 εἰς ὅπερ, κ.τ.λ.] 'And this is evidently the object for which men do introduce music.'

ἀλλ' οἷον] not found in our existing Homer. Comp. III. xiv.

9 οἳ καλέουσιν] *Od.* xvii. 385.

δαιτυμόνες] *Od.* ix. 7.

10 χρήσιμον] Spengel prefers this to Bekker's reading, χρησίμην. It is more in keeping with § 7, as also with χρησίμους, in III. 1.

οὐδ' ὡς ἀναγκαίαν] 'much less on the ground of absolute necessity.'

ὕστερον] This is lost.

11 πρὸ ὁδοῦ] 'we have got so far on our way.'

καταβεβλημένων] above, II. 6, 'drawn from the branches of education actually taught.'

παιδευμάτων· ἡ γὰρ μουσικὴ τοῦτο ποιεῖ δῆλον. ἔτι δὲ καὶ τῶν χρησίμων ὅτι δεῖ τινὰ παιδεύεσθαι τοὺς παῖδας οὐ μόνον διὰ τὸ χρήσιμον, οἷον τὴν τῶν γραμμάτων μάθησιν, ἀλλὰ καὶ διὰ τὸ πολλὰς ἐνδέχεσθαι γίγνεσθαι δι' αὐτῶν μαθήσεις ἑτέρας.

Mere utility rejected as a test.

ὁμοίως δὲ καὶ τὴν γραφικὴν οὐχ ἵνα ἐν 12
τοῖς ἰδίοις ὠνίοις μὴ διαμαρτάνωσιν ἀλλ' ὦσιν ἀνεξαπάτητοι πρὸς τὴν τῶν σκευῶν ὠνήν τε καὶ πρᾶσιν, ἢ μᾶλλον ὅτι 1338 B
ποιεῖ θεωρητικὸν τοῦ περὶ τὰ σώματα κάλλους. τὸ δὲ ζητεῖν πανταχοῦ τὸ χρήσιμον ἥκιστα ἁρμόττει τοῖς μεγαλοψύχοις καὶ τοῖς ἐλευθέροις. Ἐπεὶ δὲ φανερὸν πρότερον 13
τοῖς ἔθεσιν ἢ τῷ λόγῳ παιδευτέον εἶναι, καὶ περὶ τὸ σῶμα πρότερον ἢ τὴν διάνοιαν, δῆλον ἐκ τούτων ὅτι παραδοτέον τοὺς παῖδας γυμναστικῇ καὶ παιδοτριβικῇ· τούτων γὰρ ἡ μὲν ποιάν τινα ποιεῖ τὴν ἕξιν τοῦ σώματος, ἡ δὲ τὰ ἔργα.

Bodily education must precede mental.

Νῦν μὲν οὖν αἱ μάλιστα δοκοῦσαι τῶν πόλεων ἐπιμε- 4
λεῖσθαι τῶν παίδων αἱ μὲν ἀθλητικὴν ἕξιν ἐμποιοῦσι, λωβώμεναι τά τε εἴδη καὶ τὴν αὔξησιν τῶν σωμάτων, οἱ δὲ Λάκωνες ταύτην μὲν οὐχ ἥμαρτον τὴν ἁμαρτίαν, θηριώδεις δ' ἀπεργάζονται τοῖς πόνοις, ὡς τοῦτο πρὸς ἀνδρίαν μά-

Bodily training, γυμναστική.

ἔτι δέ] φανερόν to be supplied, and for the subject we must go back to § 6.

διὰ τὸ χρήσιμον] 'mere use in the lowest sense.'

12 ἐν τοῖς ἰδίοις ὠνίοις] 'in their private purchases.'

ἀλλ' ὦσιν] must be connected as closely as possible with διαμαρτάνωσιν. I have therefore taken away Bekker's comma. For all this language compare the *Republic*, with the positions in which on this point Aristotle argues, whilst he does not so absolutely as Plato reject the element of utility.

τοῖς μεγαλοψύχοις] In *Eth.* IV. viii. 33, p. 1125, 11, the μεγαλόψυχος is said to be οἷος κεκτῆσθαι μᾶλλον τὰ καλὰ καὶ ἄκαρπα τῶν καρπίμων καὶ ὠφελίμων.

13 Compare IV. (VII.) XV. 10.

γυμναστικῇ καὶ παιδοτριβικῇ] Compare Galen, *De Val. Tu.* II. 9, 11, which, with this passage, is quoted by Smith (*Dict. Ant.*) as the basis of his distinction between these two branches of bodily training, which with the ancients was partly medical, partly what we should mean by gymnastics.

τὰ ἔργα] 'its actions' in the various exercises and games.

IV. 1 λωβώμεναι] 'injuring.'

ταύτην μὲν οὐκ] "Though they have not committed this error, yet they render their citizens savage," Grote, II. 507, 517, where the Lacedæmonian character is spoken of as being of a low type in comparison with that of Plato's φύλακες.

[illegible]

... I have not ... of the ... to collect any ... of these and other ... They show the extent ... of Aristotle's informa- ... but politically they are of no ... interest, and in the common ... of reference sufficient will be ...

[illegible] Episodic, ... in the sense of continental ... properly ...

[illegible] ... for this word compare ...

τοῖς φιλοπονίαις] Thuc. II. 39 φιλοπονοῦμεν.

νῦν δέ] Grote II. 601.

οὐ γὰρ τῷ τοὺς νέους, κ.τ.λ.] 'For it was not by their training their youth in this particular system that they ... others, but by their ... whilst others did not.'

[illegible] = πρὸς μὴ ... compare the expression, ... Thuc. I. [illegible]

[illegible] 'must take the ... place,' 'play the first part.'

θηρίων τι ἀγωνίσαιτο ἂν οὐθένα καλὸν κίνδυνον, ἀλλὰ
μᾶλλον ἀνὴρ ἀγαθός. οἱ δὲ λίαν εἰς ταῦτα ἀνέντες τοὺς
παῖδας, καὶ τῶν ἀναγκαίων ἀπαιδαγωγήτους ποιήσαντες
βαναύσους κατεργάζονται κατά γε τὸ ἀληθές, πρὸς ἓν τε 6
μόνον ἔργον τῇ πολιτικῇ χρησίμους ποιήσαντες, καὶ πρὸς
τοῦτο χεῖρον, ὥς φησιν ὁ λόγος, ἑτέρων. δεῖ δὲ οὐκ ἐκ 7
τῶν προτέρων ἔργων κρίνειν, ἀλλ' ἐκ τῶν νῦν· ἀνταγωνιστὰς
γὰρ τῆς παιδείας νῦν ἔχουσι, πρότερον δ' οὐκ εἶχον. Ὅτι
μὲν οὖν χρηστέον τῇ γυμναστικῇ, καὶ πῶς χρηστέον,
ὁμολογούμενόν ἐστιν. μέχρι μὲν γὰρ ἥβης κουφότερα
γυμνάσια προσοιστέον, τὴν βίαιον τροφὴν καὶ τοὺς πρὸς
ἀνάγκην πόνους ἀπείργοντας, ἵνα μηθὲν ἐμπόδιον ᾖ πρὸς
τὴν αὔξησιν. σημεῖον γὰρ οὐ μικρὸν ὅτι δύναται τοῦτο 8
παρασκευάζειν· ἐν γὰρ τοῖς ὀλυμπιονίκαις δύο τις ἂν ἢ 1339
τρεῖς εὕροι τοὺς αὐτοὺς νενικηκότας ἄνδρας τε καὶ παῖδας,
διὰ τὸ νέους ἀσκοῦντας ἀφαιρεῖσθαι τὴν δύναμιν ὑπὸ τῶν
ἀναγκαίων γυμνασίων. ὅταν δ' ἀφ' ἥβης ἔτη τρία πρὸς 9

Bodily training, γυμναστική.

6 *εἰς ταῦτα*] sc. *τὰ γυμνάσια*, 'bodily exercises.'

ἀναγκαίων ἀπαιδαγωγήτους] 'whilst they left them untaught in all the points essential to man, the most necessary rudiments of intellectual training.' They had no music—below v. 7—probably no drawing; and the passage seems in favour of Mr Grote's view, which has been disputed by Col. Mure, that they had not *γράμματα* in the most elementary form.

βαναύσους] Compare II. IV. *ἄχρηστον τὸ σῶμα ἢ τὴν ψυχὴν ἢ τὴν διάνοιαν*.

ὡς φησὶν ὁ λόγος] 'as reason teaches us.' So Stahr and St. Hil.

7 *ἀνταγωνιστάς*] These 'rivals' the Spartans found in the Thebans. Compare Grote, x. 252.

ὅτι μὲν οὖν] 'still whatever errors may have been committed on the subject, bodily training is not to be neglected.'

τὴν βίαιον τροφήν] 'The compulsory sustenance of a regular athlete.'

τοὺς πρὸς ἀνάγκην πόνους] = *τοὺς ἀναγκαίους πόνους* of IV. (VII.) XVII. 4.

8 *σημεῖον γὰρ οὐ μικρόν, κ.τ.λ.*] 'For we are not without sufficient argument to shaw that *it* can produce this result.'

τοῦτο] sc. *ἐμπόδιον εἶναι*] and the *it* is, from the last sentence, the training, both as to food and exercises, of the athlete.

ὀλυμπιονίκαις] Aristotle is said to have made a collection of these victors in the Olympic games.

διὰ τὸ νέους ἀσκοῦντας ἀφαιρεῖσθαι] 'because by their training whilst young, they deprived themselves of their strength.'

9 *ἔτη τρία, κ.τ.λ.*] 'They have been engaged for three years in their other studies.'

Bodily training, γυμναστική.

τοῖς ἄλλοις μαθήμασι γένωνται, τότε ἁρμόττει καὶ τοῖς πόνοις καὶ ταῖς ἀναγκοφαγίαις καταλαμβάνειν τὴν ἐχομένην ἡλικίαν. ἅμα γὰρ τῇ τε διανοίᾳ καὶ τῷ σώματι διαπονεῖν οὐ δεῖ· τοὐναντίον γὰρ ἑκάτερος ἀπεργάζεσθαι πέφυκε τῶν πόνων, ἐμποδίζων ὁ μὲν τοῦ σώματος πόνος τὴν διάνοιαν, ὁ δὲ ταύτης τὸ σῶμα.

Music. Its object.

5 Περὶ δὲ μουσικῆς ἔνια μὲν διηπορήσαμεν τῷ λόγῳ καὶ πρότερον, καλῶς δ' ἔχει καὶ νῦν ἀναλαβόντας αὐτὰ προαγαγεῖν, ἵνα ὥσπερ ἐνδόσιμον γένηται τοῖς λόγοις οὓς ἄν τις
2 εἴπειεν ἀποφαινόμενος περὶ αὐτῆς. οὔτε γὰρ τίνα ἔχει δύναμιν ῥᾴδιον περὶ αὐτῆς διελεῖν, οὔτε τίνος δεῖ χάριν μετέχειν αὐτῆς, πότερον παιδιᾶς ἕνεκα καὶ ἀναπαύσεως, καθάπερ ὕπνου καὶ μέθης· ταῦτα γὰρ καθ' αὑτὰ μὲν οὔτε τῶν σπουδαίων, ἀλλ' ἡδέα, καὶ ἅμα παύει μέριμναν, ὥς
3 φησὶν Εὐριπίδης· διὸ καὶ τάττουσιν αὐτὴν καὶ χρῶνται πᾶσι τούτοις ὁμοίως, ὕπνῳ[a] καὶ μέθῃ καὶ μουσικῇ. τιθέασι δὲ καὶ τὴν ὄρχησιν ἐν τούτοις. ἢ μᾶλλον οἰητέον πρός ἀρετήν τι τείνειν τὴν μουσικήν, ὡς δυναμένην, καθάπερ ἡ γυμναστικὴ τὸ σῶμα ποιόν τι παρασκευάζει, καὶ τὴν

[a] οἴνῳ Bekker.

ἀναγκοφαγίαις] = τῇ πρὸς ἀνάγκην, or βιαίᾳ τροφῇ.

καταλαμβάνειν] 'to seize firmly,' 'establish,' 'place in high condition.'

ἅμα γάρ] 'I leave this period of three years, for the two trainings must not be simultaneous; the body and the mind ought not to be worked together.' So I interpret the γάρ. It is a remark, the truth of which is far too much lost sight of in our present education.'

V. 1 So far for γυμναστική, which must precede; now for the other divisions of education, the μουσική of Plato's *Republic*, and its first branch, the more limited μουσική of Aristotle.

καὶ πρότερον] Ch. III.

ἀναλαβόντας προαγαγεῖν] 'To return on what we said, and carry our observations further, that they may be, as it were, a prelude, or overture, to the full discussion of the subject by others.' For προαγαγεῖν, *Eth.* I. vii. 17, p. 1098, 22. He has no intention, therefore, of exhausting the subject, says Victorius.

2 οὔτε γάρ, κ.τ.λ.] 'It is desirable to say more, for the subject is difficult.'

Εὐριπίδης] *Bacch.* 378—384.

3 τάττουσιν αὐτήν] sc. ἐν παιδιᾷ, or ἐν ἀναπαύσει, or supply εἰς ταὐτό, a phrase not uncommon in Aristotle.

οἴνῳ] This would seem to be a mistake for ὕπνῳ. Stahr changes it, and so do others.

τὸ ἦθος ποιόν τι ποιεῖν] 'To affect the moral character.'

Music. Its object.

μουσικὴν τὸ ἦθος ποιόν τι ποιεῖν, ἐθίζουσαν δύνασθαι
χαίρειν ὀρθῶς. ἢ πρὸς διαγωγήν τι συμβάλλεται καὶ πρὸς
φρόνησιν· καὶ γὰρ τοῦτο τρίτον θετέον τῶν εἰρημένων. 4
Ὅτι μὲν οὖν δεῖ τοὺς νέους μὴ παιδιᾶς ἕνεκα παιδεύειν, οὐκ
ἄδηλον· οὐ γὰρ παίζουσι μανθάνοντες· μετὰ λύπης γὰρ ἡ
μάθησις. ἀλλὰ μὴν οὐδὲ διαγωγήν τε παισὶν ἁρμόττει καὶ
ταῖς ἡλικίαις ἀποδιδόναι ταῖς τοιαύταις· οὐδενὶ γὰρ ἀτελεῖ
προσήκει τέλος. ἀλλ' ἴσως ἂν δόξειεν ἡ τῶν παίδων 5
σπουδὴ παιδιᾶς εἶναι χάριν ἀνδράσι γενομένοις καὶ τελειω-
θεῖσιν. ἀλλ' εἰ τοῦτ' ἐστὶ τοιοῦτον, τίνος ἂν ἕνεκα δέοι
μανθάνειν αὐτούς, ἀλλὰ μὴ καθάπερ οἱ τῶν Περσῶν καὶ
Μήδων βασιλεῖς, ἄλλων αὐτὸ ποιούντων μεταλαμβάνειν τῆς
ἡδονῆς καὶ τῆς μαθήσεως; καὶ γὰρ ἀναγκαῖον βέλτιον 6
ἀπεργάζεσθαι τοὺς αὐτὸ τοῦτο πεποιημένους ἔργον καὶ
τέχνην τῶν τοσοῦτον χρόνον ἐπιμελουμένων ὅσον πρὸς
μάθησιν μόνον. εἰ δὲ δεῖ τὰ τοιαῦτα διαπονεῖν αὐτούς, καὶ
περὶ τὴν τῶν ὄψων πραγματείαν αὐτοὺς ἂν δέοι παρα-
σκευάζειν· ἀλλ' ἄτοπον. τὴν δ' αὐτὴν ἀπορίαν ἔχει καὶ εἰ 7
δύναται τὰ ἤθη βελτίω ποιεῖν· ταῦτα γὰρ τί δεῖ μανθάνειν 1339
αὐτούς, ἀλλ' οὐχ ἑτέρων ἀκούοντας ὀρθῶς τε χαίρειν καὶ

ἐθίζουσαν] 'By training and accustoming men.'

4 *φρόνησιν*] 'intellectual cultivation,' not in the more ethical sense of the term, but rather using it as Plato uses it in the *Republic*, and its connexion in this sense with *διαγωγή* supports my remarks on that word, III. vi.

μανθάνοντες] sc. *τὴν μουσικήν*, 'on the contrary, it costs a painful effort.'

γενομένοις καὶ τελειωθεῖσιν] For these two words, see I. viii. 9, 11, where they are used separately and as equivalent.

τίνος ἂν ἕνεκα] The question asked here is similar to that which is asked with regard to *φρόνησις*, at the opening of *Eth.* vi. xiii. p. 1143, b. 18.

αὐτούς] 'themselves.'

τῶν Περσῶ καὶ Μήδων] is not this last a later addition? Is there any other instance in Aristotle of the two being used?

6 *τοὺς αὐτὸ τοῦτο πεποιημένους ἔργον*] 'those who have made this very thing by itself their business and profession, rather than those who attend to it only so long as to enable them to learn it.'

αὐτούς] may be accusative after either *δέοι* or *παρασκευάζειν*. The latter seems the better, 'to make them qualified for.'

7 *καὶ εἰ*] 'even if it makes the character better, and this it can do.'

ταῦτα γάρ] sc. *τὰ τὸ ἦθος βέλτιον ποιοῦντα*.

Music. Its object.

δύνασθαι κρίνειν; ὥσπερ οἱ Λάκωνες· ἐκεῖνοι γὰρ οὐ μανθάνοντες ὅμως δύνανται κρίνειν ὀρθῶς, ὥς φασί, τὰ χρηστὰ
8 καὶ τὰ μὴ χρηστὰ τῶν μελῶν. ὁ δ' αὐτὸς λόγος κἂν εἰ πρὸς εὐημερίαν καὶ διαγωγὴν ἐλευθέριον χρηστέον αὐτῇ· τί δεῖ μανθάνειν αὐτούς, ἀλλ' οὐχ ἑτέρων χρωμένων ἀπολαύειν; σκοπεῖν δ' ἔξεστι τὴν ὑπόληψιν ἣν ἔχομεν περὶ τῶν θεῶν· οὐ γὰρ ὁ Ζεὺς αὐτὸς ᾄδει καὶ κιθαρίζει τοῖς ποιηταῖς. ἀλλὰ καὶ βαναύσους καλοῦμεν τοὺς τοιούτους καὶ τὸ πράττειν
9 οὐκ ἀνδρὸς μὴ μεθύοντος ἢ παίζοντος. ἀλλ' ἴσως περὶ μὲν τούτων ὕστερον ἐπισκεπτέον, ἡ δὲ πρώτη ζήτησίς ἐστι πότερον οὐ θετέον εἰς παιδείαν τὴν μουσικὴν ἢ θετέον, καὶ τί δύναται τῶν διαπορηθέντων τριῶν, πότερον παιδείαν ἢ παιδιὰν ἢ διαγωγήν. εὐλόγως δ' εἰς πάντα τάττεται καὶ
10 φαίνεται μετέχειν. ἥ τε γὰρ παιδιὰ χάριν ἀναπαύσεώς ἐστι, τὴν δ' ἀνάπαυσιν ἀναγκαῖον ἡδεῖαν εἶναι (τῆς γὰρ διὰ τῶν πόνων λύπης ἰατρεία τίς ἐστιν)· καὶ τὴν διαγωγὴν ὁμολογουμένως δεῖ μὴ μόνον ἔχειν τὸ καλὸν ἀλλὰ καὶ τὴν ἡδονήν· τὸ γὰρ εὐδαιμονεῖν ἐξ ἀμφοτέρων τούτων

οἱ Λάκωνες] Music not taught the Spartan citizen. Grote, IV. 114.

μελῶν] 'words and music.' μέλος συνίσταται ἐκ τριῶν, λόγου, ἁρμονίας, ῥυθμοῦ.

8 πρὸς εὐημερίαν] as opposed to συντονίαν, πόνον, ἀσχολίαν. 'For the calm, undisturbed enjoyment of the life of the citizen, and that citizen trained in all liberal cultivation, not βάναυσον in any sense.'

τὴν ὑπόληψιν] 'the conception which we have of the gods, for in the poets, Zeus is not introduced as himself singing and playing.' By a rather abrupt transition, which, however, Bekker's stopping makes more abrupt than it need be, he turns from the gods, and appeals to the common language of men on the point.

τοὺς τοιούτους] 'such as make it a profession.'

τὸ πράττειν] Compare Herod. VI. 128—130. τὸ πράττειν as distinct from μάθησις.

9 Stahr puts a full stop at ἐπισκεπτέον, but it is not necessary to do so.

τῶν διαπορηθέντων τριῶν] 'of the three objects which, as the result of our discussion, we find that it may have.'

εὐλόγως δέ] 'on good grounds it is ranged under them all.' The pleasure which it affords adapts it for two of the three, for amusement and for the enjoyment of life. Its adaptation to the purposes of education is discussed later, § 15 and foll.

10 λύπης ἰατρεία] Compare *Eth.* VII. XV. p. 1154, 27; and there is no other remedy for pain but pleasure. ἐκκρούει τὴν λύπην. αἱ ἰατρεῖαι διὰ τῶν ἐναντίων πεφύκασι γίνεσθαι, *Eth.* II. ii. 4[2], p. 1104, b. 17.

ἀμφοτέρων] sc. τοῦ καλοῦ καὶ τοῦ

ἐστίν. τὴν δὲ μουσικὴν πάντες εἶναί φαμεν τῶν ἡδίστων, καὶ ψιλὴν οὖσαν καὶ μετὰ μελῳδίας· φησὶ γοῦν καὶ Μουσαῖος εἶναι

Music. Its object.

11

βροτοῖς ἥδιστον ἀείδειν.

διὸ καὶ εἰς τὰς συνουσίας καὶ διαγωγὰς εὐλόγως παραλαμβάνουσιν αὐτὴν ὡς δυναμένην εὐφραίνειν· ὥστε καὶ ἐντεῦθεν ἄν τις ὑπολάβοι παιδεύεσθαι δεῖν αὐτὴν τοὺς νεωτέρους. ὅσα γὰρ ἀβλαβῆ τῶν ἡδέων, οὐ μόνον ἁρμόττει πρὸς τὸ 12 τέλος ἀλλὰ καὶ πρὸς τὴν ἀνάπαυσιν. ἐπεὶ δ' ἐν μὲν τῷ τέλει συμβαίνει τοῖς ἀνθρώποις ὀλιγάκις γίγνεσθαι, πολλάκις δὲ ἀναπαύονται καὶ χρῶνται ταῖς παιδιαῖς οὐχ ὅσον ἐπὶ πλέον ἀλλὰ καὶ διὰ τὴν ἡδονήν, χρήσιμον ἂν εἴη διαναπαύειν ἐν ταῖς ἀπὸ ταύτης ἡδοναῖς. συμβέβηκε δὲ τοῖς ἀνθρώποις 13 ποιεῖσθαι τὰς παιδιὰς τέλος· ἔχει γὰρ ἴσως ἡδονήν τινα καὶ τὸ τέλος, ἀλλ' οὐ τὴν τυχοῦσαν· ζητοῦντες δὲ ταύτην, λαμβάνουσιν ὡς ταύτην ἐκείνην, διὰ τὸ τῷ τέλει τῶν πράξεων ἔχειν ὁμοίωμά τι· τό τε γὰρ τέλος οὐθενὸς τῶν ἐσομένων

ἡδέος. Compare III. IV. τὸ δὲ σχολάζειν, κ.τ.λ.

11 ψιλήν, κ.τ.λ.] 'both merely instrumental and vocal. Eur. *Rhes.* 923, μεγίστην εἰς ἔριν μελῳδίας, 'of song.'

διὸ καί, κ.τ.λ.] 'Hence, also, it is not without good reason that it is introduced into social intercourse, where men wish to pass their time with enjoyment'—a lighter sense of the word διαγωγή.

εἰς τὰς συνουσίας καὶ διαγωγάς] should be taken as closely as possible together, almost as equivalent to 'the enjoyment of social intercourse.'

εὐφραίνειν] so III. 9. εὐφραινομένων τῶν ἀνθρώπων.

ἐντεῦθεν] 'from this simple consideration, that it affords pleasure.'

12 πρὸς τὸ τέλος] 'The perfect and complete state,' τῆς γενέσεως τελεσθείσης.

πολλάκις] The comparative frequency of recreation is a reason for learning that which is so useful for it.

οὐχ ὅσον ἐπὶ πλέον] 'not merely as far as some advantage may be got.' Compare *Eth.* x. vi. 3, p. 1176, b. 6, αἱ ἡδεῖαι τῶν παιδιῶν, are one of the two things, ἀφ' ὧν μηδὲν ἐπιζητεῖται παρὰ τὴν ἐνέργειαν.

διαναπαύειν] middle, 'for them to rest at times;' with Stahr, "sich seine Erholung daraus zu suchen."

13 συμβέβηκε δέ, κ.τ.λ.] 'Rest is the point in common, the cause of the confusion in men's minds.'

οὐ τὴν τυχοῦσαν] 'It has its own appropriate pleasure, not any given one at random.'

ταύτην] 'this appropriate pleasure.'

ἐκείνην] the pleasure derived from amusement and recreation. Compare *Eth.* x. vi. p. 1176.

ὁμοίωμά τι] 'a point of resemblance.' καθ' αὑτὰς αἱρεταί αἱ ἡδεῖαι τῶν παιδιῶν.

Music. Its object.

χάριν αἱρετόν, καὶ αἱ τοιαῦται τῶν ἡδονῶν οὐθενός εἰσι τῶν
ἐσομένων ἕνεκεν, ἀλλὰ τῶν γεγονότων, οἷον πόνων καὶ λύ-
14 πης. Δι' ἣν μὲν οὖν αἰτίαν ζητοῦσι τὴν εὐδαιμονίαν γίγνε-
σθαι διὰ τούτων τῶν ἡδονῶν, ταύτην ἄν τις εἰκότως ὑπο-
λάβοι τὴν αἰτίαν· περὶ δὲ τοῦ κοινωνεῖν τῆς μουσικῆς, οὐ
διὰ ταύτην μόνην, ἀλλὰ καὶ διὰ τὸ χρήσιμον εἶναι πρὸς τὰς
15 ἀναπαύσεις, ὡς ἔοικεν. οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ ζητητέον μή ποτε

The effect of music on the character.

τοῦτο μὲν συμβέβηκε, τιμιωτέρα δ' αὐτῆς ἡ φύσις ἐστὶν ἢ
κατὰ τὴν εἰρημένην χρείαν, καὶ δεῖ μὴ μόνον τῆς κοινῆς ἡδο-
1340 νῆς μετέχειν ἀπ' αὐτῆς, ἧς ἔχουσι πάντες αἴσθησιν (ἔχει
γὰρ ἡ μουσικὴ τὴν ἡδονὴν φυσικήν, διὸ πάσαις ἡλικίαις καὶ
πᾶσιν ἤθεσιν ἡ χρῆσις αὐτῆς ἐστὶ προσφιλής), ἀλλ' ὁρᾶν
εἴ πῃ καὶ πρὸς τὸ ἦθος συντείνει καὶ πρὸς τὴν ψυχήν.
16 τοῦτο δ' ἂν εἴη δῆλον, εἰ ποιοί τινες τὰ ἤθη γιγνόμεθα δι'
αὐτῆς. ἀλλὰ μὴν ὅτι γιγνόμεθα ποιοί τινες, φανερὸν διὰ
πολλῶν μὲν καὶ ἑτέρων, οὐχ ἥκιστα δὲ καὶ διὰ τῶν
Ὀλύμπου μελῶν· ταῦτα γὰρ ὁμολογουμένως ποιεῖ τὰς
ψυχὰς ἐνθουσιαστικάς, ὁ δ' ἐνθουσιασμὸς τοῦ περὶ τὴν
17 ψυχὴν ἤθους πάθος ἐστίν. ἔτι δὲ ἀκροώμενοι τῶν μιμήσεων

The point of resemblance is in their being both sought for their own sakes, the one purely, the other as a refreshment after labour.

14 *οὐ διὰ ταύτην μόνην*] sc. *τὴν αἰτίαν ζητοῦσιν*.

15 *οὐ μὴν ἀλλά, κ.τ.λ.*] 'not but that we must enquire whether, whilst we allow *this* to be an incidental result of music, it is not in its nature higher than to be merely adapted to supply the want indicated,' i.e. *πρὸς τὰς ἀναπαύσεις*.

τὴν ἡδονὴν φυσικήν] 'Its pleasure given by nature.'

πρὸς τὸ ἦθος καὶ πρὸς τὴν ψυχήν = *πρὸς τὸ τῆς ψυχῆς ἦθος*] II. 1.

16 *τοῦτο δ' ἂν εἴη δῆλον*] 'There would be no uncertainty on this point, if, as is the case, we are affected in our characters by it.'

ὁ ἐνθουσιασμὸς ἤθους πάθος] not *πάθος τῆς ψυχῆς*, but *τοῦ περὶ τὴν ψυχὴν ἤθους*. It presupposes a character, and it is a state of that character. If we adopt this definition of enthusiasm, a difficult term, and as often, in the common language of men, a ground of blame as of praise, it would seem to follow that the praise or blame in each case would be properly determined by the character placed in this emotional state; that the good man, with high objects, gains greatly by this intensifying of his energy; the weak man, with trivial objects, becomes ridiculous—an enthusiast; a word which, I believe, has always a bad sense attached to it.

17 *τῶν μιμήσεων*] 'nachahmenden Darstellungen;' 'imitations,' 'representations,' the sense in which Ari-

The effect of music on the character.

γίγνονται πάντες συμπαθεῖς, καὶ χωρὶς τῶν ῥυθμῶν καὶ τῶν μελῶν αὐτῶν. ἐπεὶ δὲ συμβέβηκεν εἶναι τὴν μουσικὴν τῶν ἡδέων, τὴν δ' ἀρετὴν περὶ τὸ χαίρειν ὀρθῶς καὶ φιλεῖν καὶ μισεῖν, δεῖ δῆλον ὅτι μανθάνειν καὶ συνεθίζεσθαι μηθὲν οὕτως ὡς τὸ κρίνειν ὀρθῶς καὶ τὸ χαίρειν τοῖς ἐπιεικέσιν ἤθεσι καὶ ταῖς καλαῖς πράξεσιν. ἔστι δ' ὁμοιώματα 18
μάλιστα παρὰ τὰς ἀληθινὰς φύσεις ἐν τοῖς ῥυθμοῖς καὶ τοῖς μέλεσιν ὀργῆς καὶ πραότητος, ἔτι δ' ἀνδρίας καὶ σωφροσύνης καὶ πάντων τῶν ἐναντίων τούτοις καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ἠθικῶν. δῆλον δὲ ἐκ τῶν ἔργων· μεταβάλλομεν γὰρ τὴν ψυχὴν ἀκροώμενοι τοιούτων. ὁ δ' ἐν τοῖς ὁμοίοις 19
ἐθισμὸς τοῦ λυπεῖσθαι καὶ χαίρειν ἐγγύς ἐστι τῷ πρὸς τὴν ἀλήθειαν τὸν αὐτὸν ἔχειν τρόπον· οἷον εἴ τις χαίρει τὴν εἰκόνα τινὸς θεώμενος, μὴ δι' ἄλλην αἰτίαν ἀλλὰ διὰ τὴν μορφὴν αὐτήν, ἀναγκαῖον τούτῳ καὶ αὐτὴν ἐκείνην τὴν θεωρίαν, οὗ τὴν εἰκόνα θεωρεῖ, ἡδεῖαν εἶναι. συμβέβηκε δὲ 20
τῶν αἰσθητῶν ἐν μὲν τοῖς ἄλλοις μηδὲν ὑπάρχειν ὁμοίωμα τοῖς ἤθεσιν, οἷον ἐν τοῖς ἁπτοῖς καὶ τοῖς γευστοῖς, ἀλλ' ἐν τοῖς ὁρατοῖς ἠρέμα· σχήματα γάρ ἐστι τοιαῦτα, ἀλλ' ἐπὶ

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stotle seems to use the term in the *Poetics*. In the *Republic*, Plato seems to attach to it too exclusively the sense of mere copying, imitation in a lower sense.

ἐπεὶ δὲ συμβέβηκεν, κ.τ.λ.] Moral virtue is intimately connected with pleasure and pain, and right education consists in training men to feel pleasure in right objects (a point dwelt on in *Eth.* II.), to love and hate aright, to judge rightly what is good and noble in characters and actions, and to take pleasure in it. It is well to feel this towards the reality, but it is well also to exercise these sentiments even when the reality is not present. This opportunity of exercising them is given by representations of them, and by music more than by any other representation that appeals to our senses. And the pleasure accompanying it makes it peculiarly valuable.

18 *ὁμοιώματα μάλιστα, κ.τ.λ.*] 'the most vivid representations after the reality.'

τοιούτων] sc. *ὁμοιωμάτων*, or it may be *μελῶν καὶ ῥυθμῶν*, such music as answers to those various feelings.' For instance, we change from depression to bravery by hearing warlike and inspiriting music.

19 *αὐτὴν ἐκείνην τὴν θεωρίαν*] 'That the actual sight of the object.'

20 *ἠρέμα*] 'slightly.'

τοιαῦτα] 'such as to be capable of representing character, but it is only to a small extent, and it is not all people that are competent to appreciate this influence.' This is the meaning, if, with Stahr and others, justified it would appear by the con-

Why is music learnt? παιδείαν ἔταξαν οὐχ ὡς ἀναγκαῖον (οὐδὲν γὰρ ἔχει τοιοῦτον) οὐδ' ὡς χρήσιμον, ὥσπερ τὰ γράμματα πρὸς χρηματισμὸν καὶ πρὸς οἰκονομίαν καὶ πρὸς μάθησιν καὶ πρὸς πολιτικὰς πράξεις πολλάς· δοκεῖ δὲ καὶ γραφικὴ χρήσιμος εἶναι πρὸς τὸ κρίνειν τὰ τῶν τεχνιτῶν ἔργα κάλλιον· οὐδ' αὖ καθάπερ ἡ γυμναστικὴ πρὸς ὑγίειαν καὶ ἀλκήν· οὐδέτερον γὰρ τούτων
8 ὁρῶμεν γιγνόμενον ἐκ τῆς μουσικῆς. λείπεται τοίνυν πρὸς τὴν ἐν τῇ σχολῇ διαγωγήν, εἰς ὅπερ καὶ φαίνονται παράγοντες αὐτήν· ἣν γὰρ οἴονται διαγωγὴν εἶναι τῶν ἐλευθέρων, ἐν ταύτῃ τάττουσιν. διόπερ Ὅμηρος οὕτως ἐποίησεν

ἀλλ' οἷον μέν ἐστι καλεῖν ἐπὶ δαῖτα θαλείην.

9 καὶ οὕτω προειπὼν ἑτέρους τινὰς

οἳ καλέουσιν ἀοιδόν φησιν, ὅ κεν τέρπῃσιν ἅπαντας.

καὶ ἐν ἄλλοις δέ φησιν Ὀδυσσεὺς ταύτην ἀρίστην εἶναι διαγωγήν, ὅταν εὐφραινομένων τῶν ἀνθρώπων

δαιτυμόνες δ' ἀνὰ δώματ' ἀκουάζωνται ἀοιδοῦ
ἥμενοι ἑξείης.

Mere utility rejected as a test.
10 Ὅτι μὲν τοίνυν ἐστὶ παιδεία τις ἣν οὐχ ὡς χρήσιμον[a] παιδευτέον τοὺς υἱεῖς οὐδ' ὡς ἀναγκαίαν ἀλλ' ὡς ἐλευθέριον καὶ καλήν, φανερόν ἐστιν· πότερον δὲ μία τὸν ἀριθμὸν ἢ πλείους,
11 καὶ τίνες αὗται καὶ πῶς, ὕστερον λεκτέον περὶ αὐτῶν. νῦν δὲ τοσοῦτον ἡμῖν εἶναι πρὸ ὁδοῦ γέγονεν, ὅτι καὶ παρὰ τῶν ἀρχαίων ἔχομέν τινα μαρτυρίαν ἐκ τῶν καταβεβλημένων

[a] χρησίμην Bekker.

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7 δοκεῖ δὲ καὶ γραφική.] Why should not music be useful in the same sense in which he here says the art of design is?

8 εἰς ὅπερ, κ.τ.λ.] 'And this is evidently the object for which men do introduce music.'

ἀλλ' οἷον] not found in our existing Homer. Comp. III. XIV.

9 οἳ καλέουσιν] *Od.* XVII. 385.

δαιτυμόνες] *Od.* IX. 7.

10 χρήσιμον] Spengel prefers this to Bekker's reading, χρησίμην. It is more in keeping with § 7, as also with χρησίμους, in III. 1.

οὐδ' ὡς ἀναγκαίαν] 'much less on the ground of absolute necessity.'

ὕστερον] This is lost.

11 πρὸ ὁδοῦ] 'we have got so far on our way.'

καταβεβλημένων] above, II. 6, 'drawn from the branches of education actually taught.'

παιδευμάτων· ἡ γὰρ μουσικὴ τοῦτο ποιεῖ δῆλον. ἔτι δὲ καὶ τῶν χρησίμων ὅτι δεῖ τινὰ παιδεύεσθαι τοὺς παῖδας οὐ μόνον διὰ τὸ χρήσιμον, οἷον τὴν τῶν γραμμάτων μάθησιν, ἀλλὰ καὶ διὰ τὸ πολλὰς ἐνδέχεσθαι γίγνεσθαι δι' αὐτῶν μαθήσεις ἑτέρας. ὁμοίως δὲ καὶ τὴν γραφικὴν οὐχ ἵνα ἐν τοῖς ἰδίοις ὠνίοις μὴ διαμαρτάνωσιν ἀλλ' ὦσιν ἀνεξαπάτητοι πρὸς τὴν τῶν σκευῶν ὠνήν τε καὶ πρᾶσιν, ἢ μᾶλλον ὅτι ποιεῖ θεωρητικὸν τοῦ περὶ τὰ σώματα κάλλους. τὸ δὲ ζητεῖν πανταχοῦ τὸ χρήσιμον ἥκιστα ἁρμόττει τοῖς μεγαλοψύχοις καὶ τοῖς ἐλευθέροις. Ἐπεὶ δὲ φανερὸν πρότερον τοῖς ἔθεσιν ἢ τῷ λόγῳ παιδευτέον εἶναι, καὶ περὶ τὸ σῶμα πρότερον ἢ τὴν διάνοιαν, δῆλον ἐκ τούτων ὅτι παραδοτέον τοὺς παῖδας γυμναστικῇ καὶ παιδοτριβικῇ· τούτων γὰρ ἡ μὲν ποιάν τινα ποιεῖ τὴν ἕξιν τοῦ σώματος, ἡ δὲ τὰ ἔργα.

Mere utility rejected as a test. 12 1338 B 13 Bodily education must precede mental.

Νῦν μὲν οὖν αἱ μάλιστα δοκοῦσαι τῶν πόλεων ἐπιμελεῖσθαι τῶν παίδων αἱ μὲν ἀθλητικὴν ἕξιν ἐμποιοῦσι, λωβώμεναι τά τε εἴδη καὶ τὴν αὔξησιν τῶν σωμάτων, οἱ δὲ Λάκωνες ταύτην μὲν οὐχ ἥμαρτον τὴν ἁμαρτίαν, θηριώδεις δ' ἀπεργάζονται τοῖς πόνοις, ὡς τοῦτο πρὸς ἀνδρίαν μά- 4

Bodily training, γυμναστική.

ἔτι δέ] φανερόν to be supplied, and for the subject we must go back to § 6.

διὰ τὸ χρήσιμον] 'mere use in the lowest sense.'

12 ἐν τοῖς ἰδίοις ὠνίοις] 'in their private purchases.'

ἀλλ' ὦσιν] must be connected as closely as possible with διαμαρτάνωσιν. I have therefore taken away Bekker's comma. For all this language compare the *Republic*, with the positions in which on this point Aristotle argues, whilst he does not so absolutely as Plato reject the element of utility.

τοῖς μεγαλοψύχοις] In *Eth.* IV. viii. 33, p. 1125, 11, the μεγαλόψυχος is said to be οἷος κεκτῆσθαι μᾶλλον τὰ καλὰ καὶ ἄκαρπα τῶν καρπίμων καὶ ὠφελίμων.

13 Compare IV. (VII.) XV. 10.

γυμναστικῇ καὶ παιδοτριβικῇ] Compare Galen, *De Val. Tu.* II. 9, 11, which, with this passage, is quoted by Smith (*Dict. Ant.*) as the basis of his distinction between these two branches of bodily training, which with the ancients was partly medical, partly what we should mean by gymnastics.

τὰ ἔργα] 'its actions' in the various exercises and games.

IV. 1 λωβώμεναι] 'injuring.'

ταύτην μὲν οὐκ] "Though they have not committed this error, yet they render their citizens savage," Grote, II. 507, 517, where the Lacedæmonian character is spoken of as being of a low type in comparison with that of Plato's φύλακες.

Bodily training, γυμναστική.

λιστα συμφέρον. καίτοι, καθάπερ εἴρηται πολλάκις, οὔτε πρὸς μίαν οὔτε πρὸς μάλιστα ταύτην βλέποντα ποιητέον τὴν ἐπιμέλειαν. εἴ τε καὶ πρὸς ταύτην, οὐδὲ τοῦτο ἐξευρίσκουσιν· οὔτε γὰρ ἐν τοῖς ἄλλοις ζῴοις οὔτ᾽ ἐπὶ τῶν ἐθνῶν ὁρῶμεν τὴν ἀνδρίαν ἀκολουθοῦσαν τοῖς ἀγριωτάτοις, ἀλλὰ
3 μᾶλλον τοῖς ἡμερωτέροις καὶ λεοντώδεσιν ἤθεσιν. πολλὰ δ᾽ ἐστὶ τῶν ἐθνῶν ἃ πρὸς τὸ κτείνειν καὶ πρὸς τὴν ἀνθρωποφαγίαν εὐχερῶς ἔχει, καθάπερ τῶν περὶ τὸν Πόντον Ἀχαιοί τε καὶ Ἡνίοχοι καὶ τῶν ἠπειρωτικῶν ἐθνῶν ἕτερα, τὰ μὲν ὁμοίως τούτοις τὰ δὲ μᾶλλον, ἃ λῃστικὰ μέν ἐστιν,
4 ἀνδρίας δ᾽ οὐ μετειλήφασιν. ἔτι δ᾽ αὐτοὺς τοὺς Λάκωνας ἴσμεν, ἕως μὲν αὐτοὶ προσήδρευον ταῖς φιλοπονίαις, ὑπερέχοντας τῶν ἄλλων, νῦν δὲ καὶ τοῖς γυμνασίοις καὶ τοῖς πολεμικοῖς ἀγῶσι λειπομένους ἑτέρων· οὐ γὰρ τῷ τοὺς νέους γυμνάζειν τὸν τρόπον τοῦτον διέφερον, ἀλλὰ τῷ μόνον μὴ
5 πρὸς ἀσκοῦντας ἀσκεῖν. Ὥστε τὸ καλὸν ἀλλ᾽ οὐ τὸ θηριῶδες δεῖ πρωταγωνιστεῖν· οὐ γὰρ λύκος οὐδὲ τῶν ἄλλων

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2 *οὔτε πρὸς μίαν*] 'no one single virtue should be chosen.'

οὔτε πρὸς μάλιστα ταύτην] 'nor, if one, should this virtue be the one selected as especially to be attended to.'

εἴ τε καὶ πρὸς ταύτην] 'and if even this is the one to be cultivated, they do not hit the point right; they are wrong in their method of cultivation.'

λεοντώδεσιν] This based on a misconception of the lion almost universally prevalent.

3 *Ἀχαιοί . . . Ἡνίοχοι*] I have not been at the pains to collect any scattered notices of these and other obscure tribes. They show the extent and minuteness of Aristotle's information, but politically they are of no general interest, and in the common books of reference sufficient will be found.

ἠπειρωτικῶν] Epirotic, not general, in the sense of continental, but limited to Epirus, properly so called; at least this seems to me the most natural way to take it.

λῃστικά] not *τοῦ καλοῦ ἕνεκα*, 'Piratical,' Brave—that is, under the impulse of desire of gain.

ἀνδρίας] 'courage,' properly so called, 'deliberate valour,' *Par. Lost*, I. 554.

4 *αὐτοί*] 'They alone.'

προσήδρευον] for this word compare Ch. II. v.

ταῖς φιλοπονίαις] Thuc. II. 39. *φιλοπονοῦμεν*.

νῦν δέ] Grote II. 601.

οὐ γὰρ τῷ τοὺς νέους, κ.τ.λ.] 'For it was not by their training their youth in this particular system that they surpassed others, but by their training them whilst others did not.'

μὴ πρὸς ἀσκοῦντας = πρὸς μὴ ἀσκοῦντας] Compare the expression, *μὴ πρὸς ὁμοίαν ἀντιπαρασκευήν*, Thuc. I, 141.

5 *πρωταγωνιστεῖν*] 'must take the first place,' 'play the first part.'

Bodily training, *γυμναστική.*

θηρίων τι ἀγωνίσαιτο ἂν οὐθένα καλὸν κίνδυνον, ἀλλὰ
μᾶλλον ἀνὴρ ἀγαθός. οἱ δὲ λίαν εἰς ταῦτα ἀνέντες τοὺς
παῖδας, καὶ τῶν ἀναγκαίων ἀπαιδαγωγήτους ποιήσαντες
βαναύσους κατεργάζονται κατά γε τὸ ἀληθές, πρὸς ἕν τε 6
μόνον ἔργον τῇ πολιτικῇ χρησίμους ποιήσαντες, καὶ πρὸς
τοῦτο χεῖρον, ὥς φησιν ὁ λόγος, ἑτέρων. δεῖ δὲ οὐκ ἐκ 7
τῶν προτέρων ἔργων κρίνειν, ἀλλ' ἐκ τῶν νῦν· ἀνταγωνιστὰς
γὰρ τῆς παιδείας νῦν ἔχουσι, πρότερον δ' οὐκ εἶχον. Ὅτι
μὲν οὖν χρηστέον τῇ γυμναστικῇ, καὶ πῶς χρηστέον,
ὁμολογούμενόν ἐστιν. μέχρι μὲν γὰρ ἥβης κουφότερα
γυμνάσια προσοιστέον, τὴν βίαιον τροφὴν καὶ τοὺς πρὸς
ἀνάγκην πόνους ἀπείργοντας, ἵνα μηθὲν ἐμπόδιον ᾖ πρὸς
τὴν αὔξησιν. σημεῖον γὰρ οὐ μικρὸν ὅτι δύναται τοῦτο 8
παρασκευάζειν· ἐν γὰρ τοῖς ὀλυμπιονίκαις δύο τις ἂν ἢ 1339
τρεῖς εὕροι τοὺς αὐτοὺς νενικηκότας ἄνδρας τε καὶ παῖδας,
διὰ τὸ νέους ἀσκοῦντας ἀφαιρεῖσθαι τὴν δύναμιν ὑπὸ τῶν
ἀναγκαίων γυμνασίων. ὅταν δ' ἀφ' ἥβης ἔτη τρία πρὸς 9

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6 *εἰς ταῦτα*] sc. *τὰ γυμνάσια*, 'bodily exercises.'

ἀναγκαίων ἀπαιδαγωγήτους] 'whilst they left them untaught in all the points essential to man, the most necessary rudiments of intellectual training.' They had no music—below v. 7—probably no drawing; and the passage seems in favour of Mr Grote's view, which has been disputed by Col. Mure, that they had not *γράμματα* in the most elementary form.

βαναύσους] Compare II. IV. *ἄχρηστον τὸ σῶμα ἢ τὴν ψυχὴν ἢ τὴν διάνοιαν.*

ὡς φησὶν ὁ λόγος] 'as reason teaches us.' So Stahr and St. Hil.

7 *ἀνταγωνιστάς*] These 'rivals' the Spartans found in the Thebans. Compare Grote, x. 252.

ὅτι μὲν οὖν] 'still whatever errors may have been committed on the subject, bodily training is not to be neglected.'

τὴν βίαιον τροφήν] 'The compulsory sustenance of a regular athlete.'

τοὺς πρὸς ἀνάγκην πόνους] = *τοὺς ἀναγκαίους πόνους* of IV. (VII.) XVII. 4.

8 *σημεῖον γὰρ οὐ μικρόν, κ.τ.λ.*] 'For we are not without sufficient argument to shew that *it* can produce this result.'

τοῦτο] sc. *ἐμπόδιον εἶναι*] and the *it* is, from the last sentence, the training, both as to food and exercises, of the athlete.

ὀλυμπιονίκαις] Aristotle is said to have made a collection of these victors in the Olympic games.

διὰ τὸ νέους ἀσκοῦντας ἀφαιρεῖσθαι] 'because by their training whilst young, they deprived themselves of their strength.'

9 *ἔτη τρία, κ.τ.λ.*] 'They have been engaged for three years in their other studies.'

Bodily training, γυμναστική. τοῖς ἄλλοις μαθήμασι γένωνται, τότε ἁρμόττει καὶ τοῖς πόνοις καὶ ταῖς ἀναγκοφαγίαις καταλαμβάνειν τὴν ἐχομένην ἡλικίαν. ἅμα γὰρ τῇ τε διανοίᾳ καὶ τῷ σώματι διαπονεῖν οὐ δεῖ· τοὐναντίον γὰρ ἑκάτερος ἀπεργάζεσθαι πέφυκε τῶν πόνων, ἐμποδίζων ὁ μὲν τοῦ σώματος πόνος τὴν διάνοιαν, ὁ δὲ ταύτης τὸ σῶμα.

5 Music. Its object. Περὶ δὲ μουσικῆς ἔνια μὲν διηπορήσαμεν τῷ λόγῳ καὶ πρότερον, καλῶς δ' ἔχει καὶ νῦν ἀναλαβόντας αὐτὰ προαγαγεῖν, ἵνα ὥσπερ ἐνδόσιμον γένηται τοῖς λόγοις οὓς ἄν τις
2 εἴπειεν ἀποφαινόμενος περὶ αὐτῆς. οὔτε γὰρ τίνα ἔχει δύναμιν ῥᾴδιον περὶ αὐτῆς διελεῖν, οὔτε τίνος δεῖ χάριν μετέχειν αὐτῆς, πότερον παιδιᾶς ἕνεκα καὶ ἀναπαύσεως, καθάπερ ὕπνου καὶ μέθης· ταῦτα γὰρ καθ' αὑτὰ μὲν οὔτε τῶν σπουδαίων, ἀλλ' ἡδέα, καὶ ἅμα παύει μέριμναν, ὥς
3 φησὶν Εὐριπίδης· διὸ καὶ τάττουσιν αὐτὴν καὶ χρῶνται πᾶσι τούτοις ὁμοίως, ὕπνῳ[a] καὶ μέθῃ καὶ μουσικῇ. τιθέασι δὲ καὶ τὴν ὄρχησιν ἐν τούτοις. ἢ μᾶλλον οἰητέον πρός ἀρετήν τι τείνειν τὴν μουσικήν, ὡς δυναμένην, καθάπερ ἡ γυμναστικὴ τὸ σῶμα ποιόν τι παρασκευάζει, καὶ τὴν

[a] οἴνῳ Bekker.

ἀναγκοφαγίαις] = τῇ πρὸς ἀνάγκην, or βιαίᾳ τροφῇ.

καταλαμβάνειν] 'to seize firmly,' 'establish,' 'place in high condition.'

ἅμα γάρ] 'I leave this period of three years, for the two trainings must not be simultaneous; the body and the mind ought not to be worked together.' So I interpret the γάρ. It is a remark, the truth of which is far too much lost sight of in our present education.'

V. 1 So far for γυμναστική, which must precede; now for the other divisions of education, the μουσική of Plato's *Republic*, and its first branch, the more limited μουσική of Aristotle.

καὶ πρότερον] Ch. III.

ἀναλαβόντας προαγαγεῖν] 'To return on what we said, and carry our observations further, that they may be, as it were, a prelude, or overture, to the full discussion of the subject by others.' For προαγαγεῖν, *Eth.* I. vii. 17. p. 1098, 22. He has no intention, therefore, of exhausting the subject, says Victorius.

2 οὔτε γάρ κ.τ.λ.] 'It is desirable to say more, for the subject is difficult.'

Εὐριπίδης] *Bacch.* 378—384.

3 τάττουσιν αὐτήν] sc. ἐν παιδιᾷ, or ἐν ἀναπαύσει, or supply εἰς ταὐτό, a phrase not uncommon in Aristotle.

οἴνῳ] This would seem to be a mistake for ὕπνῳ. Stahr changes it, and so do others.

τὸ ἦθος ποιόν τι ποιεῖν] 'To affect the moral character.'

Music. Its object.

μουσικὴν τὸ ἦθος ποιόν τι ποιεῖν, ἐθίζουσαν δύνασθαι
χαίρειν ὀρθῶς. ἢ πρὸς διαγωγήν τι συμβάλλεται καὶ πρὸς
φρόνησιν· καὶ γὰρ τοῦτο τρίτον θετέον τῶν εἰρημένων. 4
Ὅτι μὲν οὖν δεῖ τοὺς νέους μὴ παιδιᾶς ἕνεκα παιδεύειν, οὐκ
ἄδηλον· οὐ γὰρ παίζουσι μανθάνοντες· μετὰ λύπης γὰρ ἡ
μάθησις. ἀλλὰ μὴν οὐδὲ διαγωγήν τε παισὶν ἁρμόττει καὶ
ταῖς ἡλικίαις ἀποδιδόναι ταῖς τοιαύταις· οὐδενὶ γὰρ ἀτελεῖ
προσήκει τέλος. ἀλλ' ἴσως ἂν δόξειεν ἡ τῶν παίδων 5
σπουδὴ παιδιᾶς εἶναι χάριν ἀνδράσι γενομένοις καὶ τελειω-
θεῖσιν. ἀλλ' εἰ τοῦτ' ἐστὶ τοιοῦτον, τίνος ἂν ἕνεκα δέοι
μανθάνειν αὐτούς, ἀλλὰ μὴ καθάπερ οἱ τῶν Περσῶν καὶ
Μήδων βασιλεῖς, ἄλλων αὐτὸ ποιούντων μεταλαμβάνειν τῆς
ἡδονῆς καὶ τῆς μαθήσεως; καὶ γὰρ ἀναγκαῖον βέλτιον 6
ἀπεργάζεσθαι τοὺς αὐτὸ τοῦτο πεποιημένους ἔργον καὶ
τέχνην τῶν τοσοῦτον χρόνον ἐπιμελουμένων ὅσον πρὸς
μάθησιν μόνον. εἰ δὲ δεῖ τὰ τοιαῦτα διαπονεῖν αὐτούς, καὶ
περὶ τὴν τῶν ὄψων πραγματείαν αὐτοὺς ἂν δέοι παρα-
σκευάζειν· ἀλλ' ἄτοπον. τὴν δ' αὐτὴν ἀπορίαν ἔχει καὶ εἰ 7
δύναται τὰ ἤθη βελτίω ποιεῖν· ταῦτα γὰρ τί δεῖ μανθάνειν 1339
αὐτούς, ἀλλ' οὐχ ἑτέρων ἀκούοντας ὀρθῶς τε χαίρειν καὶ

ἐθίζουσαν] 'By training and accustoming men.'

4 φρόνησιν] 'intellectual cultivation,' not in the more ethical sense of the term, but rather using it as Plato uses it in the *Republic*, and its connexion in this sense with διαγωγή supports my remarks on that word, III. VI.

μανθάνοντες] sc. τὴν μουσικήν, 'on the contrary, it costs a painful effort.'

γενομένοις καὶ τελειωθεῖσιν] For these two words, see I. VIII. 9, 11, where they are used separately and as equivalent.

τίνος ἂν ἕνεκα] The question asked here is similar to that which is asked with regard to φρόνησις, at the opening of *Eth.* VI. xiii. p. 1143. b. 18.

αὐτούς] 'themselves.'

τῶν Περσῶν καὶ Μήδων] is not this last a later addition? Is there any other instance in Aristotle of the two being used?

6 τοὺς αὐτὸ τοῦτο πεποιημένους ἔργον] 'those who have made this very thing by itself their business and profession, rather than those who attend to it only so long as to enable them to learn it.'

αὐτούς] may be accusative after either δέοι or παρασκευάζειν. The latter seems the better, 'to make them qualified for.'

7 καὶ εἰ] 'even if it makes the character better, and this it can do.'

ταῦτα γάρ] sc. τὰ τὸ ἦθος βέλτιον ποιοῦντα.

Music. Its object.

δύνασθαι κρίνειν; ὥσπερ οἱ Λάκωνες· ἐκεῖνοι γὰρ οὐ μανθάνοντες ὅμως δύνανται κρίνειν ὀρθῶς, ὥς φασί, τὰ χρηστὰ
8 καὶ τὰ μὴ χρηστὰ τῶν μελῶν. ὁ δ' αὐτὸς λόγος κἂν εἰ πρὸς εὐημερίαν καὶ διαγωγὴν ἐλευθέριον χρηστέον αὐτῇ· τί δεῖ μανθάνειν αὐτούς, ἀλλ' οὐχ ἑτέρων χρωμένων ἀπολαύειν; σκοπεῖν δ' ἔξεστι τὴν ὑπόληψιν ἣν ἔχομεν περὶ τῶν θεῶν· οὐ γὰρ ὁ Ζεὺς αὐτὸς ᾄδει καὶ κιθαρίζει τοῖς ποιηταῖς. ἀλλὰ καὶ βαναύσους καλοῦμεν τοὺς τοιούτους καὶ τὸ πράττειν
9 οὐκ ἀνδρὸς μὴ μεθύοντος ἢ παίζοντος. ἀλλ' ἴσως περὶ μὲν τούτων ὕστερον ἐπισκεπτέον, ἡ δὲ πρώτη ζήτησίς ἐστι πότερον οὐ θετέον εἰς παιδείαν τὴν μουσικὴν ἢ θετέον, καὶ τί δύναται τῶν διαπορηθέντων τριῶν, πότερον παιδείαν ἢ παιδιὰν ἢ διαγωγήν. εὐλόγως δ' εἰς πάντα τάττεται καὶ
10 φαίνεται μετέχειν. ἥ τε γὰρ παιδιὰ χάριν ἀναπαύσεώς ἐστι, τὴν δ' ἀνάπαυσιν ἀναγκαῖον ἡδεῖαν εἶναι (τῆς γὰρ διὰ τῶν πόνων λύπης ἰατρεία τίς ἐστιν)· καὶ τὴν διαγωγὴν ὁμολογουμένως δεῖ μὴ μόνον ἔχειν τὸ καλὸν ἀλλὰ καὶ τὴν ἡδονήν· τὸ γὰρ εὐδαιμονεῖν ἐξ ἀμφοτέρων τούτων

οἱ Λάκωνες] Music not taught the Spartan citizen. Grote, IV. 114.

μελῶν] 'words and music.' *μέλος συνίσταται ἐκ τριῶν, λόγου, ἁρμονίας, ῥυθμοῦ.*

8 *πρὸς εὐημερίαν*] as opposed to *συντονίαν, πόνον, ἀσχολίαν.* 'For the calm, undisturbed enjoyment of the life of the citizen, and that citizen trained in all liberal cultivation, not *βάναυσον* in any sense.'

τὴν ὑπόληψιν] 'the conception which we have of the gods, for in the poets, Zeus is not introduced as himself singing and playing.' By a rather abrupt transition, which, however, Bekker's stopping makes more abrupt than it need be, he turns from the gods, and appeals to the common language of men on the point.

τοὺς τοιούτους] 'such as make it a profession.'

τὸ πράττειν] Compare Herod. VI. 128—130. *τὸ πράττειν* as distinct from *μάθησις*.

9 Stahr puts a full stop at *ἐπισκεπτέον*, but it is not necessary to do so.

τῶν διαπορηθέντων τριῶν] 'of the three objects which, as the result of our discussion, we find that it may have.'

εὐλόγως δέ] 'on good grounds it is ranged under them all.' The pleasure which it affords adapts it for two of the three, for amusement and for the enjoyment of life. Its adaptation to the purposes of education is discussed later, § 15 and foll.

10 *λύπης ἰατρεία*] Compare *Eth.* VII. xv. p. 1154, 27; and there is no other remedy for pain but pleasure. *ἐκκρούει τὴν λύπην. αἱ ἰατρεῖαι διὰ τῶν ἐναντίων πεφύκασι γίνεσθαι, Eth.* II. ii. 4[2], p. 1104, b. 17.

ἀμφοτέρων] sc. *τοῦ καλοῦ καὶ τοῦ*

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ἐστίν. τὴν δὲ μουσικὴν πάντες εἶναί φαμεν τῶν ἡδίστων, καὶ ψιλὴν οὖσαν καὶ μετὰ μελῳδίας· φησὶ γοῦν καὶ 11 Μουσαῖος εἶναι

βροτοῖς ἥδιστον ἀείδειν.

διὸ καὶ εἰς τὰς συνουσίας καὶ διαγωγὰς εὐλόγως παραλαμβάνουσιν αὐτὴν ὡς δυναμένην εὐφραίνειν· ὥστε καὶ ἐντεῦθεν ἄν τις ὑπολάβοι παιδεύεσθαι δεῖν αὐτὴν τοὺς νεωτέρους. ὅσα γὰρ ἀβλαβῆ τῶν ἡδέων, οὐ μόνον ἁρμόττει πρὸς τὸ 12 τέλος ἀλλὰ καὶ πρὸς τὴν ἀνάπαυσιν. ἐπεὶ δ' ἐν μὲν τῷ τέλει συμβαίνει τοῖς ἀνθρώποις ὀλιγάκις γίγνεσθαι, πολλάκις δὲ ἀναπαύονται καὶ χρῶνται ταῖς παιδιαῖς οὐχ ὅσον ἐπὶ πλέον ἀλλὰ καὶ διὰ τὴν ἡδονήν, χρήσιμον ἂν εἴη διαναπαύειν ἐν ταῖς ἀπὸ ταύτης ἡδοναῖς. συμβέβηκε δὲ τοῖς ἀνθρώποις 13 ποιεῖσθαι τὰς παιδιὰς τέλος· ἔχει γὰρ ἴσως ἡδονήν τινα καὶ τὸ τέλος, ἀλλ' οὐ τὴν τυχοῦσαν· ζητοῦντες δὲ ταύτην, λαμβάνουσιν ὡς ταύτην ἐκείνην, διὰ τὸ τῷ τέλει τῶν πράξεων ἔχειν ὁμοίωμά τι· τό τε γὰρ τέλος οὐθενὸς τῶν ἐσομένων

ἡδέος. Compare III. IV. τὸ δὲ σχολάζειν, κ.τ.λ.

11 ψιλήν, κ.τ.λ.] 'both merely instrumental and vocal. Eur. *Rhes.* 923, μεγίστην εἰς ἔριν μελῳδίας, 'of song.'

διὸ καί, κ.τ.λ.] 'Hence, also, it is not without good reason that it is introduced into social intercourse, where men wish to pass their time with enjoyment'—a lighter sense of the word διαγωγή.

εἰς τὰς συνουσίας καὶ διαγωγάς] should be taken as closely as possible together, almost as equivalent to 'the enjoyment of social intercourse.'

εὐφραίνειν] so III. 9. εὐφραινομένων τῶν ἀνθρώπων.

ἐντεῦθεν] 'from this simple consideration, that it affords pleasure.'

12 πρὸς τὸ τέλος] 'The perfect and complete state,' τῆς γενέσεως τελεσθείσης.

πολλάκις] The comparative frequency of recreation is a reason for learning that which is so useful for it.

οὐχ ὅσον ἐπὶ πλέον] 'not merely as far as some advantage may be got.' Compare *Eth.* x. vi. 3, p. 1176, b. 6, αἱ ἡδεῖαι τῶν παιδιῶν, are one of the two things, ἀφ' ὧν μηδὲν ἐπιζητεῖται παρὰ τὴν ἐνέργειαν.

διαναπαύειν] middle, 'for them to rest at times;' with Stahr, "sich seine Erholung daraus zu suchen."

13 συμβέβηκε δέ, κ.τ.λ.] 'Rest is the point in common, the cause of the confusion in men's minds.'

οὐ τὴν τυχοῦσαν] 'It has its own appropriate pleasure, not any given one at random.'

ταύτην] 'this appropriate pleasure.'

ἐκείνην] the pleasure derived from amusement and recreation. Compare *Eth.* x. vi. p. 1176.

ὁμοίωμά τι] 'a point of resemblance.' καθ' αὑτὰς αἱρεταὶ αἱ ἡδεῖαι τῶν παιδιῶν.

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χάριν αἱρετόν, καὶ αἱ τοιαῦται τῶν ἡδονῶν οὐθενός εἰσι τῶν
ἐσομένων ἕνεκεν, ἀλλὰ τῶν γεγονότων, οἷον πόνων καὶ λύ-
14 πης. Δι' ἣν μὲν οὖν αἰτίαν ζητοῦσι τὴν εὐδαιμονίαν γίγνε-
σθαι διὰ τούτων τῶν ἡδονῶν, ταύτην ἄν τις εἰκότως ὑπο-
λάβοι τὴν αἰτίαν· περὶ δὲ τοῦ κοινωνεῖν τῆς μουσικῆς, οὐ
διὰ ταύτην μόνην, ἀλλὰ καὶ διὰ τὸ χρήσιμον εἶναι πρὸς τὰς
15 ἀναπαύσεις, ὡς ἔοικεν. οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ ζητητέον μή ποτε

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τοῦτο μὲν συμβέβηκε, τιμιωτέρα δ' αὐτῆς ἡ φύσις ἐστὶν ἢ
κατὰ τὴν εἰρημένην χρείαν, καὶ δεῖ μὴ μόνον τῆς κοινῆς ἡδο-
1340 νῆς μετέχειν ἀπ' αὐτῆς, ἧς ἔχουσι πάντες αἴσθησιν (ἔχει
γὰρ ἡ μουσικὴ τὴν ἡδονὴν φυσικήν, διὸ πάσαις ἡλικίαις καὶ
πᾶσιν ἤθεσιν ἡ χρῆσις αὐτῆς ἐστὶ προσφιλής), ἀλλ' ὁρᾶν
εἴ πῃ καὶ πρὸς τὸ ἦθος συντείνει καὶ πρὸς τὴν ψυχήν.
16 τοῦτο δ' ἂν εἴη δῆλον, εἰ ποιοί τινες τὰ ἤθη γιγνόμεθα δι'
αὐτῆς. ἀλλὰ μὴν ὅτι γιγνόμεθα ποιοί τινες, φανερὸν διὰ
πολλῶν μὲν καὶ ἑτέρων, οὐχ ἥκιστα δὲ καὶ διὰ τῶν
Ὀλύμπου μελῶν· ταῦτα γὰρ ὁμολογουμένως ποιεῖ τὰς
ψυχὰς ἐνθουσιαστικάς, ὁ δ' ἐνθουσιασμὸς τοῦ περὶ τὴν
17 ψυχὴν ἤθους πάθος ἐστίν. ἔτι δὲ ἀκροώμενοι τῶν μιμήσεων

The point of resemblance is in their being both sought for their own sakes, the one purely, the other as a refreshment after labour.

14 *οὐ διὰ ταύτην μόνην*] sc. *τὴν αἰτίαν ζητοῦσιν.*

15 *οὐ μὴν ἀλλά, κ.τ.λ.*] 'not but that we must enquire whether, whilst we allow *this* to be an incidental result of music, it is not in its nature higher than to be merely adapted to supply the want indicated,' i.e. *πρὸς τὰς ἀναπαύσεις.*

τὴν ἡδονὴν φυσικήν] 'Its pleasure given by nature.'

πρὸς τὸ ἦθος καὶ πρὸς τὴν ψυχήν = *πρὸς τὸ τῆς ψυχῆς ἦθος*] II. I.

16 *τοῦτο δ' ἂν εἴη δῆλον*] 'There would be no uncertainty on this point, if, as is the case, we are affected in our characters by it.'

ὁ ἐνθουσιασμὸς ἤθους πάθος] not *πάθος τῆς ψυχῆς*, but *τοῦ περὶ τὴν ψυχὴν ἤθους.* It presupposes a character, and it is a state of that character. If we adopt this definition of enthusiasm, a difficult term, and as often, in the common language of men, a ground of blame as of praise, it would seem to follow that the praise or blame in each case would be properly determined by the character placed in this emotional state; that the good man, with high objects, gains greatly by this intensifying of his energy; the weak man, with trivial objects, becomes ridiculous—an enthusiast; a word which, I believe, has always a bad sense attached to it.

17 *τῶν μιμήσεων*] 'nachahmenden Darstellungen;' 'imitations,' 'representations,' the sense in which Ari-

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γίγνονται πάντες συμπαθεῖς, καὶ χωρὶς τῶν ῥυθμῶν καὶ τῶν μελῶν αὐτῶν. ἐπεὶ δὲ συμβέβηκεν εἶναι τὴν μουσικὴν τῶν ἡδέων, τὴν δ' ἀρετὴν περὶ τὸ χαίρειν ὀρθῶς καὶ φιλεῖν καὶ μισεῖν, δεῖ δῆλον ὅτι μανθάνειν καὶ συνεθίζεσθαι μηθὲν οὕτως ὡς τὸ κρίνειν ὀρθῶς καὶ τὸ χαίρειν τοῖς ἐπιεικέσιν ἤθεσι καὶ ταῖς καλαῖς πράξεσιν. ἔστι δ' ὁμοιώματα 18
μάλιστα παρὰ τὰς ἀληθινὰς φύσεις ἐν τοῖς ῥυθμοῖς καὶ τοῖς μέλεσιν ὀργῆς καὶ πραότητος, ἔτι δ' ἀνδρίας καὶ σωφροσύνης καὶ πάντων τῶν ἐναντίων τούτοις καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ἠθικῶν. δῆλον δὲ ἐκ τῶν ἔργων· μεταβάλλομεν γὰρ τὴν ψυχὴν ἀκροώμενοι τοιούτων. ὁ δ' ἐν τοῖς ὁμοίοις 19
ἐθισμὸς τοῦ λυπεῖσθαι καὶ χαίρειν ἐγγύς ἐστι τῷ πρὸς τὴν ἀλήθειαν τὸν αὐτὸν ἔχειν τρόπον· οἷον εἴ τις χαίρει τὴν εἰκόνα τινὸς θεώμενος, μὴ δι' ἄλλην αἰτίαν ἀλλὰ διὰ τὴν μορφὴν αὐτήν, ἀναγκαῖον τούτῳ καὶ αὐτὴν ἐκείνην τὴν θεωρίαν, οὗ τὴν εἰκόνα θεωρεῖ, ἡδεῖαν εἶναι. συμβέβηκε δὲ 20
τῶν αἰσθητῶν ἐν μὲν τοῖς ἄλλοις μηδὲν ὑπάρχειν ὁμοίωμα τοῖς ἤθεσιν, οἷον ἐν τοῖς ἁπτοῖς καὶ τοῖς γευστοῖς, ἀλλ' ἐν τοῖς ὁρατοῖς ἠρέμα· σχήματα γάρ ἐστι τοιαῦτα, ἀλλ' ἐπὶ

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stotle seems to use the term in the *Poetics*. In the *Republic*, Plato seems to attach to it too exclusively the sense of mere copying, imitation in a lower sense.

ἐπεὶ δὲ συμβέβηκεν, κ.τ.λ.] Moral virtue is intimately connected with pleasure and pain, and right education consists in training men to feel pleasure in right objects (a point dwelt on in *Eth.* II.), to love and hate aright, to judge rightly what is good and noble in characters and actions, and to take pleasure in it. It is well to feel this towards the reality, but it is well also to exercise these sentiments even when the reality is not present. This opportunity of exercising them is given by representations of them, and by music more than by any other representation that appeals to our senses. And the pleasure accompanying it makes it peculiarly valuable.

18 ὁμοιώματα μάλιστα, κ.τ.λ.] 'the most vivid representations after the reality.'

τοιούτων] sc. ὁμοιωμάτων, or it may be μελῶν καὶ ῥυθμῶν, such music as answers to those various feelings.' For instance, we change from depression to bravery by hearing warlike and inspiriting music.

19 αὐτὴν ἐκείνην τὴν θεωρίαν] 'That the actual sight of the object.'

20 ἠρέμα] 'slightly.'

τοιαῦτα] 'such as to be capable of representing character, but it is only to a small extent, and it is not all people that are competent to appreciate this influence.' This is the meaning, if, with Stahr and others, justified it would appear by the con-

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μικρόν, καὶ πάντες τῆς τοιαύτης αἰσθήσεως κοινωνοῦσιν.
ἔτι δὲ οὐκ ἔστι ταῦτα ὁμοιώματα τῶν ἠθῶν ἀλλὰ σημεῖα
μᾶλλον τὰ γιγνόμενα, σχήματα καὶ χρώματα, τῶν ἠθῶν.
21 καὶ ταῦτ' ἐστὶν ἐπὶ τοῦ σώματος ἐν τοῖς πάθεσιν. Οὐ μὴν
ἀλλ' ὅσον διαφέρει καὶ περὶ τὴν τούτων θεωρίαν δεῖ μὴ τὰ
Παύσωνος θεωρεῖν τοὺς νέους, ἀλλὰ τὰ Πολυγνώτου κἂν
εἴ τις ἄλλος τῶν γραφέων ἢ τῶν ἀγαλματοποιῶν ἐστὶν
ἠθικός. ἐν δὲ τοῖς μέλεσιν αὐτοῖς ἐστὶ μιμήματα τῶν
22 ἠθῶν· καὶ τοῦτ' ἔστι φανερόν· εὐθὺς γὰρ ἡ τῶν ἁρμονιῶν
διέστηκε φύσις ὥστε ἀκούοντας ἄλλως διατίθεσθαι καὶ μὴ
τὸν αὐτὸν ἔχειν τρόπον πρὸς ἑκάστην αὐτῶν, ἀλλὰ πρὸς
1340 B μὲν ἐνίας ὀδυρτικωτέρως καὶ συνεστηκότως, μᾶλλον, οἷον
πρὸς τὴν μιξολυδιστὶ καλουμένην, πρὸς δὲ τὰς μαλακωτέρως
τὴν διάνοιαν, οἷον πρὸς τὰς ἀνειμένας· μέσως δὲ καὶ καθε-
στηκότως μάλιστα πρὸς ἑτέραν, οἷον δοκεῖ ποιεῖν ἡ δωριστὶ
23 μόνη τῶν ἁρμονιῶν, ἐνθουσιαστικοὺς δ' ἡ φρυγιστί. ταῦτα
γὰρ καλῶς λέγουσιν οἱ περὶ τὴν παιδείαν ταύτην πεφιλο-
σοφηκότες· λαμβάνουσι γὰρ τὰ μαρτύρια τῶν λόγων
ἐξ αὐτῶν τῶν ἔργων. τὸν αὐτὸν γὰρ τρόπον ἔχει καὶ τὰ

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text, we insert the negative *οὐ*. Above, § 15, he remarked of music, that *πάντες αἴσθησιν ἔχουσι τῆς ἡδονῆς*. Here, where he is distinguishing other appeals to our senses from that which music makes, it would seem natural to expect the contrary. It will, however, be sense without the negative. The extent to which objects of sight affect people is slight, and all equally experience it in that extent. The slightness and universality of the effect diminish its importance, and make it unnecessary to take it into account as an influence upon character.

21 *οὐ μὴν ἀλλά*] 'Still in proportion as there is *a* difference,' &c. Compare *Poet.* II. ii. p. 1448, 5.

Pauson, of Ephesus, and Polygnotus, of Thasos.

22 *ἐν δὲ τοῖς μέλεσιν αὐτοῖς ἐστὶ μιμήματα τῶν ἠθῶν*] 'we have the characters imitated.' *μίμημα*, "illud ipsum quod imitando efficitur." Ritter *ad Poet.* I. iv. p. 78, 1447, 18. 'Opera imitatione expressa." Ibid. p. 102. *αὐτοῖς*, as opposed to *σημεῖα*, § 20.

εὐθὺς γάρ] for the expression, compare I. v. 2.

ὀδυρτικωτέρως, κ.τ.λ.] 'we have a feeling of sadness and compression.'

μαλακωτέρως] the opposite of *συνεστηκότως*, "the soul-dissolving melody," Tennyson, *Vision of Sin*. 'We have a softer feeling.'

μέσως καὶ καθεστηκότως] *ἐν τῇ καθεστηκυίᾳ ἡλικίᾳ*, Thuc. II. "Firm and unmoved," *Par. Lost*, I. 554, 555. 'The Dorian mood.'

23 *οἱ περὶ τήν, κ.τ.λ.*] 'who have treated this branch of education philosophically.' 'They get the evidence

περὶ τοὺς ῥυθμούς· οἱ μὲν γὰρ ἦθος ἔχουσι στασιμώτερον
οἱ δὲ κινητικόν, καὶ τούτων οἱ μὲν φορτικωτέρας ἔχουσι τὰς
κινήσεις οἱ δὲ ἐλευθεριωτέρας. ἐκ μὲν οὖν τούτων φανερὸν
ὅτι δύναται ποιόν τι τὸ τῆς ψυχῆς ἦθος ἡ μουσικὴ παρα- 24
σκευάζειν. εἰ δὲ τοῦτο δύναται ποιεῖν, δῆλον ὅτι προσακ-
τέον καὶ παιδευτέον ἐν αὐτῇ τοὺς νέους. ἔστι δὲ ἁρμότ- 25
τουσα πρὸς τὴν φύσιν τὴν τηλικαύτην ἡ διδασκαλία τῆς
μουσικῆς· οἱ μὲν γὰρ νέοι διὰ τὴν ἡλικίαν ἀνήδυντον οὐδὲν
ὑπομένουσιν ἑκόντες, ἡ δὲ μουσικὴ φύσει τῶν ἡδυσμένων
ἐστίν. καί τις ἔοικε συγγένεια ταῖς ἁρμονίαις καὶ τοῖς
ῥυθμοῖς εἶναι· διὸ πολλοί φασι τῶν σοφῶν οἱ μὲν ἁρμονίαν
εἶναι τὴν ψυχήν, οἱ δ' ἔχειν ἁρμονίαν.

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Πότερον δὲ δεῖ μανθάνειν αὐτοὺς ᾄδοντάς τε καὶ χει- 6
ρουργοῦντας ἢ μή, καθάπερ ἠπορήθη πρότερον, νῦν λεκτέον.
οὐκ ἄδηλον δὲ ὅτι πολλὴν ἔχει διαφορὰν πρὸς τὸ γίγνε-
σθαι ποιούς τινας, ἐάν τις αὐτὸς κοινωνῇ τῶν ἔργων· ἓν γάρ
τι τῶν ἀδυνάτων ἢ χαλεπῶν ἐστὶ μὴ κοινωνήσαντας τῶν
ἔργων κριτὰς γενέσθαι σπουδαίους. ἅμα δὲ καὶ δεῖ τοὺς 2
παῖδας ἔχειν τινὰ διατριβήν, καὶ τὴν Ἀρχύτου πλαταγὴν
οἴεσθαι γενέσθαι καλῶς, ἣν διδόασι τοῖς παιδίοις ὅπως
χρώμενοι ταύτῃ μηδὲν καταγνύωσι τῶν κατὰ τὴν οἰκίαν· οὐ

Is actual practice necessary?

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in support of their arguments from facts.'

ῥυθμούς] See *Classical Museum*, I. 555. ῥυθμὸς means time, and nothing else, when applied to music; ῥυθμοί, in the plural, means musical bars played in time.

στασιμώτερον] *Rhet.* II. 15, p. 1390, b. 30, τὰ στάσιμα γένη, 'stable.'

φορτικωτέρας] 'coarser,' 'more vulgar.'

ἐλευθεριωτέρας, 'more refined.'

24 ἔστι δὲ ἁρμόττουσα] 'There is an appropriateness in teaching the young music from their age.'

ἀνήδυντον] 'without some admixture of sweetness;' 'unsweetened.'

καί τις ἔοικε συγγένεια] 'and there seems to be some intimate connexion between the soul and harmonies and time—a connexion which has led some philosophers to say that the soul is a harmony; others, that it has harmony in it.' These opinions are discussed in the *Phædon* of Plato, and Cicero, *Tusc. Quæst.* I.

VI. 1 χειρουργοῦντας] 'themselves both singing and playing.'

πρότερον] V. v. 6.

πολλὴν ἔχει διαφορὰν] 'It is a very different thing,' and that in the sense of its being far better. *Eth.* VI. ix. 4, p. 1141, b. 34.

μὴ κοινωνήσαντας] 'without actual practice.'

2 πλαταγὴν] the 'rattle' of Archytas.

Is actual practice necessary?

γὰρ δύναται τὸ νέον ἡσυχάζειν. αὕτη μὲν οὖν ἐστὶ τοῖς
νηπίοις ἁρμόττουσα τῶν παιδιῶν, ἡ δὲ παιδεία πλαταγὴ
3 τοῖς μείζοσι τῶν νέων. ὅτι μὲν οὖν παιδευτέον τὴν μουσικὴν
οὕτως ὥστε καὶ κοινωνεῖν τῶν ἔργων, φανερὸν ἐκ τῶν
τοιούτων· τὸ δὲ πρέπον καὶ τὸ μὴ πρέπον ταῖς ἡλικίαις οὐ
χαλεπὸν διορίσαι, καὶ λῦσαι πρὸς τοὺς φάσκοντας βάναυσον
4 εἶναι τὴν ἐπιμέλειαν. πρῶτον μὲν γάρ, ἐπεὶ τοῦ κρίνειν
χάριν μετέχειν δεῖ τῶν ἔργων, διὰ τοῦτο χρὴ νέους μὲν
ὄντας χρῆσθαι τοῖς ἔργοις, πρεσβυτέρους δὲ γινομένους τῶν
μὲν ἔργων ἀφεῖσθαι, δύνασθαι δὲ τὰ καλὰ κρίνειν καὶ χαίρειν
5 ὀρθῶς διὰ τὴν μάθησιν τὴν γενομένην ἐν τῇ νεότητι. περὶ

The question of practice depends on the music taught and the instruments used

δὴ τῆς ἐπιτιμήσεως ἥν τινες ἐπιτιμῶσιν ὡς ποιούσης τῆς
μουσικῆς βαναύσους, οὐ χαλεπὸν λῦσαι σκεψαμένους μέχρι
τε πόσου τῶν ἔργων κοινωνητέον τοῖς πρὸς ἀρετὴν παι-
δευομένοις πολιτικήν, καὶ ποίων μελῶν καὶ ποίων ῥυθμῶν
1341 κοινωνητέον, ἔτι δὲ ἐν ποίοις ὀργάνοις τὴν μάθησιν ποιητέον·
6 καὶ γὰρ τοῦτο διαφέρειν εἰκός. ἐν τούτοις γὰρ ἡ λύσις
ἐστὶ τῆς ἐπιτιμήσεως· οὐθὲν γὰρ κωλύει τρόπους τινὰς τῆς
μουσικῆς ἀπεργάζεσθαι τὸ λεχθέν. φανερὸν τοίνυν ὅτι
δεῖ τὴν μάθησιν αὐτῆς μήτε ἐμποδίζειν πρὸς τὰς ὕστερον
πράξεις, μήτε τὸ σῶμα ποιεῖν βάναυσον καὶ ἄχρηστον πρὸς
τὰς πολεμικὰς καὶ πολιτικὰς ἀσκήσεις, πρὸς μὲν τὰς

ἡ δὲ παιδεία] 'and their education should be to the elder children an amusement, a rattle.' Music is a healthy pastime for the young, and there should be no strain of the intellect early.

3 *καὶ κοινωνεῖν*] as well as *κρίνειν*.

καὶ λῦσαι] 'nor is it difficult to meet the objections of those who pretend that attention to music is not a proper part of a liberal education.'

4 'If to judge rightly be the object, that is best attained by actual practice when young; there is a time when the power so acquired must be exercised; this time is later in life. So the right use of music depends on a question of age. It is to be learnt when young; the knowledge so gained is to be used when older.'

5 *σκεψαμένους*] 'when we have considered the limit of practical acquaintance with it which is to be fixed for those who are being trained to excellence as citizens.'

καὶ γὰρ τοῦτο] 'for it is reasonable to suppose that even this last makes a difference.'

6 *ἐν τούτοις*] 'For here, in these points, lies the answer to the objection.'

τρόπους τινάς] 'certain methods of teaching and learning music.'

πρὸς μὲν τὰς χρήσεις ἤδη] 'for the

The question of practice depends on the music taught and the instruments used.

χρήσεις ἤδη, πρὸς δὲ τὰς μαθήσεις ὕστερον. συμβαίνοι δ'
ἂν περὶ τὴν μάθησιν, εἰ μήτε τὰ πρὸς τοὺς ἀγῶνας τοὺς
τεχνικοὺς συντείνοντα διαπονοῖεν, μήτε τὰ θαυμάσια καὶ
περιττὰ τῶν ἔργων, ἃ νῦν ἐλήλυθεν εἰς τοὺς ἀγῶνας, ἐκ δὲ
τῶν ἀγώνων εἰς τὴν παιδείαν. ἀλλὰ καὶ τὰ τοιαῦτα μέχρι
περ ἂν δύνωνται χαίρειν τοῖς καλοῖς μέλεσι καὶ ῥυθμοῖς, καὶ
μὴ μόνον τῷ κοινῷ τῆς μουσικῆς, ὥσπερ καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ἔνια
ζῴων, ἔτι δὲ καὶ πλῆθος ἀνδραπόδων καὶ παιδίων. δῆλον 8
δὲ ἐκ τούτων καὶ ποίοις ὀργάνοις χρηστέον. οὔτε γὰρ 9
αὐλοὺς εἰς παιδείαν ἀκτέον οὔτ' ἄλλο τεχνικὸν ὄργανον,
οἷον κιθάραν κἂν εἴ τι τοιοῦτον ἕτερόν ἐστιν, ἀλλ' ὅσα
ποιήσει αὐτῶν ἀκροατὰς ἀγαθοὺς ἢ τῆς μουσικῆς παιδείας
ἢ τῆς ἄλλης. ἔτι δ' οὐκ ἔστιν ὁ αὐλὸς ἠθικὸν ἀλλὰ
μᾶλλον ὀργιαστικόν, ὥστε πρὸς τοὺς τοιούτους αὐτῷ
καιροὺς χρηστέον ἐν οἷς ἡ θεωρία κάθαρσιν μᾶλλον δύναται
ἢ μάθησιν. προσθῶμεν δὲ ὅτι συμβέβηκεν ἐναντίον αὐτῷ 10
πρὸς παιδείαν καὶ τὸ κωλύειν τῷ λόγῳ χρῆσθαι τὴν αὔλησιν·
διὸ καλῶς ἀπεδοκίμασαν αὐτοῦ οἱ πρότερον τὴν χρῆσιν ἐκ
τῶν νέων καὶ τῶν ἐλευθέρων, καίπερ χρησάμενοι τὸ πρῶτον
αὐτῷ. σχολαστικώτεροι γὰρ γιγνόμενοι διὰ τὰς εὐπορίας

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practice in the present, for the theory later.' ποιοῦντες γὰρ or χρώμενοι μανθάνομεν.

7 συμβαίνοι δ' ἂν] 'and the proper results would follow.' Compare the use of συμβαίνει in III. VII. 4, συμβαίνει δ' εὐλόγως.

τοὺς ἀγῶνας τοὺς τεχνικούς] 'The contests of professional players.'

τὰ θαυμάσια, κ.τ.λ.] 'Striking and extraordinary pieces.'

8 ἀλλὰ καί] 'But even such they may practise till such time as they shall be able.'

τῷ κοινῷ τῆς μουσικῆς] Above, v. 15, τῆς κοινῆς ἡδονῆς.

9 τεχνικόν] as opposed to simple, 'requiring professional skill.'

ὅσα αὐτῶν] 'all instruments.'

ὀργιαστικόν] 'exciting,' in an active sense. Compare Herm. ad *Soph. Trach.* 216, and the *Scholiast*, ἐρεθίζει γὰρ ὁ αὐλὸς πρὸς τὴν χόρειαν τὰς παρθένους.

κάθαρσιν] Compare *Poet.* VI. 2, p. 1449, b. 28, where this word occurs in the definition of tragedy: τὴν τῶν τοιούτων παθημάτων κάθαρσιν. Ritter, on the word, p. 132, says, "ea conformatio affectuum ut omne nimium, omnis perturbatio removeatur." 'Has for its object, not so much instruction, as regulation of the feelings.'

10 καὶ τὸ κωλύειν] 'Its preventing the use of the voice.'

ἀπεδοκίμασαν] 'disapproved of its use by the young on trial;' 'rejected or removed it from the young,' ἐκ τῶν νέων.

11. διὰ τὰς εὐπορίας] 'from the increase of wealth.'

The instruments used.

καὶ μεγαλοψυχότεροι πρὸς ἀρετήν, ἔτι τε πρότερον καὶ μετὰ τὰ Μηδικὰ φρονηματισθέντες ἐκ τῶν ἔργων, πάσης ἥπτοντο μαθήσεως, οὐδὲν διακρίνοντες ἀλλ' ἐπιζητοῦντες.
12 διὸ καὶ τὴν αὐλητικὴν ἤγαγον πρὸς τὰς μαθήσεις. καὶ γὰρ ἐν Λακεδαίμονί τις χορηγὸς αὐτὸς ηὔλησε τῷ χορῷ, καὶ περὶ Ἀθήνας οὕτως ἐπεχωρίασεν ὥστε σχεδὸν οἱ πολλοὶ τῶν ἐλευθέρων μετεῖχον αὐτῆς· δῆλον δὲ ἐκ τοῦ πίνακος ὃν ἀνέθηκε Θράσιππος Ἐκφαντίδῃ χορηγήσας. ὕστερον δ' ἀπεδοκιμάσθη διὰ τῆς πείρας αὐτῆς, βέλτιον δυναμένων κρίνειν τὸ πρὸς ἀρετὴν καὶ τὸ μὴ πρὸς ἀρετὴν
13 συντεῖνον. ὁμοίως δὲ καὶ πολλὰ τῶν ὀργάνων τῶν ἀρχαίων, οἷον πηκτίδες καὶ βάρβιτοι καὶ τὰ πρὸς ἡδονὴν συντείνοντα τοῖς ἀκούουσι τῶν χρωμένων, ἑπτάγωνα καὶ τρίγωνα καὶ
1341 B σαμβῦκαι, καὶ πάντα τὰ δεόμενα χειρουργικῆς ἐπιστήμης. εὐλόγως δ' ἔχει καὶ τὸ περὶ τῶν αὐλῶν ὑπὸ τῶν ἀρχαίων μεμυθολογημένον· φασὶ γὰρ δὴ τὴν Ἀθηνᾶν εὑροῦσαν ἀπο-
14 βαλεῖν τοὺς αὐλούς. οὐ κακῶς μὲν οὖν ἔχει φάναι καὶ διὰ τὴν ἀσχημοσύνην τοῦ προσώπου τοῦτο ποιῆσαι δυσχεράνασαν τὴν θεόν· οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ μᾶλλον εἰκὸς ὅτι πρὸς τὴν διάνοιαν οὐθέν ἐστι ἡ παιδεία τῆς αὐλήσεως· τῇ δὲ Ἀθηνᾷ
15 τὴν ἐπιστήμην περιτίθεμεν καὶ τὴν τέχνην. ἐπεὶ δὲ τῶν τε ὀργάνων καὶ τῆς ἐργασίας ἀποδοκιμάζομεν τὴν τεχνικὴν

μεγαλοψυχότεροι] 'having formed loftier conceptions,' 'become more confident.'

φρονηματισθέντες ἐκ, κ.τ.λ.] 'inspirited by their achievements.'

οὐδὲν διακρίνοντες] 'making no distinctions, but constantly seeking new additions.' It is an interesting notice, by Aristotle, of the effect of the successful struggle with Persia in developing the life of Greece.

12 ἐπεχωρίασεν] 'It became so popular.' Compare the expression in Aristophanes, τοὐπιχώριον.

διὰ τῆς πείρας αὐτῆς] 'on experience of it;' αὐτῆς sc. τῆς αὐλητικῆς depends on πείρας.

13 πηκτίδες] Plato, *Rep.* III. 398 C.

τοῖς ἀκούουσι τῶν χρωμένων] 'to those who heard players on them.'

χειρουργικῆς ἐπιστήμης] 'scientific execution,' 'manual dexterity;' χειρουργοῦντας, VI. I.

14 οὐ μὴν ἀλλά, κ.τ.λ.] 'Still it is more reasonable.'

ἡ παιδεία τῆς αὐλήσεως] 'the education derived from flute playing.'

περιτίθεμεν] 'we attribute science and art'—the διανοητικαὶ ἀρεταί.

15 ἐπεὶ δέ, κ.τ.λ.] 'But since both as to instruments and execution.'

παιδείαν, τεχνικὴν δὲ τίθεμεν τὴν πρὸς τοὺς ἀγῶνας· ἐν ταύτῃ γὰρ ὁ πράττων οὐ τῆς αὑτοῦ μεταχειρίζεται χάριν ἀρετῆς, ἀλλὰ τῆς τῶν ἀκουόντων ἡδονῆς, καὶ ταύτης φορτικῆς. διόπερ οὐ τῶν ἐλευθέρων κρίνομεν εἶναι τὴν ἐργασίαν, ἀλλὰ θητικωτέραν. καὶ βαναύσους δὴ συμβαίνει γί- 16 γνεσθαι· πονηρὸς γὰρ ὁ σκοπὸς πρὸς ὃν ποιοῦνται τὸ τέλος. ὁ γὰρ θεατὴς φορτικὸς ὢν μεταβάλλειν εἴωθε τὴν μουσικήν, ὥστε καὶ τοὺς τεχνίτας τοὺς πρὸς αὐτὸν μελετῶντας αὐτούς τε ποιούς τινας ποιεῖ καὶ τὰ σώματα διὰ τὰς κινήσεις.

The instruments used.

Σκεπτέον δ' ἔτι περί τε τὰς ἁρμονίας καὶ τοὺς ῥυθμούς, 7 καὶ πρὸς παιδείαν πότερον πάσαις χρηστέον ταῖς ἁρμονίαις καὶ πᾶσι τοῖς ῥυθμοῖς ἢ διαιρετέον, ἔπειτα τοῖς πρὸς παιδείαν διαπονοῦσι πότερον τὸν αὐτὸν διορισμὸν θήσομεν ἢ τρίτον δεῖ τινὰ ἕτερον, ἐπειδὴ τὴν μὲν μουσικὴν ὁρῶμεν διὰ μελοποιίας καὶ ῥυθμῶν οὖσαν, τούτων δ' ἑκάτερον, οὐ δεῖ λεληθέναι, τίνα ἔχει δύναμιν, πρὸς παιδείαν, καὶ πότερον προαιρετέον μᾶλλον τὴν εὐμελῆ μουσικὴν ἢ τὴν εὔρυθμον. Νομίσαντες οὖν πολλὰ καλῶς λέγειν περὶ τούτων τῶν τε 2

The music to be taught.

τεχνικὴν δέ] The *δέ* marks the apodosis, 'professional.'

οὐ τῆς αὑτοῦ χάριν ἀρετῆς] 'It is not in subservience to his own excellence that he follows the pursuit.'

τὴν ἐργασίαν] 'His skill in execution.'

16 *καὶ βαναύσους δή*] and the result is, that they do indeed become *βάναυσοι*.

πονηρὸς γὰρ ὁ σκοπός] 'For the point of view to which they bring their end is bad.'

θεατὴς φορτικός] *διὰ τὴν φορτικότητα τῶν ἀκροατῶν*, *Rhet.* II. 21, ad fin. p. 1395, b. 1.

τοὺς πρὸς αὐτὸν μελετῶντας] 'Those who practise with a view to him,' 'to succeed with him.'

διὰ τὰς κινήσεις] 'immutationes artis,' Vict.; the changes implied in the *μεταβάλλειν*. But it seems more natural to take it as referring to the bodily exertions required of professional players.

VII. 1 In two points the limits have been traced—viz. the degree in which skill is desirable, and the instruments which may be used, where the object is educational and liberal. There remain the points of harmony and rhythm.

τοῖς πρὸς παιδείαν διαπονοῦσι] I am not sure that I know what class he means here. Is it 'those who are studying very deeply the subject (*διαπονοῦσι*) with a view to education,' actively, to the education of others, not as a matter of self-cultivation merely?

εὐμελῆ] 'melodious,' musical in that sense.

εὔρυθμον] 'in good time.'

The music to be taught.

νῦν μουσικῶν ἐνίους καὶ τῶν ἐκ φιλοσοφίας ὅσοι τυγχάνουσιν
ἐμπείρως ἔχοντες τῆς περὶ τὴν μουσικὴν παιδείας, τὴν μὲν
καθ' ἕκαστον ἀκριβολογίαν ἀποδώσομεν ζητεῖν τοῖς βουλο-
μένοις παρ' ἐκείνων, νῦν δὲ νομικῶς διέλωμεν, τοὺς τύπους
3 μόνον εἰπόντες περὶ αὐτῶν. ἐπεὶ δὲ τὴν διαίρεσιν ἀποδε-
χόμεθα τῶν μελῶν ὡς διαιροῦσί τινες τῶν ἐν φιλοσοφίᾳ,
τὰ μὲν ἠθικὰ τὰ δὲ πρακτικὰ τὰ δ' ἐνθουσιαστικὰ τιθέντες,
καὶ τῶν ἁρμονιῶν τὴν φύσιν πρὸς ἕκαστα τούτων οἰκείαν
ἄλλην πρὸς ἄλλο μέρος τιθέασι, φαμὲν δ' οὐ μιᾶς ἕνεκεν
ὠφελείας τῇ μουσικῇ χρῆσθαι δεῖν ἀλλὰ καὶ πλειόνων χά-
ριν (καὶ γὰρ παιδείας ἕνεκεν καὶ καθάρσεως—τί δὲ λέ-
γομεν τὴν κάθαρσιν, νῦν μὲν ἁπλῶς, πάλιν δ' ἐν τοῖς περὶ
ποιητικῆς ἐροῦμεν σαφέστερον—, τρίτον δὲ πρὸς διαγωγήν,
1342 πρὸς ἄνεσίν τε καὶ πρὸς τὴν τῆς συντονίας ἀνάπαυσιν), φα-
νερὸν ὅτι χρηστέον μὲν πάσαις ταῖς ἁρμονίαις, οὐ τὸν αὐτὸν
δὲ τρόπον πάσαις χρηστέον, ἀλλὰ πρὸς μὲν τὴν παιδείαν
ταῖς ἠθικωτάταις, πρὸς δὲ ἀκρόασιν ἑτέρων χειρουργούντων
4 καὶ ταῖς πρακτικαῖς καὶ ταῖς ἐνθουσιαστικαῖς. ὃ γὰρ περὶ
ἐνίας συμβαίνει πάθος ψυχὰς ἰσχυρῶς, τοῦτο ἐν πάσαις
ὑπάρχει, τῷ δὲ ἧττον διαφέρει καὶ τῷ μᾶλλον, οἷον ἔλεος
καὶ φόβος, ἔτι δ' ἐνθουσιασμός. καὶ γὰρ ὑπὸ ταύτης τῆς
κινήσεως κατακώχιμοί τινές εἰσιν· ἐκ δὲ τῶν ἱερῶν μελῶν

2 τῶν ἐκ φιλοσοφίας] 'Those who with philosophical cultivation combine practical acquaintance with musical education;' § 3, τῶν ἐν φιλοσοφίᾳ.

τὴν καθ' ἕκαστον ἀκριβολογίαν] 'exact detail.'

νομικῶς] 'tracing the general laws.' "au point de vue du legislateur," St. Hil.

3 μελῶν] μέλος seems here used for 'the words of the song,' the λόγος. V. v. 7.

ἠθικά] 'forming the character.'

πρακτικά] 'leading to action.'

μέρος] 'part of our nature.'

νῦν μὲν ἁπλῶς] 'Though now quite in the general.'

ἐν τοῖς περὶ ποιητικῆς] I have given the reference at V. vi. 9.

τῆς συντονίας] 'of the tension—the excitement.'

4 ὃ γὰρ περὶ ἐνίας] Compare on this subject one of the prefaces to Wordsworth's poems, where the sensibility of the poet is distinguished from that of other men. The distinction that is there drawn is one of degree, as here, not of kind. The poet is but more largely endowed with faculties which all have in a degree.

ἐνθουσιασμός] All men, then, are susceptible of enthusiasm; it is, as with other sensibility, a question of degree.

κατακώχιμοι] 'are under the sway

The music to be taught.

ὁρῶμεν τούτους, ὅταν χρήσωνται τοῖς ἐξοργιάζουσι τὴν ψυχὴν μέλεσι, καθισταμένους ὥσπερ ἰατρείας τυχόντας καὶ καθάρσεως. ταὐτὸ δὴ τοῦτο ἀναγκαῖον πάσχειν καὶ τοὺς 5
ἐλεήμονας καὶ τοὺς φοβητικοὺς καὶ τοὺς ὅλως παθητικούς, τοὺς δ' ἄλλους καθ' ὅσον ἐπιβάλλει τῶν τοιούτων ἑκάστῳ, καὶ πᾶσι γίγνεσθαί τινα κάθαρσιν καὶ κουφίζεσθαι μεθ' ἡδονῆς. ὁμοίως δὲ καὶ τὰ μέλη τὰ καθαρτικὰ παρέχει χαρὰν ἀβλαβῆ τοῖς ἀνθρώποις. διὸ ταῖς μὲν τοιαύταις 6
ἁρμονίαις καὶ τοῖς τοιούτοις μέλεσι θετέον τοὺς τὴν θεατρικὴν μουσικὴν μεταχειριζομένους ἀγωνιστάς. ἐπεὶ δ' ὁ θεατὴς διττός, ὁ μὲν ἐλεύθερος καὶ πεπαιδευμένος, ὁ δὲ φορτικὸς ἐκ βαναύσων καὶ θητῶν καὶ ἄλλων τοιούτων συγκείμενος, ἀποδοτέον ἀγῶνας καὶ θεωρίας καὶ τοῖς τοιούτοις πρὸς ἀνάπαυσιν. εἰσὶ δ' ὥσπερ αὐτῶν αἱ ψυχαὶ παρε- 7
στραμμέναι τῆς κατὰ φύσιν ἕξεως, οὕτω καὶ τῶν ἁρμονιῶν παρεκβάσεις εἰσὶ καὶ τῶν μελῶν τὰ σύντονα καὶ παρακεχρωσμένα. ποιεῖ δὲ τὴν ἡδονὴν ἑκάστοις τὸ κατὰ φύσιν οἰκεῖον. διόπερ ἀποδοτέον ἐξουσίαν τοῖς ἀγωνιζομένοις πρὸς τὸν θεατὴν τὸν τοιοῦτον τοιούτῳ τινὶ χρῆσθαι τῷ γένει τῆς μουσικῆς. Πρὸς δὲ παιδείαν, ὥσπερ εἴρηται, τοῖς 8
ἠθικοῖς τῶν μελῶν χρηστέον καὶ ταῖς ἁρμονίαις ταῖς

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of.' Compare *Eth.* x. x. 3, p. 1179, b. 9, ποιῆσαι ἂν κατοκώχιμον ἐκ τῆς ἀρετῆς.

καθισταμένους, κ.τ.λ.] 'settling, as having found a remedy for their excitement, and a clearing of their disturbance.'

5 παθητικούς] 'impressionable.'

κουφίζεσθαι] 'a sense of lightening, not unaccompanied with pleasure.' Wordsworth, *Tintern Abbey*.

6 θετέον] "Weise man auf," Stahr. The word is hard. Is the meaning, 'Therefore it is with harmonies and songs that produce this effect, that we should induce those who practise music for the theatre to contend'? If so, θετέον governs both the accusatives, and the datives depend on ἀγωνιστάς.

καὶ τοῖς τοιούτοις] 'To suit this latter class of spectators as well as the former.'

7 τῆς κατὰ φύσιν ἕξεως] Compare *Eth.* VII. xiii. 2, p. 1152, b. 34, and 1153, 14; 'the true state in accordance with nature.' τὴν ὑπάρχουσαν φύσιν, *Rhet.* I. xi. 1, p. 1369, b. 34.

σύντονα] 'strained,' 'high.'

παρακεχρωσμένα] 'corrupted by introducing the ἁρμονία χρωματική.' Liddell and Scott.

τὸ κατὰ φύσιν οἰκεῖον] 'That which is cognate to his nature.' Compare above, III. 5.

The music to be taught.

τοιαύταις· τοιαύτη δ' ἡ δωριστί, καθάπερ εἴπομεν πρό-
τερον· δέχεσθαι δὲ δεῖ κἄν τινα ἄλλην ἡμῖν δοκιμάζωσιν οἱ
κοινωνοὶ τῆς ἐν φιλοσοφίᾳ διατριβῆς καὶ τῆς περὶ τὴν
9 μουσικὴν παιδείας. ὁ δ' ἐν τῇ πολιτείᾳ Σωκράτης οὐ καλῶς
τὴν φρυγιστὶ μόνην καταλείπει μετὰ τῆς δωριστί, καὶ
1342 B ταῦτα ἀποδοκιμάσας τῶν ὀργάνων τὸν αὐλόν. ἔχει γὰρ
τὴν αὐτὴν δύναμιν ἡ φρυγιστὶ τῶν ἁρμονιῶν ἥνπερ αὐλὸς ἐν
10 τοῖς ὀργάνοις· ἄμφω γὰρ ὀργιαστικὰ καὶ παθητικά. δηλοῖ
δ' ἡ ποίησις· πᾶσα γὰρ βακχεία καὶ πᾶσα ἡ τοιαύτη κίνησις
μάλιστα τῶν ὀργάνων ἐστὶν ἐν τοῖς αὐλοῖς, τῶν δ' ἁρμονιῶν
ἐν τοῖς φρυγιστὶ μέλεσι λαμβάνει ταῦτα τὸ πρέπον, οἷον ὁ
11 διθύραμβος ὁμολογουμένως εἶναι δοκεῖ Φρύγιον. καὶ τούτου
πολλὰ παραδείγματα λέγουσιν οἱ περὶ τὴν σύνεσιν ταύτην
ἄλλα τε, καὶ διότι Φιλόξενος ἐγχειρήσας ἐν τῇ δωριστὶ
ποιῆσαι διθύραμβον τοὺς μύθους οὐχ οἷός τ' ἦν, ἀλλ' ὑπὸ
τῆς φύσεως αὐτῆς ἐξέπεσεν εἰς τὴν φρυγιστὶ τὴν προσήκου-
12 σαν ἁρμονίαν πάλιν. περὶ δὲ τῆς δωριστὶ πάντες ὁμολο-
γοῦσιν ὡς στασιμωτάτης οὔσης καὶ μάλιστ' ἦθος ἐχούσης
ἀνδρεῖον. ἔτι δὲ ἐπεὶ τὸ μέσον μὲν τῶν ὑπερβολῶν
ἐπαινοῦμεν καὶ χρῆναι διώκειν φαμέν, ἡ δὲ δωριστὶ ταύτην
ἔχει τὴν φύσιν πρὸς τὰς ἄλλας ἁρμονίας, φανερὸν ὅτι τὰ
Δώρια μέλη πρέπει παιδεύεσθαι μᾶλλον τοῖς νεωτέροις.
13 Εἰσὶ δὲ δύο σκοποί, τό τε δυνατὸν καὶ τὸ πρέπον· καὶ γὰρ
τὰ δυνατὰ δεῖ μεταχειρίζεσθαι μᾶλλον καὶ τὰ πρέποντα
ἑκάστοις· ἔστι δὲ καὶ ταῦτα ὡρισμένα ταῖς ἡλικίαις, οἷον
τοῖς ἀπειρηκόσι διὰ χρόνον οὐ ῥᾴδιον ᾄδειν τὰς συντόνους

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8 τῆς ἐν φιλοσοφίᾳ διατριβῆς] = τῶν ἐκ φιλοσοφίας of § 2, and τῶν ἐν φιλοσοφίᾳ of § 3. 'Those who are accustomed at once to the philosophical treatment of the subject,' &c.

9 ἐν τῇ πολιτείᾳ] In the republic of Plato.

10 πᾶσα γὰρ βακχεία] Grote, I. 32, text and note; "violent ecstasies and manifestations of temporary frenzy, and that clashing of noisy instruments."

11 οἱ περὶ τὴν σύνεσιν ταύτην] 'Those competent to judge in this point.'

καὶ διότι Φιλόξενος] 'and that Philoxenus,' of Cythera.

ὑπὸ τῆς φύσεως, κ.τ.λ.] 'found himself compelled by the nature of the case to give up his attempt, and pass into the Phrygian mood.'

13 τοῖς ἀπειρηκόσι διὰ χρόνον]

The music to be taught.

ἁρμονίας, ἀλλὰ τὰς ἀνειμένας ἡ φύσις ὑποβάλλει τοῖς τηλικούτοις. διὸ καλῶς ἐπιτιμῶσι καὶ τοῦτο Σωκράτει τῶν περὶ τὴν μουσικήν τινες, ὅτι τὰς ἀνειμένας ἁρμονίας 14
ἀποδοκιμάσειεν εἰς τὴν παιδείαν, ὡς μεθυστικὰς λαμβάνων αὐτάς, οὐ κατὰ τὴν τῆς μέθης δύναμιν (βακχευτικὸν γὰρ ἥ γε μέθη ποιεῖ μᾶλλον) ἀλλ' ἀπειρηκυίας. ὥστε καὶ πρὸς τὴν ἐσομένην ἡλικίαν, τὴν τῶν πρεσβυτέρων, δεῖ καὶ τῶν τοιούτων ἁρμονιῶν ἅπτεσθαι καὶ τῶν μελῶν τῶν τοιούτων. ἔτι δ' εἴ τίς ἐστι τοιαύτη τῶν ἁρμονιῶν ἣ πρέπει τῇ τῶν 15
παίδων ἡλικίᾳ διὰ τὸ δύνασθαι κόσμον τ' ἔχειν ἅμα καὶ παιδείαν, οἷον ἡ λυδιστὶ φαίνεται πεπονθέναι μάλιστα τῶν ἁρμονιῶν, δῆλον ὅτι τούτους ὅρους τρεῖς ποιητέον εἰς τὴν παιδείαν, τό τε μέσον καὶ τὸ δυνατὸν καὶ τὸ πρέπον.

'Those who, from their time of life, have lost their powers.'

συντόνους] 'requiring a great strain,' 'high.'

14 *ὡς μεθυστικὰς λαμβάνων αὐτάς*] 'looking on them as partaking of the character of intoxication, not intoxication in its strictest form as an active power (for drunkenness has a tendency to excite a man), but with reference to the exhaustion consequent on intoxication.'

Nickes thinks this discussion on music complete. I have no knowledge as to what would be a complete discussion of the subject, but the end seems so abrupt, that I can hardly accept his view. If we look on the book as a whole as fragmentary in its present shape, there would be no object in trying to make out the actual fragment preserved as complete in itself. That the book is to be so considered, I have argued in the Preface.

The effect of music on the character.

μικρόν, καὶ πάντες τῆς τοιαύτης αἰσθήσεως κοινωνοῦσιν. ἔτι δὲ οὐκ ἔστι ταῦτα ὁμοιώματα τῶν ἠθῶν ἀλλὰ σημεῖα μᾶλλον τὰ γιγνόμενα, σχήματα καὶ χρώματα, τῶν ἠθῶν.
21 καὶ ταῦτ' ἐστὶν ἐπὶ τοῦ σώματος ἐν τοῖς πάθεσιν. Οὐ μὴν ἀλλ' ὅσον διαφέρει καὶ περὶ τὴν τούτων θεωρίαν δεῖ μὴ τὰ Παύσωνος θεωρεῖν τοὺς νέους, ἀλλὰ τὰ Πολυγνώτου κἂν εἴ τις ἄλλος τῶν γραφέων ἢ τῶν ἀγαλματοποιῶν ἐστὶν ἠθικός. ἐν δὲ τοῖς μέλεσιν αὐτοῖς ἐστὶ μιμήματα τῶν
22 ἠθῶν· καὶ τοῦτ' ἔστι φανερόν· εὐθὺς γὰρ ἡ τῶν ἁρμονιῶν διέστηκε φύσις ὥστε ἀκούοντας ἄλλως διατίθεσθαι καὶ μὴ τὸν αὐτὸν ἔχειν τρόπον πρὸς ἑκάστην αὐτῶν, ἀλλὰ πρὸς
1340 B μὲν ἐνίας ὀδυρτικωτέρως καὶ συνεστηκότως, μᾶλλον, οἷον πρὸς τὴν μιξολυδιστὶ καλουμένην, πρὸς δὲ τὰς μαλακωτέρως τὴν διάνοιαν, οἷον πρὸς τὰς ἀνειμένας· μέσως δὲ καὶ καθεστηκότως μάλιστα πρὸς ἑτέραν, οἷον δοκεῖ ποιεῖν ἡ δωριστὶ
23 μόνη τῶν ἁρμονιῶν, ἐνθουσιαστικοὺς δ' ἡ φρυγιστί. ταῦτα γὰρ καλῶς λέγουσιν οἱ περὶ τὴν παιδείαν ταύτην πεφιλοσοφηκότες· λαμβάνουσι γὰρ τὰ μαρτύρια τῶν λόγων ἐξ αὐτῶν τῶν ἔργων. τὸν αὐτὸν γὰρ τρόπον ἔχει καὶ τὰ

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text, we insert the negative οὐ. Above, § 15, he remarked of music, that πάντες αἴσθησιν ἔχουσι τῆς ἡδονῆς. Here, where he is distinguishing other appeals to our senses from that which music makes, it would seem natural to expect the contrary. It will, however, be sense without the negative. The extent to which objects of sight affect people is slight, and all equally experience it in that extent. The slightness and universality of the effect diminish its importance, and make it unnecessary to take it into account as an influence upon character.

21 οὐ μὴν ἀλλά] 'Still in proportion as there is *a* difference,' &c. Compare *Poet.* II. ii. p. 1448, 5.

Pauson, of Ephesus, and Polygnotus, of Thasos.

22 ἐν δὲ τοῖς μέλεσιν αὐτοῖς ἐστὶ μιμήματα τῶν ἠθῶν] 'we have the characters imitated.' μίμημα, "illud ipsum quod imitando efficitur." Ritter *ad Poet.* I. iv. p. 78, 1447, 18. 'Opera imitatione expressa." Ibid. p. 102. αὐτοῖς, as opposed to σημεῖα, § 20.

εὐθὺς γάρ] for the expression, compare I. v. 2.

ὀδυρτικωτέρως, κ.τ.λ.] 'we have a feeling of sadness and compression.'

μαλακωτέρως] the opposite of συνεστηκότως, "the soul-dissolving melody," Tennyson, *Vision of Sin.* 'We have a softer feeling.'

μέσως καὶ καθεστηκότως] ἐν τῇ καθεστηκυίᾳ ἡλικίᾳ, Thuc. II. "Firm and unmoved," *Par. Lost,* I. 554, 555. 'The Dorian mood.'

23 οἱ περὶ τήν, κ.τ.λ.] 'who have treated this branch of education philosophically.' 'They get the evidence

The effect of music on the character.

περὶ τοὺς ῥυθμούς· οἱ μὲν γὰρ ἦθος ἔχουσι στασιμώτερον
οἱ δὲ κινητικόν, καὶ τούτων οἱ μὲν φορτικωτέρας ἔχουσι τὰς
κινήσεις οἱ δὲ ἐλευθεριωτέρας. ἐκ μὲν οὖν τούτων φανερὸν
ὅτι δύναται ποιόν τι τὸ τῆς ψυχῆς ἦθος ἡ μουσικὴ παρα- 24
σκευάζειν. εἰ δὲ τοῦτο δύναται ποιεῖν, δῆλον ὅτι προσακ-
τέον καὶ παιδευτέον ἐν αὐτῇ τοὺς νέους. ἔστι δὲ ἁρμόττ- 25
ουσα πρὸς τὴν φύσιν τὴν τηλικαύτην ἡ διδασκαλία τῆς
μουσικῆς· οἱ μὲν γὰρ νέοι διὰ τὴν ἡλικίαν ἀνήδυντον οὐδὲν
ὑπομένουσιν ἑκόντες, ἡ δὲ μουσικὴ φύσει τῶν ἡδυσμένων
ἐστίν. καί τις ἔοικε συγγένεια ταῖς ἁρμονίαις καὶ τοῖς
ῥυθμοῖς εἶναι· διὸ πολλοί φασι τῶν σοφῶν οἱ μὲν ἁρμονίαν
εἶναι τὴν ψυχήν, οἱ δ' ἔχειν ἁρμονίαν.

Is actual practice necessary?

Πότερον δὲ δεῖ μανθάνειν αὐτοὺς ᾄδοντάς τε καὶ χει- 6
ρουργοῦντας ἢ μή, καθάπερ ἠπορήθη πρότερον, νῦν λεκτέον.
οὐκ ἄδηλον δὲ ὅτι πολλὴν ἔχει διαφορὰν πρὸς τὸ γίγνε-
σθαι ποιούς τινας, ἐάν τις αὐτὸς κοινωνῇ τῶν ἔργων· ἓν γάρ
τι τῶν ἀδυνάτων ἢ χαλεπῶν ἐστὶ μὴ κοινωνήσαντας τῶν
ἔργων κριτὰς γενέσθαι σπουδαίους. ἅμα δὲ καὶ δεῖ τοὺς 2
παῖδας ἔχειν τινὰ διατριβήν, καὶ τὴν Ἀρχύτου πλαταγὴν
οἴεσθαι γενέσθαι καλῶς, ἣν διδόασι τοῖς παιδίοις ὅπως
χρώμενοι ταύτῃ μηδὲν καταγνύωσι τῶν κατὰ τὴν οἰκίαν· οὐ

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in support of their arguments from facts.'

ῥυθμούς] See *Classical Museum*, I. 555. ῥυθμὸς means time, and nothing else, when applied to music; ῥυθμοί, in the plural, means musical bars played in time.

στασιμώτερον] *Rhet.* II. 15, p. 1390, b. 30, τὰ στάσιμα γένη, 'stable.'

φορτικωτέρας] 'coarser,' 'more vulgar.'

ἐλευθεριωτέρας, 'more refined.'

24 ἔστι δὲ ἁρμόττουσα] 'There is an appropriateness in teaching the young music from their age.'

ἀνήδυντον] 'without some admixture of sweetness;' 'unsweetened.'

καί τις ἔοικε συγγένεια] 'and there seems to be some intimate connexion between the soul and harmonies and time—a connexion which has led some philosophers to say that the soul is a harmony; others, that it has harmony in it.' These opinions are discussed in the *Phædon* of Plato, and Cicero, *Tusc. Quæst.* I.

VI. 1 χειρουργοῦντας] 'themselves both singing and playing.'

πρότερον] V. v. 6.

πολλὴν ἔχει διαφοράν] 'It is a very different thing,' and that in the sense of its being far better. *Eth.* VI. ix. 4, p. 1141, b. 34.

μὴ κοινωνήσαντας] 'without actual practice.'

2 πλαταγήν] the 'rattle' of Archytas.

Is actual practice necessary?

γὰρ δύναται τὸ νέον ἡσυχάζειν. αὕτη μὲν οὖν ἐστὶ τοῖς
νηπίοις ἁρμόττουσα τῶν παιδιῶν, ἡ δὲ παιδεία πλαταγὴ
3 τοῖς μείζοσι τῶν νέων. ὅτι μὲν οὖν παιδευτέον τὴν μουσικὴν
οὕτως ὥστε καὶ κοινωνεῖν τῶν ἔργων, φανερὸν ἐκ τῶν
τοιούτων· τὸ δὲ πρέπον καὶ τὸ μὴ πρέπον ταῖς ἡλικίαις οὐ
χαλεπὸν διορίσαι, καὶ λῦσαι πρὸς τοὺς φάσκοντας βάναυσον
4 εἶναι τὴν ἐπιμέλειαν. πρῶτον μὲν γάρ, ἐπεὶ τοῦ κρίνειν
χάριν μετέχειν δεῖ τῶν ἔργων, διὰ τοῦτο χρὴ νέους μὲν
ὄντας χρῆσθαι τοῖς ἔργοις, πρεσβυτέρους δὲ γινομένους τῶν
μὲν ἔργων ἀφεῖσθαι, δύνασθαι δὲ τὰ καλὰ κρίνειν καὶ χαίρειν
5 ὀρθῶς διὰ τὴν μάθησιν τὴν γενομένην ἐν τῇ νεότητι. περὶ

The question of practice depends on the music taught and the instruments used

δὴ τῆς ἐπιτιμήσεως ἥν τινες ἐπιτιμῶσιν ὡς ποιούσης τῆς
μουσικῆς βαναύσους, οὐ χαλεπὸν λῦσαι σκεψαμένους μέχρι
τε πόσου τῶν ἔργων κοινωνητέον τοῖς πρὸς ἀρετὴν παι-
δευομένοις πολιτικήν, καὶ ποίων μελῶν καὶ ποίων ῥυθμῶν
1341 κοινωνητέον, ἔτι δὲ ἐν ποίοις ὀργάνοις τὴν μάθησιν ποιητέον·
6 καὶ γὰρ τοῦτο διαφέρειν εἰκός. ἐν τούτοις γὰρ ἡ λύσις
ἐστὶ τῆς ἐπιτιμήσεως· οὐθὲν γὰρ κωλύει τρόπους τινὰς τῆς
μουσικῆς ἀπεργάζεσθαι τὸ λεχθέν. φανερὸν τοίνυν ὅτι
δεῖ τὴν μάθησιν αὐτῆς μήτε ἐμποδίζειν πρὸς τὰς ὕστερον
πράξεις, μήτε τὸ σῶμα ποιεῖν βάναυσον καὶ ἄχρηστον πρὸς
τὰς πολεμικὰς καὶ πολιτικὰς ἀσκήσεις, πρὸς μὲν τὰς

ἡ δὲ παιδεία] 'and their education should be to the elder children an amusement, a rattle.' Music is a healthy pastime for the young, and there should be no strain of the intellect early.

3 καὶ κοινωνεῖν] as well as κρίνειν.

καὶ λῦσαι] 'nor is it difficult to meet the objections of those who pretend that attention to music is not a proper part of a liberal education.'

4 'If to judge rightly be the object, that is best attained by actual practice when young; there is a time when the power so acquired must be exercised; this time is later in life. So the right use of music depends on a question of age. It is to be learnt when young; the knowledge so gained is to be used when older.'

5 σκεψαμένους] 'when we have considered the limit of practical acquaintance with it which is to be fixed for those who are being trained to excellence as citizens.'

καὶ γὰρ τοῦτο] 'for it is reasonable to suppose that even this last makes a difference.'

6 ἐν τούτοις] 'For here, in these points, lies the answer to the objection.'

τρόπους τινάς] 'certain methods of teaching and learning music.'

πρὸς μὲν τὰς χρήσεις ἤδη] 'for the

The question of practice depends on the music taught and the instruments used.

χρήσεις ἤδη, πρὸς δὲ τὰς μαθήσεις ὕστερον. συμβαίνοι δ'
ἂν περὶ τὴν μάθησιν, εἰ μήτε τὰ πρὸς τοὺς ἀγῶνας τοὺς
τεχνικοὺς συντείνοντα διαπονοῖεν, μήτε τὰ θαυμάσια καὶ
περιττὰ τῶν ἔργων, ἃ νῦν ἐλήλυθεν εἰς τοὺς ἀγῶνας, ἐκ δὲ
τῶν ἀγώνων εἰς τὴν παιδείαν. ἀλλὰ καὶ τὰ τοιαῦτα μέχρι
περ ἂν δύνωνται χαίρειν τοῖς καλοῖς μέλεσι καὶ ῥυθμοῖς, καὶ
μὴ μόνον τῷ κοινῷ τῆς μουσικῆς, ὥσπερ καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ἔνια
ζῴων, ἔτι δὲ καὶ πλῆθος ἀνδραπόδων καὶ παιδίων. δῆλον 8
δὲ ἐκ τούτων καὶ ποίοις ὀργάνοις χρηστέον. οὔτε γὰρ 9
αὐλοὺς εἰς παιδείαν ἀκτέον οὔτ' ἄλλο τεχνικὸν ὄργανον,
οἷον κιθάραν κἂν εἴ τι τοιοῦτον ἕτερόν ἐστιν, ἀλλ' ὅσα
ποιήσει αὐτῶν ἀκροατὰς ἀγαθοὺς ἢ τῆς μουσικῆς παιδείας
ἢ τῆς ἄλλης. ἔτι δ' οὐκ ἔστιν ὁ αὐλὸς ἠθικὸν ἀλλὰ
μᾶλλον ὀργιαστικόν, ὥστε πρὸς τοὺς τοιούτους αὐτῷ
καιροὺς χρηστέον ἐν οἷς ἡ θεωρία κάθαρσιν μᾶλλον δύναται
ἢ μάθησιν. προσθῶμεν δὲ ὅτι συμβέβηκεν ἐναντίον αὐτῷ 10
πρὸς παιδείαν καὶ τὸ κωλύειν τῷ λόγῳ χρῆσθαι τὴν αὔλησιν·
διὸ καλῶς ἀπεδοκίμασαν αὐτοῦ οἱ πρότερον τὴν χρῆσιν ἐκ
τῶν νέων καὶ τῶν ἐλευθέρων, καίπερ χρησάμενοι τὸ πρῶτον
αὐτῷ. σχολαστικώτεροι γὰρ γιγνόμενοι διὰ τὰς εὐπορίας

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practice in the present, for the theory later.' ποιοῦντες γὰρ or χρώμενοι μανθάνομεν.

7 συμβαίνοι δ' ἂν] 'and the proper results would follow.' Compare the use of συμβαίνει in III. VII. 4, συμβαίνει δ' εὐλόγως.

τοὺς ἀγῶνας τοὺς τεχνικούς] 'The contests of professional players.'

τὰ θαυμάσια, κ.τ.λ.] 'Striking and extraordinary pieces.'

8 ἀλλὰ καί] 'But even such they may practise till such time as they shall be able.'

τῷ κοινῷ τῆς μουσικῆς] Above, v. 15, τῆς κοινῆς ἡδονῆς.

9 τεχνικόν] as opposed to simple, 'requiring professional skill.'

ὅσα αὐτῶν] 'all instruments.'

ὀργιαστικόν] 'exciting,' in an active sense. Compare Herm. ad *Soph. Trach.* 216, and the *Scholiast*, ἐρεθίζει γὰρ ὁ αὐλὸς πρὸς τὴν χόρειαν τὰς παρθένους.

κάθαρσιν] Compare *Poet.* VI. 2, p. 1449, b. 28, where this word occurs in the definition of tragedy: τὴν τῶν τοιούτων παθημάτων κάθαρσιν. Ritter, on the word, p. 132, says, "ea conformatio affectuum ut omne nimium, omnis perturbatio removeatur." 'Has for its object, not so much instruction, as regulation of the feelings.'

10 καὶ τὸ κωλύειν] 'Its preventing the use of the voice.'

ἀπεδοκίμασαν] 'disapproved of its use by the young on trial;' 'rejected or removed it from the young,' ἐκ τῶν νέων.

11. διὰ τὰς εὐπορίας] 'from the increase of wealth.'

The instruments used.

καὶ μεγαλοψυχότεροι πρὸς ἀρετήν, ἔτι τε πρότερον καὶ
μετὰ τὰ Μηδικὰ φρονηματισθέντες ἐκ τῶν ἔργων, πάσης
ἥπτοντο μαθήσεως, οὐδὲν διακρίνοντες ἀλλ' ἐπιζητοῦντες.
12 διὸ καὶ τὴν αὐλητικὴν ἤγαγον πρὸς τὰς μαθήσεις. καὶ
γὰρ ἐν Λακεδαίμονί τις χορηγὸς αὐτὸς ηὔλησε τῷ χορῷ,
καὶ περὶ Ἀθήνας οὕτως ἐπεχωρίασεν ὥστε σχεδὸν οἱ
πολλοὶ τῶν ἐλευθέρων μετεῖχον αὐτῆς· δῆλον δὲ ἐκ τοῦ
πίνακος ὃν ἀνέθηκε Θράσιππος Ἐκφαντίδῃ χορηγήσας.
ὕστερον δ' ἀπεδοκιμάσθη διὰ τῆς πείρας αὐτῆς, βέλτιον
δυναμένων κρίνειν τὸ πρὸς ἀρετὴν καὶ τὸ μὴ πρὸς ἀρετὴν
13 συντεῖνον. ὁμοίως δὲ καὶ πολλὰ τῶν ὀργάνων τῶν ἀρχαίων,
οἷον πηκτίδες καὶ βάρβιτοι καὶ τὰ πρὸς ἡδονὴν συντείνοντα
τοῖς ἀκούουσι τῶν χρωμένων, ἑπτάγωνα καὶ τρίγωνα καὶ
1341 B σαμβῦκαι, καὶ πάντα τὰ δεόμενα χειρουργικῆς ἐπιστήμης.
εὐλόγως δ' ἔχει καὶ τὸ περὶ τῶν αὐλῶν ὑπὸ τῶν ἀρχαίων
μεμυθολογημένον· φασὶ γὰρ δὴ τὴν Ἀθηνᾶν εὑροῦσαν ἀπο-
14 βαλεῖν τοὺς αὐλούς. οὐ κακῶς μὲν οὖν ἔχει φάναι καὶ διὰ
τὴν ἀσχημοσύνην τοῦ προσώπου τοῦτο ποιῆσαι δυσχεράνα-
σαν τὴν θεόν· οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ μᾶλλον εἰκὸς ὅτι πρὸς τὴν
διάνοιαν οὐθέν ἐστι ἡ παιδεία τῆς αὐλήσεως· τῇ δὲ Ἀθηνᾷ
15 τὴν ἐπιστήμην περιτίθεμεν καὶ τὴν τέχνην. ἐπεὶ δὲ τῶν
τε ὀργάνων καὶ τῆς ἐργασίας ἀποδοκιμάζομεν τὴν τεχνικὴν

μεγαλοψυχότεροι] 'having formed loftier conceptions,' 'become more confident.'

φρονηματισθέντες ἐκ, κ.τ.λ.] 'inspirited by their achievements.'

οὐδὲν διακρίνοντες] 'making no distinctions, but constantly seeking new additions.' It is an interesting notice, by Aristotle, of the effect of the successful struggle with Persia in developing the life of Greece.

12 *ἐπεχωρίασεν*] 'It became so popular.' Compare the expression in Aristophanes, *τοὐπιχώριον*.

διὰ τῆς πείρας αὐτῆς] 'on experience of it;' *αὐτῆς* sc. *τῆς αὐλητικῆς* depends on *πείρας*.

13 *πηκτίδες*] Plato, *Rep.* III. 398 C.

τοῖς ἀκούουσι τῶν χρωμένων] 'to those who heard players on them.'

χειρουργικῆς ἐπιστήμης] 'scientific execution,' 'manual dexterity;' *χειρουργοῦντας*, VI. 1.

14 *οὐ μὴν ἀλλά, κ.τ.λ.*] 'Still it is more reasonable.'

ἡ παιδεία τῆς αὐλήσεως] 'the education derived from flute playing.'

περιτίθεμεν] 'we attribute science and art'—the *διανοητικαὶ ἀρεταί*.

15 *ἐπεὶ δέ, κ.τ.λ.*] 'But since both as to instruments and execution.'

παιδείαν, τεχνικὴν δὲ τίθεμεν τὴν πρὸς τοὺς ἀγῶνας· ἐν ταύτῃ γὰρ ὁ πράττων οὐ τῆς αὑτοῦ μεταχειρίζεται χάριν ἀρετῆς, ἀλλὰ τῆς τῶν ἀκουόντων ἡδονῆς, καὶ ταύτης φορτικῆς. διόπερ οὐ τῶν ἐλευθέρων κρίνομεν εἶναι τὴν ἐργασίαν, ἀλλὰ θητικωτέραν. καὶ βαναύσους δὴ συμβαίνει γί- 16
γνεσθαι· πονηρὸς γὰρ ὁ σκοπὸς πρὸς ὃν ποιοῦνται τὸ τέλος. ὁ γὰρ θεατὴς φορτικὸς ὢν μεταβάλλειν εἴωθε τὴν μουσικήν, ὥστε καὶ τοὺς τεχνίτας τοὺς πρὸς αὐτὸν μελετῶντας αὐτούς τε ποιούς τινας ποιεῖ καὶ τὰ σώματα διὰ τὰς κινήσεις.

The instruments used.

Σκεπτέον δ' ἔτι περί τε τὰς ἁρμονίας καὶ τοὺς ῥυθμούς, 7
καὶ πρὸς παιδείαν πότερον πάσαις χρηστέον ταῖς ἁρμονίαις καὶ πᾶσι τοῖς ῥυθμοῖς ἢ διαιρετέον, ἔπειτα τοῖς πρὸς παιδείαν διαπονοῦσι πότερον τὸν αὐτὸν διορισμὸν θήσομεν ἢ τρίτον δεῖ τινὰ ἕτερον, ἐπειδὴ τὴν μὲν μουσικὴν ὁρῶμεν διὰ μελοποιίας καὶ ῥυθμῶν οὖσαν, τούτων δ' ἑκάτερον οὐ δεῖ λεληθέναι τίνα ἔχει δύναμιν πρὸς παιδείαν, καὶ πότερον προαιρετέον μᾶλλον τὴν εὐμελῆ μουσικὴν ἢ τὴν εὔρυθμον.
Νομίσαντες οὖν πολλὰ καλῶς λέγειν περὶ τούτων τῶν τε 2

The music to be taught.

τεχνικὴν δέ] The δέ marks the apodosis, 'professional.'

οὐ τῆς αὑτοῦ χάριν ἀρετῆς] 'It is not in subservience to his own excellence that he follows the pursuit.'

τὴν ἐργασίαν] 'His skill in execution.'

16 καὶ βαναύσους δή] and the result is, that they do indeed become βάναυσοι.

πονηρὸς γὰρ ὁ σκοπός] 'For the point of view to which they bring their end is bad.'

θεατὴς φορτικός] διὰ τὴν φορτικότητα τῶν ἀκροατῶν, *Rhet.* II. 21, ad fin. p. 1395, b. 1.

τοὺς πρὸς αὐτὸν μελετῶντας] 'Those who practise with a view to him,' 'to succeed with him.'

διὰ τὰς κινήσεις] 'immutationes artis,' Vict.; the changes implied in the μεταβάλλειν. But it seems more natural to take it as referring to the bodily exertions required of professional players.

VII. 1 In two points the limits have been traced—viz. the degree in which skill is desirable, and the instruments which may be used, where the object is educational and liberal. There remain the points of harmony and rhythm.

τοῖς πρὸς παιδείαν διαπονοῦσι] I am not sure that I know what class he means here. Is it 'those who are studying very deeply the subject (διαπονοῦσι) with a view to education,' actively, to the education of others, not as a matter of self-cultivation merely?

εὐμελῆ] 'melodious,' musical in that sense.

εὔρυθμον] 'in good time.'

The music to be taught.

νῦν μουσικῶν ἐνίους καὶ τῶν ἐκ φιλοσοφίας ὅσοι τυγχάνουσιν ἐμπείρως ἔχοντες τῆς περὶ τὴν μουσικὴν παιδείας, τὴν μὲν καθ' ἕκαστον ἀκριβολογίαν ἀποδώσομεν ζητεῖν τοῖς βουλομένοις παρ' ἐκείνων, νῦν δὲ νομικῶς διέλωμεν, τοὺς τύπους
3 μόνον εἰπόντες περὶ αὐτῶν. ἐπεὶ δὲ τὴν διαίρεσιν ἀποδεχόμεθα τῶν μελῶν ὡς διαιροῦσί τινες τῶν ἐν φιλοσοφίᾳ, τὰ μὲν ἠθικὰ τὰ δὲ πρακτικὰ τὰ δ' ἐνθουσιαστικὰ τιθέντες, καὶ τῶν ἁρμονιῶν τὴν φύσιν πρὸς ἕκαστα τούτων οἰκείαν ἄλλην πρὸς ἄλλο μέρος τιθέασι, φαμὲν δ' οὐ μιᾶς ἕνεκεν ὠφελείας τῇ μουσικῇ χρῆσθαι δεῖν ἀλλὰ καὶ πλειόνων χάριν (καὶ γὰρ παιδείας ἕνεκεν καὶ καθάρσεως—τί δὲ λέγομεν τὴν κάθαρσιν, νῦν μὲν ἁπλῶς, πάλιν δ' ἐν τοῖς περὶ ποιητικῆς ἐροῦμεν σαφέστερον—, τρίτον δὲ πρὸς διαγωγήν,
1342 πρὸς ἄνεσίν τε καὶ πρὸς τὴν τῆς συντονίας ἀνάπαυσιν), φανερὸν ὅτι χρηστέον μὲν πάσαις ταῖς ἁρμονίαις, οὐ τὸν αὐτὸν δὲ τρόπον πάσαις χρηστέον, ἀλλὰ πρὸς μὲν τὴν παιδείαν ταῖς ἠθικωτάταις, πρὸς δὲ ἀκρόασιν ἑτέρων χειρουργούντων
4 καὶ ταῖς πρακτικαῖς καὶ ταῖς ἐνθουσιαστικαῖς. ὃ γὰρ περὶ ἐνίας συμβαίνει πάθος ψυχὰς ἰσχυρῶς, τοῦτο ἐν πάσαις ὑπάρχει, τῷ δὲ ἧττον διαφέρει καὶ τῷ μᾶλλον, οἷον ἔλεος καὶ φόβος, ἔτι δ' ἐνθουσιασμός. καὶ γὰρ ὑπὸ ταύτης τῆς κινήσεως κατακώχιμοί τινές εἰσιν· ἐκ δὲ τῶν ἱερῶν μελῶν

2 τῶν ἐκ φιλοσοφίας] 'Those who with philosophical cultivation combine practical acquaintance with musical education;' § 3, τῶν ἐν φιλοσοφίᾳ.

τὴν καθ' ἕκαστον ἀκριβολογίαν] 'exact detail.'

νομικῶς] 'tracing the general laws.' "au point de vue du legislateur," St. Hil.

3 μελῶν] μέλος seems here used for 'the words of the song,' the λόγος. V. v. 7.

ἠθικά] 'forming the character.'

πρακτικά] 'leading to action.'

μέρος] 'part of our nature.'

νῦν μὲν ἁπλῶς] 'Though now quite in the general.'

ἐν τοῖς περὶ ποιητικῆς] I have given the reference at V. vi. 9.

τῆς συντονίας] 'of the tension—the excitement.'

4 ὃ γὰρ περὶ ἐνίας] Compare on this subject one of the prefaces to Wordsworth's poems, where the sensibility of the poet is distinguished from that of other men. The distinction that is there drawn is one of degree, as here, not of kind. The poet is but more largely endowed with faculties which all have in a degree.

ἐνθουσιασμός] All men, then, are susceptible of enthusiasm; it is, as with other sensibility, a question of degree.

κατακώχιμοι] 'are under the sway

The music to be taught.

ὁρῶμεν τούτους, ὅταν χρήσωνται τοῖς ἐξοργιάζουσι τὴν
ψυχὴν μέλεσι, καθισταμένους ὥσπερ ἰατρείας τυχόντας καὶ
καθάρσεως. ταὐτὸ δὴ τοῦτο ἀναγκαῖον πάσχειν καὶ τοὺς 5
ἐλεήμονας καὶ τοὺς φοβητικοὺς καὶ τοὺς ὅλως παθητικούς,
τοὺς δ' ἄλλους καθ' ὅσον ἐπιβάλλει τῶν τοιούτων ἑκάστῳ,
καὶ πᾶσι γίγνεσθαί τινα κάθαρσιν καὶ κουφίζεσθαι μεθ'
ἡδονῆς. ὁμοίως δὲ καὶ τὰ μέλη τὰ καθαρτικὰ παρέχει
χαρὰν ἀβλαβῆ τοῖς ἀνθρώποις. διὸ ταῖς μὲν τοιαύταις 6
ἁρμονίαις καὶ τοῖς τοιούτοις μέλεσι θετέον τοὺς τὴν θεα-
τρικὴν μουσικὴν μεταχειριζομένους ἀγωνιστάς. ἐπεὶ δ' ὁ
θεατὴς διττός, ὁ μὲν ἐλεύθερος καὶ πεπαιδευμένος, ὁ δὲ φορ-
τικὸς ἐκ βαναύσων καὶ θητῶν καὶ ἄλλων τοιούτων συγκεί-
μενος, ἀποδοτέον ἀγῶνας καὶ θεωρίας καὶ τοῖς τοιούτοις
πρὸς ἀνάπαυσιν. εἰσὶ δ' ὥσπερ αὐτῶν αἱ ψυχαὶ παρε- 7
στραμμέναι τῆς κατὰ φύσιν ἕξεως, οὕτω καὶ τῶν ἁρμονιῶν
παρεκβάσεις εἰσὶ καὶ τῶν μελῶν τὰ σύντονα καὶ παρακε-
χρωσμένα. ποιεῖ δὲ τὴν ἡδονὴν ἑκάστοις τὸ κατὰ φύσιν
οἰκεῖον. διόπερ ἀποδοτέον ἐξουσίαν τοῖς ἀγωνιζομένοις
πρὸς τὸν θεατὴν τὸν τοιοῦτον τοιούτῳ τινὶ χρῆσθαι τῷ
γένει τῆς μουσικῆς. Πρὸς δὲ παιδείαν, ὥσπερ εἴρηται, τοῖς 8
ἠθικοῖς τῶν μελῶν χρηστέον καὶ ταῖς ἁρμονίαις ταῖς

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of.' Compare *Eth.* x. x. 3, p. 1179, b. 9, ποιῆσαι ἂν κατοκώχιμον ἐκ τῆς ἀρετῆς.

καθισταμένους, κ.τ.λ.] 'settling, as having found a remedy for their excitement, and a clearing of their disturbance.'

5 παθητικούς] 'impressionable.'

κουφίζεσθαι] 'a sense of lightening, not unaccompanied with pleasure.' Wordsworth, *Tintern Abbey.*

6 θετέον] "Weise man auf," Stahr. The word is hard. Is the meaning, 'Therefore it is with harmonies and songs that produce this effect, that we should induce those who practise music for the theatre to contend'? If so, θετέον governs both the accusatives, and the datives depend on ἀγωνιστάς.

καὶ τοῖς τοιούτοις] 'To suit this latter class of spectators as well as the former.'

7 τῆς κατὰ φύσιν ἕξεως] Compare *Eth.* VII. xiii. 2, p. 1152, b. 34, and 1153, 14; 'the true state in accordance with nature.' τὴν ὑπάρχουσαν φύσιν, *Rhet.* I. xi. 1, p. 1369, b. 34.

σύντονα] 'strained,' 'high.'

παρακεχρωσμένα] 'corrupted by introducing the ἁρμονία χρωματική.' Liddell and Scott.

τὸ κατὰ φύσιν οἰκεῖον] 'That which is cognate to his nature.' Compare above, III. 5.

The music to be taught.

τοιαύταις· τοιαύτη δ᾽ ἡ δωριστί, καθάπερ εἴπομεν πρότερον· δέχεσθαι δὲ δεῖ κἄν τινα ἄλλην ἡμῖν δοκιμάζωσιν οἱ κοινωνοὶ τῆς ἐν φιλοσοφίᾳ διατριβῆς καὶ τῆς περὶ τὴν
9 μουσικὴν παιδείας. ὁ δ᾽ ἐν τῇ πολιτείᾳ Σωκράτης οὐ καλῶς τὴν φρυγιστὶ μόνην καταλείπει μετὰ τῆς δωριστί, καὶ
1342 B ταῦτα ἀποδοκιμάσας τῶν ὀργάνων τὸν αὐλόν. ἔχει γὰρ τὴν αὐτὴν δύναμιν ἡ φρυγιστὶ τῶν ἁρμονιῶν ἥνπερ αὐλὸς ἐν
10 τοῖς ὀργάνοις· ἄμφω γὰρ ὀργιαστικὰ καὶ παθητικά. δηλοῖ δ᾽ ἡ ποίησις· πᾶσα γὰρ βακχεία καὶ πᾶσα ἡ τοιαύτη κίνησις μάλιστα τῶν ὀργάνων ἐστὶν ἐν τοῖς αὐλοῖς, τῶν δ᾽ ἁρμονιῶν ἐν τοῖς φρυγιστὶ μέλεσι λαμβάνει ταῦτα τὸ πρέπον, οἷον ὁ
11 διθύραμβος ὁμολογουμένως εἶναι δοκεῖ Φρύγιον. καὶ τούτου πολλὰ παραδείγματα λέγουσιν οἱ περὶ τὴν σύνεσιν ταύτην ἄλλα τε, καὶ διότι Φιλόξενος ἐγχειρήσας ἐν τῇ δωριστὶ ποιῆσαι διθύραμβον τοὺς μύθους οὐχ οἷός τ᾽ ἦν, ἀλλ᾽ ὑπὸ τῆς φύσεως αὐτῆς ἐξέπεσεν εἰς τὴν φρυγιστὶ τὴν προσήκου-
12 σαν ἁρμονίαν πάλιν. περὶ δὲ τῆς δωριστὶ πάντες ὁμολογοῦσιν ὡς στασιμωτάτης οὔσης καὶ μάλιστ᾽ ἦθος ἐχούσης ἀνδρεῖον. ἔτι δὲ ἐπεὶ τὸ μέσον μὲν τῶν ὑπερβολῶν ἐπαινοῦμεν καὶ χρῆναι διώκειν φαμέν, ἡ δὲ δωριστὶ ταύτην ἔχει τὴν φύσιν πρὸς τὰς ἄλλας ἁρμονίας, φανερὸν ὅτι τὰ Δώρια μέλη πρέπει παιδεύεσθαι μᾶλλον τοῖς νεωτέροις.
13 Εἰσὶ δὲ δύο σκοποί, τό τε δυνατὸν καὶ τὸ πρέπον· καὶ γὰρ τὰ δυνατὰ δεῖ μεταχειρίζεσθαι μᾶλλον καὶ τὰ πρέποντα ἑκάστοις· ἔστι δὲ καὶ ταῦτα ὡρισμένα ταῖς ἡλικίαις, οἷον τοῖς ἀπειρηκόσι διὰ χρόνον οὐ ῥᾴδιον ᾄδειν τὰς συντόνους

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8 τῆς ἐν φιλοσοφίᾳ διατριβῆς] = τῶν ἐκ φιλοσοφίας of § 2, and τῶν ἐν φιλοσοφίᾳ of § 3. 'Those who are accustomed at once to the philosophical treatment of the subject,' &c.

9 ὁ ἐν τῇ πολιτείᾳ] In the republic of Plato.

10 πᾶσα γὰρ βακχεία] Grote, i. 32, text and note, "violent ecstasies and manifestations of temporary frenzy, and that clashing of noisy instruments."

11 οἱ περὶ τὴν σύνεσιν ταύτην] 'Those competent to judge in this point.'

καὶ διότι Φιλόξενος] 'and that Philoxenus,' of Cythera.

ὑπὸ τῆς φύσεως, κ.τ.λ.] 'found himself compelled by the nature of the case to give up his attempt, and pass into the Phrygian mood.'

13 τοῖς ἀπειρηκόσι διὰ χρόνον]

The music to be taught.

ἁρμονίας, ἀλλὰ τὰς ἀνειμένας ἡ φύσις ὑποβάλλει τοῖς τηλικούτοις. διὸ καλῶς ἐπιτιμῶσι καὶ τοῦτο Σωκράτει
τῶν περὶ τὴν μουσικήν τινες, ὅτι τὰς ἀνειμένας ἁρμονίας 14
ἀποδοκιμάσειεν εἰς τὴν παιδείαν, ὡς μεθυστικὰς λαμβάνων αὐτάς, οὐ κατὰ τὴν τῆς μέθης δύναμιν (βακχευτικὸν γὰρ ἥ γε μέθη ποιεῖ μᾶλλον) ἀλλ' ἀπειρηκυίας. ὥστε καὶ πρὸς τὴν ἐσομένην ἡλικίαν, τὴν τῶν πρεσβυτέρων, δεῖ καὶ τῶν τοιούτων ἁρμονιῶν ἅπτεσθαι καὶ τῶν μελῶν τῶν τοιούτων.
ἔτι δ' εἴ τίς ἐστι τοιαύτη τῶν ἁρμονιῶν ἣ πρέπει τῇ τῶν 15
παίδων ἡλικίᾳ διὰ τὸ δύνασθαι κόσμον τ' ἔχειν ἅμα καὶ παιδείαν, οἷον ἡ λυδιστὶ φαίνεται πεπονθέναι μάλιστα τῶν ἁρμονιῶν, δῆλον ὅτι τούτους ὅρους τρεῖς ποιητέον εἰς τὴν παιδείαν, τό τε μέσον καὶ τὸ δυνατὸν καὶ τὸ πρέπον.

'Those who, from their time of life, have lost their powers.'

συντόνους] 'requiring a great strain,' 'high.'

14 *ὡς μεθυστικὰς λαμβάνων αὐτάς*] 'looking on them as partaking of the character of intoxication, not intoxication in its strictest form as an active power (for drunkenness has a tendency to excite a man), but with reference to the exhaustion consequent on intoxication.'

Nickes thinks this discussion on music complete. I have no knowledge as to what would be a complete discussion of the subject, but the end seems so abrupt, that I can hardly accept his view. If we look on the book as a whole as fragmentary in its present shape, there would be no object in trying to make out the actual fragment preserved as complete in itself. That the book is to be so considered, I have argued in the Preface.

BOOK VI. (IV.) SUMMARY.

THE three last books, III. IV. V. (VII. VIII.), have been devoted to the consideration of Aristotle's ideal state, his ἀριστοκρατία. That they are fragmentary is, I think, clear. No connection can be traced between the end of V. (VIII.) and the beginning of the present book. It is a gap which no art can fill up, however much we may regret the loss. Aristotle's educational system is a hopeless blank from a certain point, and so is a detailed statement of his views on the great question of the fifth book of the Republic, the position of women in his state. That he either did treat it, or meant to treat it, is certain from I. 13. 15, and that directly and dogmatically, not negatively, as in his review of Plato's system. To resume then, he has reviewed the past; he has sifted the experience of the long time that has elapsed; and enlightened by that experience, with the results of that past and its errors before him, he set himself to build up a state which should avoid those errors, and combine harmoniously whatever had been proved in result to be good. His state so formed would have been to him a type to which others might gradually conform themselves, a Greek πόλις with all its complex organization, to which the statesmen of the actual πόλεις might look as their model, either in re-constituting or reforming their own states, or in forming new ones, an idea which the Greek system of colonization made by no means an unpractical one. But such results of his political wisdom were distant and very contingent. A nearer question might be addressed to the political philosopher. The actual state of things is very imperfect. The body politic, as much as the body natural, requires constant attention when sound, careful remedies when unsound. Is political science capable of dealing with these evils, this unsoundness, whether of recent origin or of long standing? Is the science [illegible] [illegible] practical in the ordinary sense? Can there be drawn from it rules applicable to daily arising contingencies? In other words, can there be based on it an art which may guide the practical statesman? The answer is, that the theory of the ideal state is by no means the whole of political philosophy. He who

studies that philosophy must be like the true physician. Both must know the normal state of their respective patients. Both must also be able to apply their knowledge to existing circumstances. Guided by the light of political theory, based on a wide experience, the political philosopher must be able to say what is the best state generally attainable; what, under certain conditions purely arbitrary, would be the result; what is the method by which actual evils may be remedied, and the members of a given state may be placed in possession of the best government now open to them. Such questions as these occupy the three remaining books of Aristotle's politics, VI. VII. VIII. (IV. VI. V.). In them he speaks less as the political philosopher, more as the philosophical statesman. He addresses himself to the actual political world of Greece, and to its governments, tyrannical, oligarchical, democratical. And as these two last were the commonest, the most susceptible of permanence, the most capable of being modified into tolerable constitutions, as they were, in fact, to the exclusion of tyranny, constitutions;—though in a degraded form, yet still in some sense constitutions allowing the free play of the political life of a Greek freeman;—it is on oligarchy and democracy that he chiefly dwells. And again of these two last he treats at greatest length of democracy. It was longer-lived, it was safer, it was freer from political dissensions, στάσις. It was more adapted to large and populous states; and with the growth of such, implying, as that growth did, the formation of a large class of free and equal citizens, it was juster. Corrupt and bad as judged by the ideal standard, it was practically of the corrupt forms the best one available.

The evils inherent in all the forms with which he has to deal in these books, might proceed to such a length as materially to interfere with the quiet working of the constitution. The state might find its various parts ranged in constant opposition to one another, it might be in a permanent state of faction or στάσις. Such was, in fact, the actual experience of Greece. Its political life in all historical times had been a conflict of discordant elements and interests. And in most cases this permanent state of opposition had its periods of crisis, of μεταβολή. The hitherto dominant element became weakened by its own misconduct, or the growth of its antagonist, or pressure from without, and the constitution was changed by its fall and the triumph of its antagonist. An analysis which should throw light both on this permanent state and on

these periods of revolution,—such is the object of the closing book VIII. (V.).

Without trenching on the details of either of the three books now before us, I wished to give a succinct idea of their general bearing. I resume the more immediate object, the summary of Book VI. (IV.). Its opening chapter is quite general, its subject concerns the past as much as the future portion of his work. It is a statement of the province of political science, on which I have said enough above.

The second chapter is a sketch of the divisions of the work that lies before him; it is a chapter on his arrangement.

The next portion (Chaps. III.—X.) is an analysis of the existing governments of Greece, democracy, oligarchy, aristocracy, politeia, tyranny, apparently treated in the order of their political importance, and in the main this must be judged by the comparative frequency of their occurrence. The difficulties are in the main difficulties of the text. There is an appearance of repetition, and a want of clearness resulting from this apparent repetition which makes one suspect that they are hardly in the state in which Aristotle left them. This is more especially the case with the chapters that analyse democracy and oligarchy (III.—VI.). When clear of these, the book becomes, if not easier, at least much more straightforward, and so far, more satisfactory to grapple with.

In Chap. III. we have the reason assigned for there being several varieties of democracy and oligarchy. It is found in the variety of elements of which each state may be composed. Still, various as they are, they may be brought under these two heads, and are so generally. Indeed, in the popular opinion, these are the only two forms recognised; they are considered an exhaustive division of Greek states. In the earlier part of Chap. IV. the characteristics of these two forms are given, and then to the end of that chapter we have an analysis of the democratical varieties, five in number.

Ch. V. A similar enumeration of oligarchies.

Ch. VI. Repeats in a shorter form for democracy, in more detail for oligarchy, the two preceding chapters. If both are to be considered integral portions of the work, it would seem that this second enumeration is meant to base on grounds of reasoning the necessity of there being such a number of varieties of either form. Common as the two forms were, almost exclusively prevalent, so much so that Greek statesmen and parties had come to aim at nothing more

than the peaceable establishment of one or the other, still the elements of the state might be combined differently, and other powers capable of modifying the constitution might be called into more active exertion. Wealth and numbers might be allowed for, without excluding the more eminent citizens from the first place. In such cases an aristocracy might be established, where all three, wealth, number, and merit, should have due consideration. So also there would be an aristocracy, when, putting aside the element of wealth, those of merit and number were combined. These are the two forms given of this practical aristocracy (Ch. VII.).

Another combination still remained. In existing states, as an average, one of two opposing elements was dominant, wealth or numbers, and whichever was dominant, excluded its rival from all participation in political power. The government was a simple one; in the first case an oligarchy, in the second a democracy. But there is no necessary, irreconcileable antagonism between the two politically, though there is a strong tendency to it. They may be combined; a government might be formed in which both should find their expression, a mixed government standing half-way between oligarchy and democracy. Such would be the so-called πολιτεία, a constitution requiring great moderation and care to preserve the nice adjustment of its balance, and very closely connected with the two forms of aristocracy just given, gliding by imperceptible shades into one of them, or passing by very gradual transitions, by a slight inclination of the scale one way or the other, into one of the two opposing deviations, between which it was the mean term. The characteristic of the Politeia as distinct from either of those aristocracies, is that it attempts only the combination of wealth and numbers, the elements of the two simpler forms. Introduce any question of personal merit, and you have one or other of those forms (Ch. VIII.).

To establish these mixed forms with their combination of elements, the great requisite is a very clear perception of the nature of the simpler forms. To combine oligarchy and democracy in harmonious proportions, must demand a thorough knowledge of them when out of composition. Hence another reason for their fuller treatment prior to these higher forms. The test of a right mixture will be the existence of both elements, side by side, in such vigour that from one point of view the government might be considered the expression of one of the two, from the opposite point it might be taken as the expression of the other (Ch. IX.).

Tyranny requires but a short notice. It is introduced for

completeness' sake. In its strict and proper sense, it is an inversion of all right principles of government; the rule of the better by the worse; government for the sake of the governor, not of the governed; a government by force, which no man endures longer than he is constrained to do (Ch. X.).

Such is the analysis of Greek governments, the statics of Greek political society. It was an analysis required for the proper handling of the questions that are now to be discussed. The first of these is: What is the best average constitution, not one which should be an ideal standard, or require in its citizens high qualifications and fortunate circumstances, but one which should take the existing facts, the Greek character and opinions and political ideas, and on them work out a safe and practicable order in which, as much as possible, all the elements enumerated should find a place. Such a constitution is found in that which should be administered by the middle class, these removed from the extremes either of wealth or poverty; who are as much as possible equal and alike; who by their numbers can impose silence and moderation on the two extremes; who can, in other words, keep down the great evil dreaded, στάσις, and secure the great good aimed at, permanence and security. In the larger states of Greece, this form was quite practicable, from the numbers of the middle class. Hitherto Greek experience had been against it, for the middle class had been small, and the imperial states of Greece had exercised during the period of their domination a hostile influence. But one man had been found to wish it. So adverse had experience been, that there was a rooted feeling in favour not of a balance of parties, but of the triumph of one or the other principle (Ch. XI.).

If asked, what is the constitution to be adopted in any particular case, the first answer must be one common to all cases equally; the one adopted must be such as the majority approves, meaning by majority equally a numerical majority, and one which, though weaker in numbers, was superior in power. Then the question again throws us back on a careful analysis of the elements of the given state. And the constitution should be framed with reference to the predominant element. To secure its permanent preponderance, it should conciliate the middle class, and it should aim at tempering so far as possible, by a judicious selection of means, the exclusiveness of the predominant element. It should be afraid of carrying out its principle too far. In all cases alike, the constitution must be administered by those who have the arms, and in point of numbers, there must be more within its pale than

outside. Practically, and with some modifications, this has been the rule in Greece, and the historical development of Greek governments has borne a constant relation to the changes in the system of military tactics adopted in the several states (Chaps. XII. XIII.).

From this point forwards to the end of the book, and through the whole of the next, VI. (IV.) 14—16, VII. (VI.), the subject treated of is the method to be adopted in forming a constitution, oligarchical or democratical. In the three remaining chapters of this book we have the appropriate basis laid for the work in the discussion of the three powers, which must exist in each of the two forms equally, democracy and oligarchy, and in all their varieties. Their forms will differ, but in principle they must all three be found; there must be an executive, deliberative, and judicial organ. In Ch. XIV. we have the deliberative both for democracy and oligarchy, in this order, with the modifications that Aristotle deemed advisable. In Ch. XV. we have the executive, with the various questions on its numbers and organization and mode of election, and the distinctions in it as required by the different forms ot the government.

In Ch. XVI. we have the judicial, an enumeration of its several functions, and the mode of its election.

ΠΟΛΙΤΙΚΩΝ Ζ. (Δ.)

The questions which political science has to answer.

ΕΝ ἁπάσαις ταῖς τέχναις καὶ ταῖς ἐπιστήμαις ταῖς μὴ κατὰ μόριον γινομέναις, ἀλλὰ περὶ γένος ἕν τι τελείαις οὔσαις, μιᾶς ἐστὶ θεωρῆσαι τὸ περὶ ἕκαστον γένος ἁρμόττον, οἷον ἄσκησις σώματι ποία τε ποίῳ συμφέρει καὶ τίς ἀρίστη (τῷ γὰρ κάλλιστα πεφυκότι καὶ κεχορηγημένῳ τὴν ἀρίστην ἀναγκαῖον ἁρμόττειν), καὶ τίς τοῖς πλείστοις μία πᾶσιν· καὶ γὰρ τοῦτο τῆς γυμναστικῆς ἐστίν. ἔτι δ' ἐάν τις μὴ τῆς ἱκνουμένης ἐπιθυμῇ μήθ' ἕξεως μήτ' ἐπιστήμης τῶν περὶ τὴν ἀγωνίαν, μηδὲν ἧττον τοῦ παιδοτρίβου καὶ τοῦ γυμναστικοῦ παρασκευάσαι τε καὶ ταύτην ἐστὶ τὴν δύναμιν. ὁμοίως δὲ τοῦτο καὶ περὶ ἰατρικὴν καὶ περὶ

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1. 1 ταῖς μὴ κατὰ μόριον γινομέναις] "Qui ne rentrent pas trop particuliers," St. Hil.; 'which are not confined entirely to some one branch of a subject, but which embrace completely some one whole subject.' For the subordination of the various arts and sciences, see N.A. I. i. 3, 4. p. 1094, a.

μιᾶς ἐστί, κ.τ.λ.] 'It is the province of one and the same science to consider all that is appropriate to that subject in each case.'

[illegible] in the widest sense is the science that treats of this bodily discipline, and which is here chosen for illustration. It would not be separated from the medical science [illegible]

[illegible] 'and what is the training that suits the great majority of men, all of them? what is the average training?

2 τῆς ἱκνουμένης] 'That which suits him,' 'is appropriate to his case;' in other words, the best that he might have. Supposing a man not to be desirous of attaining the best state of body of which he is susceptible, or the highest degree of skill in the various exercises which he might attain, but to acquiesce in a lower state of body and lower degree of skill, not the less would it be the part of those in whose care he was, to see that he attained the particular state and degree of skill which he desired.

τῶν περὶ τὴν ἀγωνίαν] practically equivalent to τῶν ἔργων, V. III. 13: 'knowledge of that which regards the active exertion, the struggle,' which knowledge it was the part of γυμναστικὴ proper to give, whilst παιδοτριβικὴ dealt with the state of the body.

The questions which political science has to answer.

ναυπηγίαν καὶ ἐσθῆτα καὶ περὶ πᾶσαν ἄλλην τέχνην ὁρῶμεν
συμβαῖνον. ὥστε δῆλον ὅτι καὶ πολιτείαν τῆς αὐτῆς ἐστιν
ἐπιστήμης τὴν ἀρίστην θεωρῆσαι τίς ἐστι, καὶ ποία τις ἂν
οὖσα μάλιστ' εἴη κατ' εὐχήν, μηδενὸς ἐμποδίζοντος τῶν
ἐκτός, καὶ τίς τίσιν ἁρμόττουσα· πολλοῖς γὰρ τῆς ἀρίστης 3
τυχεῖν ἴσως ἀδύνατον, ὥστε τὴν κρατίστην τε ἁπλῶς καὶ
τὴν ἐκ τῶν ὑποκειμένων ἀρίστην οὐ δεῖ λεληθέναι τὸν
νομοθέτην καὶ τὸν ὡς ἀληθῶς πολιτικόν. ἔτι δὲ τρίτην 4
τὴν ἐξ ὑποθέσεως· δεῖ γὰρ καὶ τὴν δοθεῖσαν δύνασθαι
θεωρεῖν, ἐξ ἀρχῆς τε πῶς ἂν γένοιτο, καὶ γενομένη τίνα
τρόπον ἂν σώζοιτο πλεῖστον χρόνον· λέγω δ' οἷον εἴ τινι
πόλει συμβέβηκε μήτε τὴν ἀρίστην πολιτεύεσθαι πολιτείαν
ἀχορήγητόν τε εἶναι καὶ τῶν ἀναγκαίων, μήτε τὴν ἐνδεχο-
μένην ἐκ τῶν ὑπαρχόντων, ἀλλά τινα φαυλοτέραν. παρὰ 5
πάντα δὲ ταῦτα τὴν μάλιστα πάσαις ταῖς πόλεσιν
ἁρμόττουσαν δεῖ γνωρίζειν, ὡς οἱ πλεῖστοι τῶν ἀποφαι-
νομένων περὶ πολιτείας, καὶ εἰ τἆλλα λέγουσι καλῶς, τῶν
γε χρησίμων διαμαρτάνουσιν. οὐ γὰρ μόνον τὴν ἀρίστην 6
δεῖ θεωρεῖν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὴν δυνατήν, ὁμοίως δὲ καὶ τὴν

ἐσθῆτα] Schneider proposes *ἱστουργίαν*, but it is not necessary to make a change, though the word comes in very oddly when he is dealing with processes or acts.

3 *ὥστε δῆλον*] The same reasoning will hold good for the political science. It, as well as other sciences, will have a fourfold application. It should be able to say what is the ideal constitution; 2ndly, what is the best average one (§ 5); 3rdly, what is the best under existing circumstances (*τὴν ἐκ τῶν ὑποκειμένων*, or *ἐκ τῶν ὑπαρχόντων ἀρίστην*); 4thly, how should be formed, and, when formed, preserved, one which is neither the best, nor the best under the circumstances, but still one which is wished and acquiesced in (*τὴν ἐξ ὑποθέσεως, φαυλοτέραν τινα*), a worse than need be acquiesced in, and the conditions of which are self-imposed.

4 *ἐξ ἀρχῆς τε ..... χρόνον*] Spengel, p. 21, note 23, would change the place of these words, and put them directly after *τὸν ὡς ἀληθῶς πολιτικόν*. In either position, it seems to me, they give a good sense, so that it does not seem worth while to make the change.

ἀχορήγητόν τε εἶναι, κ.τ.λ.] 'and to be unprovided even with those things that are essentially requisite for the best state;' so that not only is it actually not the best, but it is incapable of being made into the best. Supply *τῇ ἀρίστῃ* after *ἀναγκαίων*.

5 *τῶν γε χρησίμων διαμαρτάνουσιν*] 'are yet thoroughly devoid of all useful suggestions.'

The music to be taught.

τοιαύταις· τοιαύτη δ' ἡ δωριστί, καθάπερ εἴπομεν πρό-
τερον· δέχεσθαι δὲ δεῖ κἄν τινα ἄλλην ἡμῖν δοκιμάζωσιν οἱ
κοινωνοὶ τῆς ἐν φιλοσοφίᾳ διατριβῆς καὶ τῆς περὶ τὴν
9 μουσικὴν παιδείας. ὁ δ' ἐν τῇ πολιτείᾳ Σωκράτης οὐ καλῶς
τὴν φρυγιστὶ μόνην καταλείπει μετὰ τῆς δωριστί, καὶ
1342 B ταῦτα ἀποδοκιμάσας τῶν ὀργάνων τὸν αὐλόν. ἔχει γὰρ
τὴν αὐτὴν δύναμιν ἡ φρυγιστὶ τῶν ἁρμονιῶν ἥνπερ αὐλὸς ἐν
10 τοῖς ὀργάνοις· ἄμφω γὰρ ὀργιαστικὰ καὶ παθητικά. δηλοῖ
δ' ἡ ποίησις· πᾶσα γὰρ βακχεία καὶ πᾶσα ἡ τοιαύτη κίνησις
μάλιστα τῶν ὀργάνων ἐστὶν ἐν τοῖς αὐλοῖς, τῶν δ' ἁρμονιῶν
ἐν τοῖς φρυγιστὶ μέλεσι λαμβάνει ταῦτα τὸ πρέπον, οἷον ὁ
11 διθύραμβος ὁμολογουμένως εἶναι δοκεῖ Φρύγιον. καὶ τούτου
πολλὰ παραδείγματα λέγουσιν οἱ περὶ τὴν σύνεσιν ταύτην
ἄλλα τε, καὶ διότι Φιλόξενος ἐγχειρήσας ἐν τῇ δωριστὶ
ποιῆσαι διθύραμβον τοὺς μύθους οὐχ οἷός τ' ἦν, ἀλλ' ὑπὸ
τῆς φύσεως αὐτῆς ἐξέπεσεν εἰς τὴν φρυγιστὶ τὴν προσήκου-
12 σαν ἁρμονίαν πάλιν. περὶ δὲ τῆς δωριστὶ πάντες ὁμολο-
γοῦσιν ὡς στασιμωτάτης οὔσης καὶ μάλιστ' ἦθος ἐχούσης
ἀνδρεῖον. ἔτι δὲ ἐπεὶ τὸ μέσον μὲν τῶν ὑπερβολῶν
ἐπαινοῦμεν καὶ χρῆναι διώκειν φαμέν, ἡ δὲ δωριστὶ ταύτην
ἔχει τὴν φύσιν πρὸς τὰς ἄλλας ἁρμονίας, φανερὸν ὅτι τὰ
Δώρια μέλη πρέπει παιδεύεσθαι μᾶλλον τοῖς νεωτέροις.
13 Εἰσὶ δὲ δύο σκοποί, τό τε δυνατὸν καὶ τὸ πρέπον· καὶ γὰρ
τὰ δυνατὰ δεῖ μεταχειρίζεσθαι μᾶλλον καὶ τὰ πρέποντα
ἑκάστοις· ἔστι δὲ καὶ ταῦτα ὡρισμένα ταῖς ἡλικίαις, οἷον
τοῖς ἀπειρηκόσι διὰ χρόνον οὐ ῥᾴδιον ᾄδειν τὰς συντόνους

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8 τῆς ἐν φιλοσοφίᾳ διατριβῆς] = τῶν ἐκ φιλοσοφίας of § 2, and τῶν ἐν φιλοσοφίᾳ of § 3. 'Those who are accustomed at once to the philosophical treatment of the subject,' &c.

9 ἐν τῇ πολιτείᾳ] In the republic of Plato.

10 πᾶσα γὰρ βακχεία] Grote, I. 32, text and note; "violent ecstasies and manifestations of temporary frenzy, and that clashing of noisy instruments."

11 οἱ περὶ τὴν σύνεσιν ταύτην] 'Those competent to judge in this point.'

καὶ διότι Φιλόξενος] 'and that Philoxenus,' of Cythera.

ὑπὸ τῆς φύσεως, κ.τ.λ.] 'found himself compelled by the nature of the case to give up his attempt, and pass into the Phrygian mood.'

13 τοῖς ἀπειρηκόσι διὰ χρόνον]

The music to be taught.

ἁρμονίας, ἀλλὰ τὰς ἀνειμένας ἡ φύσις ὑποβάλλει τοῖς τηλικούτοις. διὸ καλῶς ἐπιτιμῶσι καὶ τοῦτο Σωκράτει τῶν περὶ τὴν μουσικήν τινες, ὅτι τὰς ἀνειμένας ἁρμονίας 14
ἀποδοκιμάσειεν εἰς τὴν παιδείαν, ὡς μεθυστικὰς λαμβάνων αὐτάς, οὐ κατὰ τὴν τῆς μέθης δύναμιν (βακχευτικὸν γὰρ ἥ γε μέθη ποιεῖ μᾶλλον) ἀλλ' ἀπειρηκυίας. ὥστε καὶ πρὸς τὴν ἐσομένην ἡλικίαν, τὴν τῶν πρεσβυτέρων, δεῖ καὶ τῶν τοιούτων ἁρμονιῶν ἅπτεσθαι καὶ τῶν μελῶν τῶν τοιούτων. ἔτι δ' εἴ τίς ἐστι τοιαύτη τῶν ἁρμονιῶν ἣ πρέπει τῇ τῶν 15
παίδων ἡλικίᾳ διὰ τὸ δύνασθαι κόσμον τ' ἔχειν ἅμα καὶ παιδείαν, οἷον ἡ λυδιστὶ φαίνεται πεπονθέναι μάλιστα τῶν ἁρμονιῶν, δῆλον ὅτι τούτους ὅρους τρεῖς ποιητέον εἰς τὴν παιδείαν, τό τε μέσον καὶ τὸ δυνατὸν καὶ τὸ πρέπον.

'Those who, from their time of life, have lost their powers.'

συντόνους] 'requiring a great strain,' 'high.'

14 *ὡς μεθυστικὰς λαμβάνων αὐτάς*] 'looking on them as partaking of the character of intoxication, not intoxication in its strictest form as an active power (for drunkenness has a tendency to excite a man), but with reference to the exhaustion consequent on intoxication.'

Nickes thinks this discussion on music complete. I have no knowledge as to what would be a complete discussion of the subject, but the end seems so abrupt, that I can hardly accept his view. If we look on the book as a whole as fragmentary in its present shape, there would be no object in trying to make out the actual fragment preserved as complete in itself. That the book is to be so considered, I have argued in the Preface.

BOOK VI. (IV.) SUMMARY.

THE three last books, III. IV. V. (VII. VIII.), have been devoted to the consideration of Aristotle's ideal state, his ἀριστοκρατία. That they are fragmentary is, I think, clear. No connection can be traced between the end of V. (VIII.) and the beginning of the present book. It is a gap which no art can fill up, however much we may regret the loss. Aristotle's educational system is a hopeless blank from a certain point, and so is a detailed statement of his views on the great question of the fifth book of the Republic, the position of women in his state. That he either did treat it, or meant to treat it, is certain from I. 13. 15, and that directly and dogmatically, not negatively, as in his review of Plato's system. To resume then, he has reviewed the past; he has sifted the experience of the long time that has elapsed; and enlightened by that experience, with the results of that past and its errors before him, he set himself to build up a state which should avoid those errors, and combine harmoniously whatever had been proved in result to be good. His state so formed would have been to him a type to which others might gradually conform themselves, a Greek πόλις with all its complex organization, to which the statesmen of the actual πόλεις might look as their model, either in re-constituting or reforming their own states, or in forming new ones, an idea which the Greek system of colonization made by no means an unpractical one. But such results of his political wisdom were distant and very contingent. A nearer question might be addressed to the political philosopher. The actual state of things is very imperfect. The body politic, as much as the body natural, requires constant attention when sound, careful remedies when unsound. Is political science capable of dealing with these evils, this unsoundness, whether of recent origin or of long standing? Is the science of politics practical in the ordinary sense? Can there be drawn from it rules applicable to daily arising contingencies? In other words,—can there be based on it an art which may guide the actual statesman? The answer is, that the theory of the ideal state is by no means the whole of political philosophy. He who

studies that philosophy must be like the true physician. Both must know the normal state of their respective patients. Both must also be able to apply their knowledge to existing circumstances. Guided by the light of political theory, based on a wide experience, the political philosopher must be able to say what is the best state generally attainable; what, under certain conditions purely arbitrary, would be the result; what is the method by which actual evils may be remedied, and the members of a given state may be placed in possession of the best government now open to them. Such questions as these occupy the three remaining books of Aristotle's politics, VI. VII. VIII. (IV. VI. V.). In them he speaks less as the political philosopher, more as the philosophical statesman. He addresses himself to the actual political world of Greece, and to its governments, tyrannical, oligarchical, democratical. And as these two last were the commonest, the most susceptible of permanence, the most capable of being modified into tolerable constitutions, as they were, in fact, to the exclusion of tyranny, constitutions;—though in a degraded form, yet still in some sense constitutions allowing the free play of the political life of a Greek freeman;—it is on oligarchy and democracy that he chiefly dwells. And again of these two last he treats at greatest length of democracy. It was longer-lived, it was safer, it was freer from political dissensions, *στάσις*. It was more adapted to large and populous states; and with the growth of such, implying, as that growth did, the formation of a large class of free and equal citizens, it was juster. Corrupt and bad as judged by the ideal standard, it was practically of the corrupt forms the best one available.

The evils inherent in all the forms with which he has to deal in these books, might proceed to such a length as materially to interfere with the quiet working of the constitution. The state might find its various parts ranged in constant opposition to one another, it might be in a permanent state of faction or *στάσις*. Such was, in fact, the actual experience of Greece. Its political life in all historical times had been a conflict of discordant elements and interests. And in most cases this permanent state of opposition had its periods of crisis, of *μεταβολή*. The hitherto dominant element became weakened by its own misconduct, or the growth of its antagonist, or pressure from without, and the constitution was changed by its fall and the triumph of its antagonist. An analysis which should throw light both on this permanent state and on

these periods of revolution,—such is the object of the closing book VIII. (V.).

Without trenching on the details of either of the three books now before us, I wished to give a succinct idea of their general bearing. I resume the more immediate object, the summary of Book VI. (IV.). Its opening chapter is quite general, its subject concerns the past as much as the future portion of his work. It is a statement of the province of political science, on which I have said enough above.

The second chapter is a sketch of the divisions of the work that lies before him; it is a chapter on his arrangement.

The next portion (Chaps. III.—X.) is an analysis of the existing governments of Greece, democracy, oligarchy, aristocracy, politeia, tyranny, apparently treated in the order of their political importance, and in the main this must be judged by the comparative frequency of their occurrence. The difficulties are in the main difficulties of the text. There is an appearance of repetition, and a want of clearness resulting from this apparent repetition which makes one suspect that they are hardly in the state in which Aristotle left them. This is more especially the case with the chapters that analyse democracy and oligarchy (III.—VI.). When clear of these, the book becomes, if not easier, at least much more straightforward, and so far, more satisfactory to grapple with.

In Chap. III. we have the reason assigned for there being several varieties of democracy and oligarchy. It is found in the variety of elements of which each state may be composed. Still, various as they are, they may be brought under these two heads, and are so generally. Indeed, in the popular opinion, these are the only two forms recognised; they are considered an exhaustive division of Greek states. In the earlier part of Chap. IV. the characteristics of these two forms are given, and then to the end of that chapter we have an analysis of the democratical varieties, five in number.

Ch. V. A similar enumeration of oligarchies.

Ch. VI. Repeats in a shorter form for democracy, in more detail for oligarchy, the two preceding chapters. If both are to be considered integral portions of the work, it would seem that this second enumeration is meant to base on grounds of reasoning the necessity of there being such a number of varieties of either form. Common as the two forms were, almost exclusively prevalent, so much so that Greek statesmen and parties had come to aim at nothing more

than the peaceable establishment of one or the other, still the elements of the state might be combined differently, and other powers capable of modifying the constitution might be called into more active exertion. Wealth and numbers might be allowed for, without excluding the more eminent citizens from the first place. In such cases an aristocracy might be established, where all three, wealth, number, and merit, should have due consideration. So also there would be an aristocracy, when, putting aside the element of wealth, those of merit and number were combined. These are the two forms given of this practical aristocracy (Ch. VII.).

Another combination still remained. In existing states, as an average, one of two opposing elements was dominant, wealth or numbers, and whichever was dominant, excluded its rival from all participation in political power. The government was a simple one; in the first case an oligarchy, in the second a democracy. But there is no necessary, irreconcileable antagonism between the two politically, though there is a strong tendency to it. They may be combined; a government might be formed in which both should find their expression, a mixed government standing half-way between oligarchy and democracy. Such would be the so-called πολιτεία, a constitution requiring great moderation and care to preserve the nice adjustment of its balance, and very closely connected with the two forms of aristocracy just given, gliding by imperceptible shades into one of them, or passing by very gradual transitions, by a slight inclination of the scale one way or the other, into one of the two opposing deviations, between which it was the mean term. The characteristic of the Politeia as distinct from either of those aristocracies, is that it attempts only the combination of wealth and numbers, the elements of the two simpler forms. Introduce any question of personal merit, and you have one or other of those forms (Ch. VIII.).

To establish these mixed forms with their combination of elements, the great requisite is a very clear perception of the nature of the simpler forms. To combine oligarchy and democracy in harmonious proportions, must demand a thorough knowledge of them when out of composition. Hence another reason for their fuller treatment prior to these higher forms. The test of a right mixture will be the existence of both elements, side by side, in such vigour that from one point of view the government might be considered the expression of one of the two, from the opposite point it might be taken as the expression of the other (Ch. IX.).

Tyranny requires but a short notice. It is introduced for

completeness' sake. In its strict and proper sense, it is an inversion of all right principles of government; the rule of the better by the worse; government for the sake of the governor, not of the governed; a government by force, which no man endures longer than he is constrained to do (Ch. X.).

Such is the analysis of Greek governments, the statics of Greek political society. It was an analysis required for the proper handling of the questions that are now to be discussed. The first of these is: What is the best average constitution, not one which should be an ideal standard, or require in its citizens high qualifications and fortunate circumstances, but one which should take the existing facts, the Greek character and opinions and political ideas, and on them work out a safe and practicable order in which, as much as possible, all the elements enumerated should find a place. Such a constitution is found in that which should be administered by the middle class, these removed from the extremes either of wealth or poverty; who are as much as possible equal and alike; who by their numbers can impose silence and moderation on the two extremes; who can, in other words, keep down the great evil dreaded, *στάσις*, and secure the great good aimed at, permanence and security. In the larger states of Greece, this form was quite practicable, from the numbers of the middle class. Hitherto Greek experience had been against it, for the middle class had been small, and the imperial states of Greece had exercised during the period of their domination a hostile influence. But one man had been found to wish it. So adverse had experience been, that there was a rooted feeling in favour not of a balance of parties, but of the triumph of one or the other principle (Ch. XI.).

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outside. Practically, and with some modifications, this has been the rule in Greece, and the historical development of Greek governments has borne a constant relation to the changes in the system of military tactics adopted in the several states (Chaps. XII. XIII.).

From this point forwards to the end of the book, and through the whole of the next, VI. (IV.) 14—16, VII. (VI.), the subject treated of is the method to be adopted in forming a constitution, oligarchical or democratical. In the three remaining chapters of this book we have the appropriate basis laid for the work in the discussion of the three powers, which must exist in each of the two forms equally, democracy and oligarchy, and in all their varieties. Their forms will differ, but in principle they must all three be found; there must be an executive, deliberative, and judicial organ. In Ch. XIV. we have the deliberative both for democracy and oligarchy, in this order, with the modifications that Aristotle deemed advisable. In Ch. XV. we have the executive, with the various questions on its numbers and organization and mode of election, and the distinctions in it as required by the different forms ot the government.

In Ch. XVI. we have the judicial, an enumeration of its several functions, and the mode of its election.

ΠΟΛΙΤΙΚΩΝ Z. (Δ.)

The questions which political science has to answer.

ΕΝ ἁπάσαις ταῖς τέχναις καὶ ταῖς ἐπιστήμαις ταῖς μὴ κατὰ μόριον γινομέναις, ἀλλὰ περὶ γένος ἕν τι τελείαις οὔσαις, μιᾶς ἐστὶ θεωρῆσαι τὸ περὶ ἕκαστον γένος ἁρμόττον, οἷον ἄσκησις σώματι ποία τε ποίῳ συμφέρει καὶ τίς ἀρίστη (τῷ γὰρ κάλλιστα πεφυκότι καὶ κεχορηγημένῳ τὴν ἀρίστην ἀναγκαῖον ἁρμόττειν), καὶ τίς τοῖς πλείστοις μία
2 πᾶσιν· καὶ γὰρ τοῦτο τῆς γυμναστικῆς ἐστίν. ἔτι δ' ἐάν τις μὴ τῆς ἱκνουμένης ἐπιθυμῇ μήθ' ἕξεως μήτ' ἐπιστήμης τῶν περὶ τὴν ἀγωνίαν, μηδὲν ἧττον τοῦ παιδοτρίβου καὶ τοῦ γυμναστικοῦ παρασκευάσαι τε καὶ ταύτην ἐστὶ τὴν δύναμιν. ὁμοίως δὲ τοῦτο καὶ περὶ ἰατρικὴν καὶ περὶ

I. 1 ταῖς μὴ κατὰ μόριον γινομέναις] "Qui ne restent pas trop partielles," St. Hil.; 'which are not confined entirely to some one branch of a subject, but which embrace completely some one whole subject.' For the subordination of the various arts and sciences, see *Eth.* I. i. 3, 4, p. 1094, 9.

μιᾶς ἐστί, κ.τ.λ.] 'It is the province of one and the same science to consider all that is appropriate to that subject in each case.'

ἄσκησις] γυμναστική, in the widest sense, is the science that treats of this bodily discipline, and which is here chosen for illustration. It could not be separated from the medical science. Comp. note on V. (VIII.) III. 13; Plato, *Rep.* III. 406; Grote, IV. 538.

τίς τοῖς πλείστοις μία πᾶσιν] 'and what is the training that suits the great majority of men, all of them'?—what is the average training?

2 τῆς ἱκνουμένης] 'That which suits him,' 'is appropriate to his case;' in other words, the best that he might have. Supposing a man not to be desirous of attaining the best state of body of which he is susceptible, or the highest degree of skill in the various exercises which he might attain, but to acquiesce in a lower state of body and lower degree of skill, not the less would it be the part of those in whose care he was, to see that he attained the particular state and degree of skill which he desired.

τῶν περὶ τὴν ἀγωνίαν] practically equivalent to τῶν ἔργων, V. III. 13: 'knowledge of that which regards the active exertion, the struggle,' which knowledge it was the part of γυμναστική proper to give, whilst παιδοτριβική dealt with the state of the body.

ναυπηγίαν καὶ ἐσθῆτα καὶ περὶ πᾶσαν ἄλλην τέχνην ὁρῶμεν συμβαῖνον. ὥστε δῆλον ὅτι καὶ πολιτείαν τῆς αὐτῆς ἐστὶν ἐπιστήμης τὴν ἀρίστην θεωρῆσαι τίς ἐστι, καὶ ποία τις ἂν οὖσα μάλιστ' εἴη κατ' εὐχήν, μηδενὸς ἐμποδίζοντος τῶν ἐκτός, καὶ τίς τίσιν ἁρμόττουσα· πολλοῖς γὰρ τῆς ἀρίστης 3 τυχεῖν ἴσως ἀδύνατον, ὥστε τὴν κρατίστην τε ἁπλῶς καὶ τὴν ἐκ τῶν ὑποκειμένων ἀρίστην οὐ δεῖ λεληθέναι τὸν νομοθέτην καὶ τὸν ὡς ἀληθῶς πολιτικόν. ἔτι δὲ τρίτην 4 τὴν ἐξ ὑποθέσεως· δεῖ γὰρ καὶ τὴν δοθεῖσαν δύνασθαι θεωρεῖν, ἐξ ἀρχῆς τε πῶς ἂν γένοιτο, καὶ γενομένη τίνα τρόπον ἂν σώζοιτο πλεῖστον χρόνον· λέγω δ' οἷον εἴ τινι πόλει συμβέβηκε μήτε τὴν ἀρίστην πολιτεύεσθαι πολιτείαν ἀχορήγητόν τε εἶναι καὶ τῶν ἀναγκαίων, μήτε τὴν ἐνδεχομένην ἐκ τῶν ὑπαρχόντων, ἀλλά τινα φαυλοτέραν. παρὰ 5 πάντα δὲ ταῦτα τὴν μάλιστα πάσαις ταῖς πόλεσιν ἁρμόττουσαν δεῖ γνωρίζειν, ὡς οἱ πλεῖστοι τῶν ἀποφαινομένων περὶ πολιτείας, καὶ εἰ τἆλλα λέγουσι καλῶς, τῶν γε χρησίμων διαμαρτάνουσιν. οὐ γὰρ μόνον τὴν ἀρίστην 6 δεῖ θεωρεῖν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὴν δυνατήν, ὁμοίως δὲ καὶ τὴν

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ἐσθῆτα] Schneider proposes ἱστουργίαν, but it is not necessary to make a change, though the word comes in very oddly when he is dealing with processes or acts.

3 ὥστε δῆλον] The same reasoning will hold good for the political science. It, as well as other sciences, will have a fourfold application. It should be able to say what is the ideal constitution; 2ndly, what is the best average one (§ 5); 3rdly, what is the best under existing circumstances (τὴν ἐκ τῶν ὑποκειμένων, or ἐκ τῶν ὑπαρχόντων ἀρίστην); 4thly, how should be formed, and, when formed, preserved, one which is neither the best, nor the best under the circumstances, but still one which is wished and acquiesced in (τὴν ἐξ ὑποθέσεως, φαυλοτέραν τινα), a worse than need be acquiesced in, and the conditions of which are self-imposed.

4 ἐξ ἀρχῆς τε ..... χρόνον] Spengel, p. 21, note 23, would change the place of these words, and put them directly after τὸν ὡς ἀληθῶς πολιτικόν. In either position, it seems to me, they give a good sense, so that it does not seem worth while to make the change.

ἀχορήγητόν τε εἶναι, κ.τ.λ.] 'and to be unprovided even with those things that are essentially requisite for the best state;' so that not only is it actually not the best, but it is incapable of being made into the best. Supply τῇ ἀρίστῃ after ἀναγκαίων.

5 τῶν γε χρησίμων διαμαρτάνουσιν] 'are yet thoroughly devoid of all useful suggestions.'

The questions which political science has to answer.

ῥᾴω καὶ κοινοτέραν ἁπάσαις. νῦν δ' οἱ μὲν τὴν ἀκροτάτην καὶ δεομένην πολλῆς χορηγίας ζητοῦσι μόνον· οἱ δὲ μᾶλλον κοινήν τινα λέγοντες, τὰς ὑπαρχούσας ἀναιροῦντες πολιτείας, τὴν Λακωνικὴν ἤ τινα ἄλλην ἐπαινοῦσιν. χρὴ δὲ τοιαύτην
1289 εἰσηγεῖσθαι τάξιν ἣν ῥᾳδίως ἐκ τῶν ὑπαρχουσῶν καὶ
7 πεισθήσονται καὶ δυνήσονται κοινωνεῖν, ὡς ἔστιν οὐκ ἔλαττον ἔργον τὸ ἐπανορθῶσαι πολιτείαν ἢ κατασκευάζειν ἐξ ἀρχῆς, ὥσπερ καὶ τὸ μεταμανθάνειν τοῦ μανθάνειν ἐξ ἀρχῆς. διὸ πρὸς τοῖς εἰρημένοις καὶ ταῖς ὑπαρχούσαις πολιτείαις δεῖ δύνασθαι βοηθεῖν τὸν πολιτικόν, καθάπερ ἐλέ-
8 χθη καὶ πρότερον. τοῦτο δὲ ἀδύνατον ἀγνοοῦντα πόσα πολιτείαις ἐστὶν εἴδη. νῦν δὲ μίαν δημοκρατίαν οἴονταί τινες εἶναι καὶ μίαν ὀλιγαρχίαν· οὐκ ἔστι δὲ τοῦτ' ἀληθές. ὥστε δεῖ τὰς διαφορὰς μὴ λανθάνειν τὰς τῶν πολιτειῶν,
9 πόσαι, καὶ συντίθενται ποσαχῶς. Μετὰ δὲ τῆς αὐτῆς φρονήσεως ταύτης καὶ νόμους τοὺς ἀρίστους ἰδεῖν καὶ τοὺς ἑκάστῃ τῶν πολιτειῶν ἁρμόττοντας· πρὸς γὰρ τὰς πολιτείας τοὺς νόμους δεῖ τίθεσθαι καὶ τίθενται πάντες,
10 ἀλλ' οὐ τὰς πολιτείας πρὸς τοὺς νόμους. πολιτεία μὲν γάρ ἐστι τάξις ταῖς πόλεσιν ἡ περὶ τὰς ἀρχάς, τίνα τρόπον νενέμηνται, καὶ τί τὸ κύριον τῆς πολιτείας καὶ τί

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6 ῥᾴω καὶ κοινοτέραν] 'That which is more easily established and more accessible, more generally attainable,' II. vi. 4.

δεομένην πολλῆς χορηγίας] 'requiring large appliances.'

τὰς ὑπαρχούσας ἀναιροῦντες] 'putting aside, taking no account of, the existing forms.'

7 ἣν ῥᾳδίως, κ.τ.λ.] 'which they shall without difficulty be both persuaded and able to adopt as an exchange for the actual forms.' ἣν (κοινωνίαν) κοινωνεῖν.

μεταμανθάνειν] 'to unlearn, and learn something instead.' Herod. i. 57.

ταῖς ὑπαρχούσαις βοηθεῖν] 'to aid the existing constitutions;' make the best of the materials actually in hand. The work of reform.

καὶ πρότερον] I am not sure of the exact reference meant.

8 συντίθενται ποσαχῶς] 'The number of their combinations.'

9 τῆς αὐτῆς φρονήσεως] 'This same science.' The highest form of φρόνησις is πολιτική. Comp. *Eth.* vi. viii. 3, p. 1141, b. 23, ἡ πολιτικὴ καὶ ἡ φρόνησις ἡ αὐτὴ μὲν ἕξις, κ.τ.λ. So that the generic term φρόνησις is here used for the specific πολιτική, and the highest form of this latter is stated, in the same passage of the *Ethics*, to be νομοθετική.

πρὸς γὰρ τὰς πολιτείας] Compare III. xi. 20, 21.

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τὸ τέλος ἑκάστης τῆς κοινωνίας ἐστίν· νόμοι δὲ κεχωρι-
σμένοι τῶν δηλούντων τὴν πολιτείαν, καθ' οὓς δεῖ τοὺς
ἄρχοντας ἄρχειν καὶ φυλάττειν τοὺς παραβαίνοντας αὐτούς.
ὥστε δῆλον ὅτι τὰς διαφορὰς ἀναγκαῖον καὶ τὸν ἀριθμὸν II
ἔχειν τῆς πολιτείας ἑκάστης καὶ πρὸς τὰς τῶν νόμων
θέσεις· οὐ γὰρ οἷόν τε τοὺς αὐτοὺς νόμους συμφέρειν ταῖς
ὀλιγαρχίαις οὐδὲ ταῖς δημοκρατίαις πάσαις, εἴπερ δὴ
πλείους καὶ μὴ μία δημοκρατία μηδὲ ὀλιγαρχία μόνον
ἐστίν.

The arrangement of his work.

Ἐπεὶ δ' ἐν τῇ πρώτῃ μεθόδῳ περὶ τῶν πολιτειῶν 2
διειλόμεθα τρεῖς μὲν τὰς ὀρθὰς πολιτείας, βασιλείαν ἀριστοκρατίαν πολιτείαν, τρεῖς δὲ τὰς τούτων παρεκβάσεις, τυραννίδα μὲν βασιλείας, ὀλιγαρχίαν δὲ ἀριστοκρατίας, δημοκρατίαν δὲ πολιτείας, καὶ περὶ μὲν ἀριστοκρατίας καὶ βασιλείας εἴρηται (τὸ γὰρ περὶ τῆς ἀρίστης πολιτείας θεωρῆσαι ταὐτὸ καὶ περὶ τούτων ἐστὶν εἰπεῖν τῶν ὀνομάτων· βούλεται γὰρ ἑκατέρα κατ' ἀρετὴν συνεστάναι κεχορηγημένην), ἔτι δὲ τί διαφέρουσιν ἀλλήλων ἀριστοκρατία καὶ

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10 **ἑκάστης**] Schneider and Coray are for reading **ἑκάστοις**. Vet. Tr. has 'singulis.' There is, however, no absolute necessity for the change. The general sense is the same: 'What is the end of the association in each particular case?'

νόμοι δέ, κ.τ.λ.] 'Whilst laws, as distinct from those things that mark and determine the constitution, are those according to which the magistrates must rule and check those who would transgress them.' Laws then presuppose magistrates, and the distribution of power amongst those magistrates, and it is this distribution of power that makes a constitution.

11 **καὶ πρὸς τὰς θέσεις**] 'even for the making of laws.'

II. 1 This chapter, on the arrangement of the work, is very valuable, and very strongly in favour of the arrangement I have adopted. It presupposes the treatment of the two more perfect forms, **βασιλεία** and **ἀριστοκρατία**; it states that the third form yet remains, as do also the three imperfect ones or deviations. And after giving the order in which the various questions connected with them are to be treated, it warrants the change of order of Books V. VI. of the old, VIII. VII. respectively of the new arrangement.

τῇ πρώτῃ μεθόδῳ] 'The first part of our treatise **περὶ πολιτείας**.' III. 7.

περὶ τούτων τῶν ὀνομάτων] Compare III. XVIII. 1, and notes, on the close connection between these two forms; the first not practical, the other, in Aristotle's views, susceptible of an approximate realisation.

βούλεται γὰρ ἑκατέρα] 'for the idea of either is that it be formed.'

The arrangement of his work.

βασιλεία, καὶ πότε δεῖ βασιλείαν νομίζειν, διώρισται πρότερον, λοιπὸν περὶ πολιτείας διελθεῖν τῆς τῷ κοινῷ προσαγορευομένης ὀνόματι, καὶ περὶ τῶν ἄλλων πολιτειῶν,
2 ὀλιγαρχίας τε καὶ δημοκρατίας καὶ τυραννίδος. Φανερὸν μὲν οὖν καὶ τούτων τῶν παρεκβάσεων τίς χειρίστη καὶ δευτέρα τίς. ἀνάγκη γὰρ τὴν μὲν τῆς πρώτης καὶ θειοτάτης παρέκβασιν εἶναι χειρίστην· τὴν δὲ βασιλειαν
1289 b ἀναγκαῖον ἢ τοὔνομα μόνον ἔχειν οὐκ οὖσαν, ἢ διὰ πολλὴν ὑπεροχὴν εἶναι τὴν τοῦ βασιλεύοντος, ὥστε τὴν τυραννίδα χειρίστην οὖσαν πλεῖστον ἀπέχειν πολιτείας, δεύτερον δὲ τὴν ὀλιγαρχίαν (ἡ γὰρ ἀριστοκρατία διέστηκεν ἀπὸ ταύτης πολὺ τῆς πολιτείας), μετριωτάτην δὲ τὴν δημοκρατίαν.
3 Ἤδη μὲν οὖν τις ἀπεφήνατο καὶ τῶν πρότερον οὕτως, οὐ μὴν εἰς ταὐτὸ βλέψας ἡμῖν. ἐκεῖνος μὲν γὰρ ἔκρινε πασῶν μὲν οὐσῶν ἐπιεικῶν, οἷον ὀλιγαρχίας τε χρηστῆς καὶ τῶν ἄλλων, χειρίστην δημοκρατίαν, φαύλων δὲ ἀρίστην· ἡμεῖς δὲ ὅλως ταύτας ἐξημαρτημένας εἶναί φαμεν, καὶ βελτίω μὲν ὀλιγαρχίαν ἄλλην ἄλλης οὐ καλῶς ἔχει λέγειν, ἧττον δὲ
4 φαύλην. Ἀλλὰ περὶ μὲν τῆς τοιαύτης κρίσεως ἀφείσθω τὰ νῦν· ἡμῖν δὲ πρῶτον μὲν διαιρετέον πόσαι διαφοραὶ τῶν πολιτειῶν, εἴπερ ἔστιν εἴδη πλείονα τῆς τε δημοκρατίας καὶ τῆς ὀλιγαρχίας, ἔπειτα τίς κοινοτάτη καὶ τίς αἱρετωτάτη μετὰ τὴν ἀρίστην πολιτείαν, κἂν εἴ τις ἄλλη τετύχηκεν ἀριστοκρατικὴ καὶ συνεστῶσα καλῶς· ἀλλὰ ταῖς πλείσταις
5 ἁρμόττουσα πόλεσι τίς ἐστιν. ἔπειτα καὶ τῶν ἄλλων τίς

τῆς τῷ κοινῷ ὀνόματι] III. vii. 3, *καλεῖται τὸ κοινὸν ὄνομα, πολιτεία.*

2 So *Eth.* viii. xii. 2, p. 1160, b. 9, *κάκιστον τὸ ἐναντίον τῷ βελτίστῳ.*

ἡ γὰρ ἀριστοκρατία, κ.τ.λ.] for this is the form to which aristocracy, in Aristotle's peculiar sense, the second of the perfect forms, is most opposed, and consequently it is the second worst.

μετριωτάτην] *ἥκιστα μοχθηρόν* is his language, *Eth.* viii. xii. 3, p. 1160, b. 19.

3 *τις*] Plato, in the *Politicus.*

οὐ μὴν εἰς ταὐτὸ βλέψας ἡμῖν] 'not, however, from the same point of view as ours.'

4 *πρῶτον*] In Chapters III.—X. of this Book.

ἔπειτα] Ch. XI.

κἂν εἴ τις ἄλλη, κ.τ.λ.] 'and after any other constitution there may be of an aristocratical character and well formed.'

5 *ἔπειτα*] Chaps. XII. XIII.

τίσιν αἱρετή· τάχα γὰρ τοῖς μὲν ἀναγκαία δημοκρατία μᾶλ-
λον ὀλιγαρχίας, τοῖς δ' αὕτη μᾶλλον ἐκείνης. μετὰ δὲ
ταῦτα τίνα τρόπον δεῖ καθιστάναι τὸν βουλόμενον ταύτας
τὰς πολιτείας, λέγω δὲ δημοκρατίας τε καθ' ἕκαστον εἶδος
καὶ πάλιν ὀλιγαρχίας. τέλος δέ, πάντων τούτων ὅταν 6
ποιησώμεθα συντόμως τὴν ἐνδεχομένην μνείαν, πειρατέον
ἐπελθεῖν τίνες φθοραὶ καὶ τίνες σωτηρίαι τῶν πολιτειῶν καὶ
κοινῇ καὶ χωρὶς ἑκάστης, καὶ διὰ τίνας αἰτίας ταῦτα μάλιστα
γίνεσθαι πέφυκεν.

The arrangement of his work.

Τοῦ μὲν οὖν εἶναι πλείους πολιτείας αἴτιον ὅτι πάσης 3
ἐστὶ μέρη πλείω πόλεως τὸν ἀριθμόν. πρῶτον μὲν γὰρ ἐξ
οἰκιῶν συγκειμένας πάσας ὁρῶμεν τὰς πόλεις, ἔπειτα πάλιν
τούτου τοῦ πλήθους τοὺς μὲν εὐπόρους ἀναγκαῖον εἶναι τοὺς
δ' ἀπόρους τοὺς δὲ μέσους, καὶ τῶν εὐπόρων δὲ καὶ τῶν
ἀπόρων τὸ μὲν ὁπλιτικὸν τὸ δὲ ἄνοπλον. καὶ τὸν μὲν 2
γεωργικὸν δῆμον ὁρῶμεν ὄντα, τὸν δ' ἀγοραῖον, τὸν δὲ
βάναυσον. καὶ τῶν γνωρίμων εἰσὶ διαφοραὶ καὶ κατὰ τὸν
πλοῦτον καὶ τὰ μεγέθη τῆς οὐσίας, οἷον ἱπποτροφίας·
τοῦτο γὰρ οὐ ῥᾴδιον μὴ πλουτοῦντας ποιεῖν. διόπερ ἐπὶ 3
τῶν ἀρχαίων χρόνων ὅσαις πόλεσιν ἐν τοῖς ἵπποις ἡ δύναμις
ἦν, ὀλιγαρχίαι παρὰ τούτοις ἦσαν. ἐχρῶντο δὲ πρὸς τοὺς

The number of the forms of government.

μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα] Chaps. XIV.—XVI. and VII. (VI.)

6 *τέλος δέ*] With Nickes, p. 112, note 2, I put a comma after *δέ*, and make *τέλος* adverbial: 'and at last,' 'finally.'

πάντων τούτων] By this change in the stopping, these words are made to depend on *τὴν ἐνδεχομένην μνείαν*. 'When I shall have briefly made such mention, as was admissible, of all these points already mentioned, then I shall, &c.'

ἐπελθεῖν, κ.τ.λ.] The subject of Book VIII. (V.), which is here clearly stated to be later than Book VII. (VI.), and so even Woltmann allows, who is the stanchest supporter of the old order that I have met with.

III. 1 *πλείους*] This resumes the subject with which Ch. I. closed, *εἴπερ δὴ πλείους καὶ μὴ μία δημοκρατία μηδὲ ὀλιγαρχία μόνον ἐστίν*. The reason why there is this larger number of forms is found in the number of elements of which every state, without exception, is composed.

τούτου τοῦ πλήθους] 'of the number of citizens so formed.'

2 *ἀγοραῖον*] 'commercial.'

καὶ κατὰ τὸν πλοῦτον] Wealth is not merely a ground of distinction as between rich and poor, 'but amongst the higher classes also there are distinctions based on wealth and the amount of the property they possess.'

3 *ἐν τοῖς ἵπποις*] this was a sign of great wealth, and the distinctive characteristic of oligarchy is wealth.

The number of the forms of government.

πολέμους[a] ἵπποις πρὸς τοὺς ἀστυγείτονας, οἷον Ἐρετριεῖς καὶ Χαλκιδεῖς καὶ Μάγνητες οἱ ἐπὶ Μαιάνδρῳ καὶ τῶν ἄλλων πολλοὶ περὶ τὴν Ἀσίαν. ἔτι πρὸς ταῖς κατὰ
4 πλοῦτον διαφοραῖς ἐστὶν ἡ μὲν κατὰ γένος ἡ δὲ κατ'
1290 ἀρετήν, κἂν εἴ τι δὴ τοιοῦτον ἕτερον εἴρηται πόλεως εἶναι μέρος ἐν τοῖς περὶ τὴν ἀριστοκρατίαν· ἐκεῖ γὰρ διειλόμεθα ἐκ πόσων μερῶν ἀναγκαίων ἐστὶ πᾶσα πόλις· τούτων γὰρ τῶν μερῶν ὁτὲ μὲν πάντα μετέχει τῆς πολιτείας, ὁτὲ δ'
5 ἐλάττω, ὁτὲ δὲ πλείω. φανερὸν τοίνυν ὅτι πλείους ἀναγκαῖον εἶναι πολιτείας, εἴδει διαφερούσας ἀλλήλων· καὶ γὰρ ταῦτ' εἴδει διαφέρει τὰ μέρη σφῶν αὐτῶν. πολιτεία μὲν γὰρ ἡ τῶν ἀρχῶν τάξις ἐστί, ταύτην δὲ διανέμονται πάντες ἢ κατὰ τὴν δύναμιν τῶν μετεχόντων ἢ κατά τιν' αὐτῶν ἰσότητα κοινήν, λέγω δ' οἷον τῶν ἀπόρων ἢ τῶν εὐπόρων, ἢ κοινήν
6 τιν' ἀμφοῖν. ἀναγκαῖον ἄρα πολιτείας εἶναι τοσαύτας ὅσαι περ τάξεις κατὰ τὰς ὑπεροχάς εἰσι καὶ κατὰ τὰς διαφορὰς τῶν μορίων. μάλιστα δὲ δοκοῦσιν εἶναι δύο, καθάπερ ἐπὶ τῶν πνευμάτων λέγεται τὰ μὲν βόρεια τὰ δὲ νότια, τὰ δ' ἄλλα τούτων παρεκβάσεις· οὕτω καὶ τῶν
7 πολιτειῶν δύο, δῆμος καὶ ὀλιγαρχία. τὴν γὰρ ἀριστοκρατίαν τῆς ὀλιγαρχίας εἶδος τιθέασιν ὡς οὖσαν ὀλιγαρχίαν

[a] πολεμίους Bekker.

πολέμους] This reading, adopted by Coray, and supported by Vet. Tr., seems best suited to the passage. Mr. Grote, III. 42, speaks of cavalry "as the primitive oligarchical militia."

Χαλκιδεῖς] in Eubœa.

4 ἐν τοῖς περὶ τὴν ἀριστοκρατίαν] Compare for the expression, I. XIII. 15, ἐν τοῖς περὶ πολιτείας. For the sense, the reference is to IV. (VII.) VIII. 7, 8, 9; so that this passage again is in favour of the change in the order of the Books.

5 ἡ τῶν ἀρχῶν τάξις] = τάξις ἡ περὶ τὰς ἀρχὰς I. 10.

οἷον τῶν ἀπόρων, κ.τ.λ.] This explains τὴν δύναμιν τῶν μετεχόντων, as the next words, κοινήν τιν' ἀμφοῖν, explain κατά τιν' ἰσότητα κοινήν. Compare VIII. (V.) I. 14.

6 κατὰ τὰς ὑπεροχάς] 'according to the superiority now of one part, now of another.'

μάλιστα δὲ δοκοῦσιν] There must, strictly speaking, be as many forms as there are distinct combinations of the various elements, 'still popularly there are conceived to be two forms,' for the numerous varieties are ultimately reducible to these two.

ἐπὶ τῶν πνευμάτων] Compare Soph. *Trach.* 113.

ἢ νότου, ἢ βορέα τις.

7 ὀλιγαρχίαν τινά] 'in a certain sense an oligarchy.'

τινά, καὶ τὴν καλουμένην πολιτείαν δημοκρατίαν, ὥσπερ ἐν τοῖς πνεύμασι τὸν μὲν ζέφυρον τοῦ βορέου, τοῦ δὲ νότου τὸν εὖρον. ὁμοίως δ' ἔχει καὶ περὶ τὰς ἁρμονίας, ὥς φασί τινες· καὶ γὰρ ἐκεῖ τίθενται εἴδη δύο, τὴν δωριστὶ καὶ τὴν φρυγιστί, τὰ δὲ ἄλλα συντάγματα τὰ μὲν Δώρια τὰ δὲ Φρύγια καλοῦσιν. μάλιστα μὲν οὖν εἰώθασιν οὕτως ὑπολαμβάνειν περὶ τῶν πολιτειῶν· ἀληθέστερον δὲ καὶ βέλτιον ὡς ἡμεῖς διείλομεν, δυοῖν ἢ μιᾶς οὔσης τῆς καλῶς συνεστηκυίας τὰς ἄλλας εἶναι παρεκβάσεις, τὰς μὲν τῆς εὖ κεκραμένης ἁρμονίας, τὰς δὲ τῆς ἀρίστης πολιτείας, ὀλιγαρχικὰς μὲν τὰς συντονωτέρας καὶ δεσποτικωτέρας, τὰς δ' ἀνειμένας καὶ μαλακὰς δημοτικάς.

Two forms most prominent.

8 (beside "ὑπολαμ-")

Οὐ δεῖ δὲ τιθέναι δημοκρατίαν, καθάπερ εἰώθασί τινες 4
νῦν ἁπλῶς οὕτως, ὅπου κύριον τὸ πλῆθος· καὶ γὰρ ἐν ταῖς ὀλιγαρχίαις καὶ πανταχοῦ τὸ πλέον μέρος κύριον· οὐδ' ὀλιγαρχίαν, ὅπου κύριοι ὀλίγοι τῆς πολιτείας. εἰ γὰρ εἴησαν οἱ πάντες χίλιοι καὶ τριακόσιοι, καὶ τούτων οἱ χίλιοι πλούσιοι, 2
καὶ μὴ μεταδιδοῖεν ἀρχῆς τοῖς τριακοσίοις καὶ πένησιν ἐλευθέροις οὖσι καὶ τἆλλα ὁμοίοις, οὐθεὶς ἂν φαίη δημοκρατεῖσθαι τούτους. ὁμοίως δὲ καὶ εἰ πένητες μὲν ὀλίγοι εἶεν, 3

The distinction between democracy and oligarchy.

συντάγματα] 'combinations.'

8 δυοῖν ἢ μιᾶς] Ch. II. 1. βασιλείας καὶ ἀριστοκρατίας. He mentions the first for the sake of strict accuracy; they are the two forms of the ἀρίστη πολιτεία.

συντονωτέρας] 'The stricter, more rigid, and more arbitrary.'

ἀνειμένας] Compare Thuc. II. 39. ἀνειμένως διαιτώμενοι, 'easy.'

"The distinction between aristocracy and democracy, as commonly conceived, is not a logical distinction of kind, founded on a precise line of separation, but merely a distinction of degree, and so our propositions about them must be limited to tendencies." Lewis, *on Opinion*, 405, and note.

IV. 1 ἁπλῶς οὕτως] 'without qualification so.' For the subject of this Chapter, compare III. 8.

πανταχοῦ] Compare later, at VIII. 7, τὸ δ' ὅτι ἂν δόξῃ τοῖς πλείοσιν ἐν πᾶσαις ὑπάρχει.

3 In III. 8, poverty and wealth are made the characteristics respectively of the two forms, democracy and oligarchy. Nor does the statement here made, ὅταν οἱ ἐλεύθεροι κύριοι ὦσιν, clash with that former one, as may be seen from a consideration of the words in the last section of III. 8, εὐποροῦσι μὲν γὰρ ὀλίγοι, τῆς δὲ ἐλευθερίας μετέχουσι πάντες. Compare also the end of this Chapter, ὅταν οἱ ἐλεύθεροι καὶ ἄποροι. The word ἐλεύθεροι must be taken in an exclusive sense, the citizens who have nothing but their citizenship to ground

The distinction between democracy and oligarchy.

κρείττους δὲ τῶν εὐπόρων πλειόνων ὄντων, οὐδεὶς ἂν ὀλιγαρχίαν προσαγορεύσειεν οὐδὲ τὴν τοιαύτην, εἰ τοῖς ἄλλοις οὖσι πλουσίοις μὴ μετείη τῶν τιμῶν. μᾶλλον τοίνυν λεκτέον ὅτι δῆμος μέν ἐστιν ὅταν οἱ ἐλεύθεροι κύριοι ὦσιν,
1290 b ὀλιγαρχία δ' ὅταν οἱ πλούσιοι. ἀλλὰ συμβαίνει τοὺς μὲν
4 πολλοὺς εἶναι τοὺς δ' ὀλίγους· ἐλεύθεροι μὲν γὰρ πολλοί, πλούσιοι δ' ὀλίγοι. καὶ γὰρ ἂν εἰ κατὰ μέγεθος διενέμοντο τὰς ἀρχάς, ὥσπερ ἐν Αἰθιοπίᾳ φασί τινες, ἢ κατὰ κάλλος, ὀλιγαρχία ἦν ἄν· ὀλίγον γὰρ τὸ πλῆθος καὶ τὸ τῶν καλῶν
5 καὶ τὸ τῶν μεγάλων. οὐ μὴν ἀλλ' οὐδὲ τούτοις μόνον ἱκανῶς ἔχει διωρίσθαι τὰς πολιτείας ταύτας· ἀλλ' ἐπεὶ πλείονα μόρια καὶ τοῦ δήμου καὶ τῆς ὀλιγαρχίας εἰσίν, ἔτι διαληπτέον ὡς οὔτ' ἂν οἱ ἐλεύθεροι ὀλίγοι ὄντες πλειόνων καὶ μὴ ἐλευθέρων ἄρχωσι, δῆμος, οἷον ἐν Ἀπολλωνίᾳ τῇ ἐν τῷ Ἰονίῳ καὶ ἐν Θήρᾳ (ἐν τούτων γὰρ ἑκατέρᾳ τῶν πόλεων ἐν ταῖς τιμαῖς ἦσαν οἱ διαφέροντες κατ' εὐγένειαν καὶ πρῶτοι κατασχόντες τὰς ἀποικίας, ὀλίγοι ὄντες πολλῶν), οὔτ' ἂν οἱ πλούσιοι διὰ τὸ κατὰ πλῆθος ὑπερέχειν, δῆμος, οἷον ἐν Κολοφῶνι τὸ παλαιόν· ἐκεῖ γὰρ ἐκέκτηντο μακρὰν οὐσίαν οἱ πλείους πρὶν γενέσθαι τὸν πόλεμον τὸν
6 πρὸς Λυδούς. ἀλλ' ἔστι δημοκρατία μὲν ὅταν οἱ ἐλεύθεροι

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any claim on, excluding especially of course, from the general context, any claim based on property.

4 συμβαίνει] compare again III. viii. 8; number is but an accident.

Αἰθιοπίᾳ] Herod. iii. 20.

5 τούτοις] sc. ἐλευθερίᾳ καὶ πλούτῳ.

διαληπτέον] 'we must draw further distinctions, and say.'

μὴ ἐλευθέρων] This negative is curious, and in no way required by the sense. We can hardly suppose that either at Apollonia or Thera, though we know but little of either, the mass, over whom the original colonists ruled, were not free; nor would Aristotle in any case have been likely to touch on the question of a small dominant population ruling over a large slave one, in a part of his work where he has solely to treat of the relations of the citizens to one another. In fact, if the negative is kept, I see but one resource: that is, to make ἐλευθέρων virtually εὐγενεῖς. This is borne out by the context, οἱ διαφέροντες κατ' εὐγένειαν, and the affixing this sense to the word would make the passage a forcible illustration of an earlier one, III. xiii. 13, οἱ δ' ἐλεύθεροι καὶ εὐγενεῖς ὡς ἐγγὺς ἀλλήλων. It does not seem, however, easy to adopt this, and yet it is better, perhaps, than to discard the μή, which has no objection urged against it but its difficulty.

καὶ ἄποροι πλείους ὄντες κύριοι τῆς ἀρχῆς ὦσιν, ὀλιγαρχία δ' ὅταν οἱ πλούσιοι καὶ εὐγενέστεροι ὀλίγοι ὄντες.

Ὅτι μὲν οὖν πολιτεῖαι πλείους, καὶ δι' ἣν αἰτίαν, εἴρη- 7
ται· [διότι δὲ πλείους τῶν εἰρημένων, καὶ τίνες καὶ διὰ τί, λέγωμεν ἀρχὴν λαβόντες τὴν εἰρημένην πρότερον. ὁμολογοῦμεν γὰρ οὐχ ἓν μέρος ἀλλὰ πλείω πᾶσαν ἔχειν πόλιν. ὥσπερ οὖν εἰ ζῴου προῃρούμεθα λαβεῖν εἴδη, πρῶτον ἂν
ἀποδιωρίζομεν ὅπερ ἀναγκαῖον πᾶν ἔχειν ζῷον, οἷον ἔνιά τε 8
τῶν αἰσθητηρίων καὶ τὸ τῆς τροφῆς ἐργαστικὸν καὶ δεκτικόν, οἷον στόμα καὶ κοιλίαν, πρὸς δὲ τούτοις, οἷς κινεῖται μορίοις ἕκαστον αὐτῶν· εἰ δὴ τοσαῦτα εἴδη μόνον, τούτων δ' εἶεν διαφοραί, λέγω δ' οἷον στόματός τινα πλείω γένη καὶ κοιλίας καὶ τῶν αἰσθητηρίων, ἔτι δὲ καὶ τῶν κινητικῶν μορίων, ὁ τῆς συζεύξεως τῆς τούτων ἀριθμὸς ἐξ ἀνάγκης ποιήσει πλείω γένη ζῴων (οὐ γὰρ οἷόν τε ταὐτὸν ζῷον ἔχειν πλείους στόματος διαφοράς, ὁμοίως δὲ οὐδ' ὤτων), ὥσθ' ὅταν ληφθῶσι τούτων πάντες οἱ ἐνδεχόμενοι συνδυασμοί, ποιήσουσιν εἴδη ζῴου, καὶ τοσαῦτ' εἴδη τοῦ ζῴου ὅσαιπερ αἱ συζεύξεις τῶν ἀναγκαίων μορίων εἰσίν. τὸν 9
αὐτὸν δὲ τρόπον καὶ τῶν εἰρημένων πολιτειῶν· καὶ γὰρ αἱ πόλεις οὐκ ἐξ ἑνὸς ἀλλ' ἐκ πολλῶν σύγκεινται μερῶν, ὥσπερ εἴρηται πολλάκις. Ἓν μὲν οὖν ἐστὶ τὸ περὶ τὴν
τροφὴν πλῆθος, οἱ καλούμενοι γεωργοί, δεύτερον δὲ τὸ 1291
καλούμενον βάναυσον· ἔστι δὲ τοῦτο περὶ τὰς τέχνας ὧν

The variety of governments depends on the variety of the elements of society.

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7 διότι] 'That they are.' "Because these are, let us say what they are," Stahr.

τῶν εἰρημένων] the two generally spoken of, democracy and oligarchy. I should, I confess, wish to throw out the whole of what follows, to the end of § 19, or rather to πρότερον, § 20, as a mere repetition, rendered entirely unnecessary by Aristotle's appealing, in Ch. III. 4, to his enumeration of the various parts of a state. As it is, it is better to keep it, and, as in other cases, I inclose it in brackets to show that I think it superfluous. It seems difficult to imagine that Aristotle would, so soon after declining the enumeration on the specific ground that it had been made, enter into it, and in such detail. It constitutes the difficulty of this part of the Book, Chaps. III.—VI., that there is so much that looks like repetition; but I think any other of the seeming repetitions easier to defend than the one actually under consideration.

8 ἐργαστικόν] 'That works up.'

9 This is a repetition of II. 3.

The various elements of a state.

ἄνευ πόλιν ἀδύνατον οἰκεῖσθαι· τούτων δὲ τῶν τεχνῶν τὰς μὲν ἐξ ἀνάγκης ὑπάρχειν δεῖ, τὰς δὲ εἰς τρυφὴν ἢ τὸ καλῶς

10 ζῆν. τρίτον δ' ἀγοραῖον· λέγω δ' ἀγοραῖον τὸ περὶ τὰς πράσεις καὶ τὰς ὠνὰς καὶ τὰς ἐμπορίας καὶ καπηλείας διατρῖβον. τέταρτον δὲ τὸ θητικόν. πέμπτον δὲ γένος τὸ προπολεμῆσον· ὃ τούτων οὐθὲν ἧττόν ἐστιν ἀναγκαῖον

11 ὑπάρχειν, εἰ μέλλουσι μὴ δουλεύσειν τοῖς ἐπιοῦσιν. μὴ γὰρ ἓν τῶν ἀδυνάτων ᾖ πόλιν ἄξιον εἶναι καλεῖν τὴν φύσει δούλην· αὐτάρκης γὰρ ἡ πόλις, τὸ δὲ δοῦλον οὐκ αὔταρκες. διόπερ ἐν τῇ πολιτείᾳ κομψῶς τοῦτο, οὐχ ἱκανῶς δὲ εἴρηται.

12 φησὶ γὰρ ὁ Σωκράτης ἐκ τεττάρων τῶν ἀναγκαιοτάτων πόλιν συγκεῖσθαι, λέγει δὲ τούτους ὑφάντην καὶ γεωργὸν καὶ σκυτοτόμον καὶ οἰκοδόμον· πάλιν δὲ προστίθησιν, ὡς οὐκ αὐτάρκων τούτων, χαλκέα καὶ τοὺς ἐπὶ τοῖς ἀναγκαίοις βοσκήμασιν, ἔτι δ' ἔμπορόν τε καὶ κάπηλον, καὶ ταῦτα πάντα γίνεται πλήρωμα τῆς πρώτης πόλεως, ὡς τῶν ἀναγκαίων γε χάριν πᾶσαν πόλιν συνεστηκυῖαν, ἀλλ' οὐ τοῦ καλοῦ μᾶλλον, ἴσον τε δεομένην σκυτέων τε καὶ γεωργῶν.

13 τὸ δὲ προπολεμοῦν οὐ πρότερον ἀποδίδωσι μέρος πρὶν ἢ τῆς χώρας αὐξομένης καὶ τῆς τῶν πλησίον ἁπτομένης εἰς πόλεμον καταστῶσιν. ἀλλὰ μὴν καὶ ἐν τοῖς τέτταρσι καὶ

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10 *ἐμπορίας καὶ καπηλείας*] The former more wholesale, the latter more retail, the *παράστασις* of I. xi. 3, as *ἐμπορίας* represents the *φορτηγία* and *ναυκληρία* of the same passage.

τὸ θητικόν] is the *μισθαρνία*.

τούτων οὐθὲν ἧττόν] Compare III. xii. 9, *ἄνευ μὲν τῶν προτέρων ἀδύνατον εἶναι πόλιν, ἄνευ δὲ τούτων οἰκεῖσθαι καλῶς*.

δουλεύσειν] Compare IV. (VII.) xv. 2, *κατὰ γὰρ τὴν παροιμίαν, οὐ σχολὴ δούλοις*.

11 *τὸ δὲ δοῦλον οὐκ αὔταρκες*] Compare I. iv. 6, the definition of a slave, *ὃς ἂν ἄλλου ᾖ ἄνθρωπος ὤν*.

12 *τεττάρων*] as representing the primary wants of man—food, shelter, clothing.

ἐπὶ τοῖς ἀναγκαίοις βοσκήμασιν] 'those who are to take care of the cattle necessary for the subsistence of the population.'

πλήρωμα] 'the complement,' III. xiii. 13.

τῆς πρώτης πόλεως] not of the ideal state, but 'of the state in its simplest and most elementary form.' Compare IV. (VII.) iv. 11, *πρώτην πόλιν—τὴν ἐκ τοσούτου πλήθους ὃ πρῶτον πλῆθος αὔταρκες*.

ἴσον τε δεομένην] 'and as though it stood in equal need of.'

13 *τῆς χώρας αὐξομένης*] 'in consequence of the increase of territory and its contact with its neighbours.'

ἐν τοῖς τέτταρσι] 'In his four primary ones.'

τοῖς ὁποσοισοῦν κοινωνοῖς ἀναγκαῖον εἶναι τινα τὸν ἀποδώσοντα καὶ κρινοῦντα, τὸ δίκαιον. εἴπερ οὖν καὶ ψυχὴν ἄν τις θείη ζῴου μόριον μᾶλλον ἢ σῶμα, καὶ πόλεων 14 τὰ τοιαῦτα μᾶλλον θετέον τῶν εἰς τὴν ἀναγκαίαν χρῆσιν συντεινόντων, τὸ πολεμικὸν καὶ τὸ μετέχον δικαιοσύνης δικαστικῆς, πρὸς δὲ τούτοις τὸ βουλευόμενον, ὅπερ ἐστὶ 15 συνέσεως πολιτικῆς ἔργον. καὶ ταῦτ' εἴτε κεχωρισμένως ὑπάρχει τισὶν εἴτε τοῖς αὐτοῖς, οὐθὲν διαφέρει πρὸς τὸν λόγον· καὶ γὰρ ὁπλιτεύειν καὶ γεωργεῖν συμβαίνει τοῖς αὐτοῖς πολλάκις. ὥστε εἴπερ καὶ ταῦτα καὶ ἐκεῖνα θετέα μόρια τῆς πόλεως, φανερὸν ὅτι τό γε ὁπλιτικὸν ἀναγκαῖόν ἐστι μόριον τῆς πόλεως. ἕβδομον δὲ τὸ ταῖς οὐσίαις λειτουργοῦν, ὃ καλοῦμεν εὐπόρους. ὄγδοον δὲ τὸ δημιουρ- 16 γικὸν καὶ τὸ περὶ τὰς ἀρχὰς λειτουργοῦν, εἴπερ ἄνευ ἀρχόντων ἀδύνατον εἶναι πόλιν. ἀναγκαῖον οὖν εἶναί τινας τοὺς δυναμένους ἄρχειν καὶ λειτουργοῦντας ἢ συνεχῶς ἢ κατὰ μέρος τῇ πόλει ταύτην τὴν λειτουργίαν. λοιπὰ 17 δὲ περὶ ὧν τυγχάνομεν διωρικότες ἀρτίως, τὸ βουλευόμενον καὶ κρῖνον περὶ τῶν δικαίων τοῖς ἀμφισβητοῦσιν. εἴπερ οὖν ταῦτα δεῖ γενέσθαι ταῖς πόλεσι καὶ καλῶς 1291 b γίνεσθαι καὶ δικαίως, ἀναγκαῖον καὶ μετέχοντας εἶναί τινας

The various elements of a state.

14 ὅπερ] τὸ βουλεύεσθαι.

συνέσεως πολιτικῆς] 'the judgment applied to political matters,' *Eth.* VI. xi. p. 1143, 10.

15 ὥστε εἴπερ καὶ ταῦτα, κ.τ.λ.] 'So that if, as in fact we do, we make both the class of cultivators and that which judges and deliberates, essential parts of our state, it is an evident consequence that the military class, at least, which is conjoined with both, or capable of being so, is necessarily a part of our state.' The military class is not conceived of as wholly distinct, but identified with one or the other of two classes; if both are comprehended, evidently it must be so too, with whichever it may be combined. This seems the reasoning of the passage. It is not, however, clear.

ἕβδομον] Nickes proposes ἕκτον, but I find the sixth class in § 14, τὸ μετέχον δικαιοσύνης δικαστικῆς.

ταῖς οὐσίαις λειτουργοῦν] 'serving the state with its property,' IV. (VII.) VIII. 7, 9.

16 τὸ δημιουργικόν] 'The body of magistrates.' The word δημιουργός in this sense is well known.

17 ταῦτα] sc. τὸ βουλεύεσθαι καὶ κρίνειν.

τῶν πολιτικῶν] depends on τινας. There must be among the citizens some not without virtue,—moral, for the decision of causes; intellectual, for deliberation.

The various elements of a state.

ἀρετῆς τῶν πολιτικῶν. Τὰς μὲν οὖν ἄλλας δυνάμεις τοῖς
αὐτοῖς ὑπάρχειν ἐνδέχεσθαι δοκεῖ πολλοῖς, οἷον τοὺς
18 αὐτοὺς εἶναι τοὺς προπολεμοῦντας καὶ γεωργοῦντας καὶ
τεχνίτας, ἔτι δὲ τοὺς βουλευομένους τε καὶ κρίνοντας·
ἀντιποιοῦνται δὲ καὶ τῆς ἀρετῆς πάντες, καὶ τὰς πλείστας
ἀρχὰς ἄρχειν οἴονται δύνασθαι. ἀλλὰ πένεσθαι καὶ
19 πλουτεῖν τοὺς αὐτοὺς ἀδύνατον. διὸ ταῦτα μέρη μάλιστα
εἶναι δοκεῖ πόλεως, οἱ εὔποροι καὶ οἱ ἄποροι. ἔτι δὲ διὰ
τὸ ὡς ἐπὶ τὸ πολὺ τοὺς μὲν ὀλίγους εἶναι τοὺς δὲ πολλούς,
ταῦτα ἐναντία μέρη φαίνεται τῶν τῆς πόλεως μορίων.
ὥστε καὶ τὰς πολιτείας κατὰ τὰς ὑπεροχὰς τούτων
καθιστᾶσι, καὶ δύο πολιτεῖαι δοκοῦσιν εἶναι, δημοκρατία καὶ
ὀλιγαρχία.

The different forms of democracy.

20 ὅτι μὲν οὖν εἰσὶ πολιτεῖαι πλείους, καὶ διὰ τίνας
αἰτίας, εἴρηται πρότερον·] ὅτι δ' ἐστὶ καὶ δημοκρατίας εἴδη
πλείω καὶ ὀλιγαρχίας, λέγωμεν. [φανερὸν δὲ τοῦτο καὶ

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18 διὸ ταῦτα, κ.τ.λ.] as wealth and poverty cannot meet in the same people, and the wealthy and the poor consequently must always be distinct one from the other, whilst all other distinctions are less appreciable, this is the one fixed on, and the state is commonly divided into these two parts, and from the accident of their differing in number, these two stand in the most marked opposition to one another. In Greece and Rome, as in modern Europe, the problem of the opposition between the Have-alls and the Have-nothings, to borrow Mr. Carlyle's language (*Sartor Resartus*), was one which could not escape the philosophic statesman, modified as it was, and in some sense rendered easy by the existence of slavery.

20 If this section followed immediately after § 6, no one would, I think, miss the intervening part. From the consideration of the variety of forms of government generally, Aristotle passes to the varieties of the two forms that, with the exception of interludes of tyrants, monopolized the Greek political world, democracy and oligarchy. That there were such varieties was clear to him from the same premises as before. If the variety of elements of a state accounted for the variety of πολιτεῖαι, the variety in the democratical elements would account for a variety of democratical πολιτεῖαι. Here, again, from φανερὸν δέ . . . to διαφοράν, I suspect an interpolation. It is an evident repetition of Ch. III., not without its value in point of information, but still needlessly burdening the book, and faulty in point of division, as it is not easy to say why πορθμευτικόν and the rest are not included under χρηματιστικόν, and evidently τὸ μικρὰν ἔχον, κ.τ.λ., is applicable to most of the others, as is τὸ μὴ ἐξ ἀμφοτέρων, κ.τ.λ. For these reasons I have inclosed it in brackets.

The different forms of democracy.

ἐκ τῶν εἰρημένων. εἴδη γὰρ πλείω τοῦ τε δήμου καὶ τῶν
λεγομένων γνωρίμων ἐστίν, οἷον δήμου μὲν εἴδη ἓν μὲν οἱ
γεωργοί, ἕτερον δὲ τὸ περὶ τὰς τέχνας, ἄλλο δὲ τὸ
ἀγοραῖον τὸ περὶ ὠνὴν καὶ πρᾶσιν διατρῖβον, ἄλλο δὲ τὸ 21
περὶ θάλατταν, καὶ τούτου τὸ μὲν πολεμικόν, τὸ δὲ χρη-
ματιστικόν, τὸ δὲ πορθμευτικόν, τὸ δ' ἁλιευτικόν (πολλαχοῦ
γὰρ ἕκαστα τούτων πολύοχλα, οἷον ἁλιεῖς μὲν ἐν Τάραντι
καὶ Βυζαντίῳ, τριηρικὸν δὲ Ἀθήνησιν, ἐμπορικὸν δὲ ἐν
Αἰγίνῃ καὶ Χίῳ, πορθμευτικὸν ἐν Τενέδῳ), πρὸς δὲ τούτοις
τὸ χερνητικὸν καὶ τὸ μικρὰν ἔχον οὐσίαν ὥστε μὴ δύνασθαι
σχολάζειν, ἔτι τὸ μὴ ἐξ ἀμφοτέρων πολιτῶν ἐλεύθερον,
κἂν εἴ τι τοιοῦτον ἑτέρου πλήθους εἶδος. τῶν δὲ γνωρίμων 22
πλοῦτος, εὐγένεια, ἀρετή, παιδεία, καὶ τὰ τούτοις λεγόμενα
κατὰ τὴν αὐτὴν διαφοράν.] Δημοκρατία μὲν οὖν ἐστὶ
πρώτη μὲν ἡ λεγομένη μάλιστα κατὰ τὸ ἴσον. ἴσον γάρ
φησιν ὁ νόμος ὁ τῆς τοιαύτης δημοκρατίας τὸ μηδὲν μᾶλλον
ἄρχειν[a] τοὺς ἀπόρους ἢ τοὺς εὐπόρους, μηδὲ κυρίους εἶναι

[a] ὑπάρχειν Bekker.

21 Τάραντι] Grote, III. 516. "Shell-fish."

Βυζαντίῳ] Id. IV. 36. "Thunny fishery."

Αἰγίνῃ] The commerce of Ægina, in very early times, is quite historical.

Χίῳ] Grote, VII. 531.

τὸ μὴ ἐξ ἀμφοτέρων πολιτῶν] for this, compare III. v. 8.

22 τούτοις] depends on τὴν αὐτήν. But what the exact meaning of the words is, it is not easy to say. "Sur d'autres avantages analogues," is St. Hilaire's translation, and I believe that is the sense,—a kind of et cætera without any very definite meaning in the writer's mind, as he has certainly enumerated the main distinctions: Wealth, Birth, Merit, Education, are nearly, if not quite, exhaustive.

Δημοκρατία μὲν οὖν, κ.τ.λ.] 'The first form of democracy is that which is, in the strictest sense so called, based on equality,' in its simplest and purest form. Compare VII. (VI.) II. 9, ἡ μάλιστ' εἶναι δοκοῦσα δημοκρατία καὶ δῆμος.

ἄρχειν] This reading, in place of ὑπάρχειν, is proposed by Stahr. I have adopted it, justified, I think, by words from the passage I have just quoted VII. (VI.) II. 9, ἴσον γὰρ τὸ μηθὲν μᾶλλον ἄρχειν τοὺς ἀπόρους ἢ τοὺς εὐπόρους μηδὲ κυρίους εἶναι μόνους ἀλλὰ πάντας ἐξ ἴσου κατ' ἀριθμόν. These last words are an useful comment on μηδὲ κυρίους εἶναι ὁποτερουσοῦν, ἀλλ' ὁμοίους ἀμφοτέρους. In the first part it is true that ὑπάρχειν can be construed, though perhaps not easily, 'that the wealthy should not be anything more, of greater importance, than the poor.' Yet the change is simple, and appears to rest on adequate grounds.

The different forms of democracy.

ὁποτερουσοῦν, ἀλλ' ὁμοίους ἀμφοτέρους. εἴπερ γὰρ ἐλευθερία μάλιστ' ἐστὶν ἐν δημοκρατίᾳ, καθάπερ ὑπολαμβάνουσί τινες, καὶ ἰσότης, οὕτως ἂν εἴη μάλιστα, κοινωνούν-
23 των ἁπάντων μάλιστα τῆς πολιτείας ὁμοίως. ἐπεὶ δὲ πλείων ὁ δῆμος, κύριον δὲ τὸ δόξαν τοῖς πλείοσιν, ἀνάγκη
24 δημοκρατίαν εἶναι ταύτην. ἓν μὲν οὖν εἶδος δημοκρατίας τοῦτο, ἄλλο δὲ τὸ τὰς ἀρχὰς ἀπὸ τιμημάτων εἶναι, βραχέων δὲ τούτων ὄντων· δεῖ δὲ τῷ κτωμένῳ ἐξουσίαν εἶναι μετέχειν, καὶ τὸν ἀποβάλλοντα μὴ μετέχειν. ἕτερον εἶδος
1292 δημοκρατίας τὸ μετέχειν ἅπαντας τοὺς πολίτας ὅσοι
25 ἀνυπεύθυνοι, ἄρχειν δὲ τὸν νόμον. ἕτερον δὲ εἶδος δημοκρατίας τὸ πᾶσι μετεῖναι τῶν ἀρχῶν, ἐὰν μόνον ᾖ πολίτης, ἄρχειν δὲ τὸν νόμον. ἕτερον εἶδος δημοκρατίας τἆλλα μὲν εἶναι ταὐτά, κύριον δ' εἶναι τὸ πλῆθος καὶ μὴ τὸν νόμον· τοῦτο δὲ γίνεται, ὅταν τὰ ψηφίσματα κύρια ᾖ ἀλλὰ μὴ
26 ὁ νόμος. συμβαίνει δὲ τοῦτο διὰ τοὺς δημαγωγούς. ἐν μὲν γὰρ ταῖς κατὰ νόμον δημοκρατουμέναις οὐ γίνεται

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23 *εἴπερ γάρ, κ.τ.λ.*] Compare VII. (VI.) II. 1.

οὕτως ἂν εἴη, κ.τ.λ.] 'In this way it would be most likely to exist, by all participating as much as possible in the government on equal terms.'

ἐπεὶ δὲ πλείων] If all are equal, mere number will tell, and 'the people is the larger number. The will of the numerical majority will then be the will of the state, and such a state is of necessity a democracy.'

24 *ἀνυπεύθυνοι*] "quicunque maculæ alicui obnoxii non fuerunt," Vict.; "die kein Makel anhaftet," Stahr. This sense of 'men of unblemished character' is a good one, if the word will bear it—'whose claim is not open to question,' 'who are not liable at any moment to be called to give an account of themselves and justify their claim.' This is the translation I prefer. And the passage in VI. 3 would seem to point the ground of objection that might be taken to the question of birth, *τοῖς ἀνυπευθύνοις κατὰ τὸ γένος*, and so to exclude the two meanings I have quoted above.

25 *ἐὰν μόνον ᾖ πολίτης*] 'admitting no question, but accepting the fact of his exercise of citizenship.'

26 *ἐν μὲν γάρ, κ.τ.λ.*] This seems an odd remark, with the history of Greece such as we have it. It seems to require the attaching a rather limited sense to the word *δημαγωγός*, not such as would have been attached to it in any Greek state by the party which would have claimed to be *οἱ βέλτιστοι τῶν πολιτῶν*. We require a more extended acquaintance with the internal workings of other Greek democracies to estimate the remark. Athens is, in fact, the only one which we can fairly judge of, and it is not true of Athens. The Athenian democracy was eminently legal and constitutional, and yet there were demagogues in the or-

The different forms of democracy.

δημαγωγός, ἀλλ' οἱ βέλτιστοι τῶν πολιτῶν εἰσὶν ἐν
προεδρίᾳ· ὅπου δ' οἱ νόμοι μή εἰσι κύριοι, ἐνταῦθα γίνονται
δημαγωγοί. μόναρχος γὰρ ὁ δῆμος γίνεται, σύνθετος εἷς
ἐκ πολλῶν· οἱ γὰρ πολλοὶ κύριοί εἰσιν οὐχ ὡς ἕκαστος ἀλλὰ
πάντες. Ὅμηρος δὲ ποίαν λέγει οὐκ ἀγαθὸν εἶναι πολυ- 27
κοιρανίην, πότερον ταύτην ἢ ὅταν πλείους ὦσιν οἱ ἄρχοντες
ὡς ἕκαστος, ἄδηλον. ὁ δ' οὖν τοιοῦτος δῆμος, ἅτε μόναρ-
χος ὤν, ζητεῖ μοναρχεῖν διὰ τὸ μὴ ἄρχεσθαι ὑπὸ νόμου, καὶ
γίνεται δεσποτικός, ὥστε οἱ κόλακες ἔντιμοι· καὶ ἔστιν ὁ
τοιοῦτος δῆμος ἀνάλογον τῶν μοναρχιῶν τῇ τυραννίδι. διὸ 28
καὶ τὸ ἦθος τὸ αὐτό, καὶ ἄμφω δεσποτικὰ τῶν βελτιόνων,
καὶ τὰ ψηφίσματα ὥσπερ ἐκεῖ τὰ ἐπιτάγματα, καὶ ὁ δημα-
γωγὸς καὶ ὁ κόλαξ οἱ αὐτοὶ καὶ ἀνάλογον· καὶ μάλιστα δ'
ἑκάτεροι παρ' ἑκατέροις ἰσχύουσιν, οἱ μὲν κόλακες παρὰ
τυράννοις, οἱ δὲ δημαγωγοὶ παρὰ τοῖς δήμοις τοῖς τοιού-
τοις. αἴτιοι δ' εἰσὶ τοῦ εἶναι τὰ ψηφίσματα κύρια ἀλλὰ 29
μὴ τοὺς νόμους οὗτοι, πάντα ἀνάγοντες εἰς τὸν δῆμον·
συμβαίνει γὰρ αὐτοῖς γίνεσθαι μεγάλοις διὰ τὸ τὸν μὲν
δῆμον πάντων εἶναι κύριον, τῆς δὲ τοῦ δήμου δόξης τούτους·
πείθεται γὰρ τὸ πλῆθος τούτοις. ἔτι δ' οἱ ταῖς ἀρχαῖς 30
ἐγκαλοῦντες τὸν δῆμόν φασι δεῖν κρίνειν· ὁ δὲ ἀσμένως

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dinary sense, and there, as everywhere else,—in fact, it is a necessity of government,—*ψηφίσματα* were frequent, without superseding the real efficacy of law.

οὐχ ὡς ἕκαστος ἀλλὰ πάντες] Compare II. III. 2-4.

Ὅμηρος] *Il.* II. 204. The language of Homer cannot well bear any but the second sense, for, as Mr. Lewis remarks (*Opinion*, 243, note B), "Homer's poems contain no traces of a political body, nor do they mention voting."

μοναρχεῖν] In the sense of *τύραννος εἶναι*, the Latin 'dominari.'

28 *ἐπιτάγματα*] It is difficult to give the distinction in English, the word 'decree' expresses both. In the finely shaded political language of the present French Emperor, 'plébiscite' would express *ψήφισμα*, 'décret' *ἐπίταγμα*. The celebrated 'ordonnances' of Charles X. would be a still better rendering of *ἐπιτάγματα*.

29 *δόξης*] 'of the opinions of the people.'

30 *ἔτι δέ*] Not merely do the demagogues increase the power of the people, 'but also all those who have any fault to find with the existing magistrates.' Compare Grote, v. 493, where this language is considered inapplicable to the change made by Pericles. Thus the popular assembly grasps the administrative and judicial power, as it had before absorbed the legislative.

The different forms of democracy.

δέχεται τὴν πρόκλησιν, ὥστε καταλύονται πᾶσαι αἱ ἀρχαί. εὐλόγως δὲ ἂν δόξειεν ἐπιτιμᾶν ὁ φάσκων τὸν τοιαύτην εἶναι δημοκρατίαν οὐ πολιτείαν· ὅπου γὰρ μὴ νόμοι ἄρ-
31 χουσιν, οὐκ ἔστι πολιτεία. δεῖ γὰρ τὸν μὲν νόμον ἄρχειν πάντων, τῶν δὲ καθ' ἕκαστα τὰς ἀρχὰς καὶ τὴν πολιτείαν κρίνειν. ὥστ' εἴπερ ἐστὶ δημοκρατία μία τῶν πολιτειῶν, φανερὸν ὡς ἡ τοιαύτη κατάστασις, ἐν ᾗ ψηφίσμασι πάντα διοικεῖται, οὐδὲ δημοκρατία κυρίως· οὐδὲν γὰρ ἐνδέχεται ψήφισμα εἶναι καθόλου. Τὰ μὲν οὖν τῆς δημοκρατίας εἴδη διωρίσθω τὸν τρόπον τοῦτον.

The different forms of oligarchy.

5 Ὀλιγαρχίας δὲ εἴδη, ἓν μὲν τὸ ἀπὸ τιμημάτων εἶναι τὰς ἀρχὰς τηλικούτων ὥστε τοὺς ἀπόρους μὴ μετέχειν πλείους ὄντας, ἐξεῖναι δὲ τῷ κτωμένῳ μετέχειν τῆς πολιτείας. ἄλλο
1292 B δέ, ὅταν ἀπὸ τιμημάτων μακρῶν ὦσιν αἱ ἀρχαὶ καὶ αἱρῶνται αὐτοὶ τοὺς ἐλλείποντας. ἂν μὲν οὖν ἐκ πάντων τούτων τοῦτο ποιῶσι, δοκεῖ τοῦτ' εἶναι μᾶλλον ἀριστοκρατικόν,
2 ἐὰν δὲ ἐκ τινῶν ἀφωρισμένων, ὀλιγαρχικόν. ἕτερον εἶδος ὀλιγαρχίας, ὅταν παῖς ἀντὶ πατρὸς εἰσίῃ. τέταρτον δ', ὅταν ὑπάρχῃ τό τε νῦν λεχθὲν καὶ ἄρχῃ μὴ ὁ νόμος ἀλλ' οἱ ἄρχοντες. καὶ ἔστιν ἀντίστροφος αὕτη ἐν ταῖς ὀλιγαρχίαις ὥσπερ ἡ τυραννὶς ἐν ταῖς μοναρχίαις καὶ περὶ ἧς

εὐλόγως ἐπιτιμᾶν] 'to urge a reasonable objection.'

31 **τὴν πολιτείαν κρίνειν**] "die Verfassung die Entscheidung haben," Stahr. **πολιτείαν** would then mean 'the government.' That it may have this meaning is clear from III. vi. 1, **πολίτευμα ἐστὶν ἡ πολιτεία**, and III. vii. 2, **πολιτεία καὶ πολίτευμα σημαίνει ταὐτόν**. Nor do I see any other meaning to prefer. 'The law is to be supreme, but in particular cases, if judicial or administrative, the magistrates are to decide on what is right; if deliberative, the government.' So I paraphrase it.

Aristotle's general preference of democracy to oligarchy makes this long attack on one form of democracy rather remarkable. It is so also from its length, in contrast with the short treatment of the other forms, and the very small space allotted to the varieties of oligarchy, the last of which is open to precisely the same objections as the last form of democracy. See VI. xi.

V. 1 **αἱρῶνται αὐτοί**] They form, in fact, a self-electing body. The principle is that of co-optation.

τούτων] Is this 'all who have the required qualifications?'

2 **ἀντίστροφος ὥσπερ ἡ τυραννίς**] = **ἀντίστροφος τῇ τυραννίδι** 'corresponds

τελευταίας εἴπαμεν δημοκρατίας ἐν ταῖς δημοκρατίαις· καὶ καλοῦσι δὴ τὴν τοιαύτην ὀλιγαρχίαν δυναστείαν.

Ὀλιγαρχίας μὲν οὖν εἴδη τοσαῦτα καὶ δημοκρατίας. 3
Οὐ δεῖ δὲ λανθάνειν ὅτι πολλαχοῦ συμβέβηκεν ὥστε τὴν μὲν πολιτείαν τὴν κατὰ τοὺς νόμους μὴ δημοτικὴν εἶναι, διὰ δὲ τὸ ἦθος καὶ τὴν ἀγωγὴν πολιτεύεσθαι δημοτικῶς, ὁμοίως δὲ πάλιν παρ' ἄλλοις τὴν μὲν κατὰ τοὺς νόμους εἶναι πολιτείαν δημοτικωτέραν, τῇ δ' ἀγωγῇ καὶ τοῖς ἔθεσιν ὀλιγαρχεῖσθαι μᾶλλον. συμβαίνει δὲ τοῦτο μά- 4
λιστα μετὰ τὰς μεταβολὰς τῶν πολιτειῶν· οὐ γὰρ εὐθὺς μεταβαίνουσιν, ἀλλ' ἀγαπῶσι τὰ πρῶτα μικρὰ πλεονεκτοῦντες παρ' ἀλλήλων, ὥσθ' οἱ μὲν νόμοι διαμένουσιν οἱ προϋπάρχοντες, κρατοῦσι δ' οἱ μεταβάλλοντες τὴν πολιτείαν.

Distinction between the form and spirit of a government.

Ὅτι δ' ἐστὶ τοσαῦτα εἴδη δημοκρατίας καὶ ὀλιγαρ- 6

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to,' 'is the counterpart of.' *Rhet.* I. i. I, p. 1354. I.

καλοῦσι δὴ] In fact, they give this last form of oligarchy a peculiar name, thus distinguishing it, as its counterparts are distinguished from their kindred forms. It is called δυναστεία. 'The rule of a few powerful families.'

3 τὴν κατὰ τοὺς νόμους] 'such as it is expressed in the laws.'

τὸ ἦθος] 'from the character of those who administer it.'

τὴν ἀγωγὴν] 'the spirit in which it is administered,' 'the tendency impressed upon it.'

τοῖς ἔθεσιν] = τῷ ἤθει. For ἦθος is in fact the sum and expression of a man's ἔθη.

4 τοῦτο] 'This contrast between the existing constitution and the spirit in which it is administered.

μετὰ τὰς μεταβολάς] This expression is not quite easy. Is the case Aristotle is contemplating that of a counter-revolution, such as was of frequent occurrence in Greek states, and has been not uncommon in modern history, a case especially familiar to us of late years? The revolution has been successful. The constitution sprung from it has been accepted, but the administration of that constitution has been conducted in an entirely alien spirit. The constitution remains, but by small encroachments is rendered nugatory, till the time comes when it may be set aside in form, as well as in spirit—*οἱ μὲν νόμοι διαμένουσιν οἱ προϋπάρχοντες, κρατοῦσι δ' οἱ μεταβάλλοντες τὴν πολιτείαν.*

ἀγαπῶσι] 'are content at first.'

VI. I The connection of this chapter with what precedes is difficult to trace. The statements point to its being a justification of the enumerations given in IV, and V. See especially § 7, τοσαῦτα καὶ τοιαῦτα διὰ ταύτας τὰς ἀνάγκας, but it really does rather give an account of the working of the several forms there enumerated, explaining why in some law is, in others is not powerful. But whatever may be the connection or general

The reasons for there being so many forms of the two governments.

χίας, ἐξ αὐτῶν τῶν εἰρημένων φανερόν ἐστιν. ἀνάγκη
γὰρ ἢ πάντα τὰ εἰρημένα μέρη τοῦ δήμου κοινωνεῖν τῆς
πολιτείας, ἢ τὰ μὲν τὰ δὲ μή. ὅταν μὲν οὖν τὸ γεωργικὸν
καὶ τὸ κεκτημένον μετρίαν οὐσίαν κύριον ᾖ τῆς πολιτείας,
πολιτεύονται κατὰ νόμους· ἔχουσι γὰρ ἐργαζόμενοι ζῆν, οὐ
2 δύνανται δὲ σχολάζειν, ὥστε τὸν νόμον ἐπιστήσαντες ἐκκλη-
σιάζουσι τὰς ἀναγκαίας ἐκκλησίας· τοῖς δὲ ἄλλοις μετέχειν
ἔξεστιν, ὅταν κτήσωνται τὸ τίμημα τὸ διωρισμένον ὑπὸ
3 τῶν νόμων.[a] ὅλως μὲν γὰρ τὸ μὲν μὴ ἐξεῖναι πᾶσιν
ὀλιγαρχικόν, τὸ δὲ δὴ ἐξεῖναι σχολάζειν ἀδύνατον μὴ προσ-
όδων οὐσῶν. τοῦτο μὲν οὖν εἶδος ἓν δημοκρατίας, διὰ
ταύτας τὰς αἰτίας, ἕτερον δὲ εἶδος διὰ τὴν ἐχομένην αἵρεσιν·
ἔστι γὰρ καὶ πᾶσιν ἐξεῖναι τοῖς ἀνυπευθύνοις κατὰ τὸ
4 γένος, μετέχειν μέντοι δυναμένοις σχολάζειν. διόπερ ἐν τῇ
τοιαύτῃ δημοκρατίᾳ οἱ νόμοι ἄρχουσι, διὰ τὸ μὴ εἶναι
πρόσοδον. τρίτον δ' εἶδος τὸ πᾶσιν ἐξεῖναι, ὅσοι ἂν
ἐλεύθεροι ὦσι, μετέχειν τῆς πολιτείας, μὴ μέντοι μετέχειν
διὰ τὴν προειρημένην αἰτίαν, ὥστ' ἀναγκαῖον καὶ ἐν ταύτῃ
5 ἄρχειν τὸν νόμον. τέταρτον δὲ εἶδος δημοκρατίας ἡ τελευ-
1293 ταία τοῖς χρόνοις ἐν ταῖς πόλεσι γεγενημένη. διὰ γὰρ τὸ
μείζους γεγονέναι πολὺ τὰς πόλεις τῶν ἐξ ὑπαρχῆς καὶ
προσόδων ὑπάρχειν εὐπορίας, μετέχουσι μὲν πάντες τῆς
πολιτείας διὰ τὴν ὑπεροχὴν τοῦ πλήθους, κοινωνοῦσι δὲ καὶ

[a] [Διὸ πᾶσι τοῖς κτωμένοις ἔξεστι μετέχειν] Bekker.

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bearing of the chapter, its statements are such as to redeem it from the charge of mere repetition.

2 ἔχουσι γὰρ ἐργαζόμενοι ζῆν] 'They can live if they work.'

ἐπιστήσαντες] 'They set the law over them as supreme, and only attend such assemblies as are indispensable.'

3 ἐξεῖναι] If this second ἐξεῖναι be kept, it must be translated: 'But it is impossible they should have it in their power to have leisure unless there are revenues sufficient to secure it them.'

διὰ τὴν ἐχομένην αἵρεσιν] This is hard unless we consider αἵρεσιν as equivalent to διαίρεσιν, and translate 'dependent on the distinction which follows.' If so, the distinction must mean that between this form and the next. But I do not feel clear as to the passage.

ἀνυπευθύνοις] see note on IV. 24.

δυναμένοις] 'only if they are able.'

5 τοῖς χρόνοις] 'in point of time.'

τῶν ἐξ ὑπαρχῆς] 'than they were when originally constituted.'

διὰ τὴν ὑπεροχὴν τοῦ πλήθους] 'be-

πολιτεύονται διὰ τὸ δύνασθαι σχολάζειν καὶ τοὺς ἀπόρους λαμβάνοντας μισθόν. καὶ μάλιστα δὲ σχολάζει τὸ τοιοῦτον πλῆθος· οὐ γὰρ ἐμποδίζει αὐτοὺς οὐθὲν ἡ τῶν ἰδίων ἐπιμέλεια, τοὺς δὲ πλουσίους ἐμποδίζει, ὥστε πολλάκις οὐ κοινωνοῦσι τῆς ἐκκλησίας οὐδὲ τοῦ δικάζειν. διὸ γίνεται τὸ τῶν ἀπόρων πλῆθος κύριον τῆς πολιτείας, ἀλλ' οὐχ οἱ νόμοι. 6

The reasons for there being so many forms of the two governments.

Τὰ μὲν οὖν τῆς δημοκρατίας εἴδη τοσαῦτα καὶ τοιαῦτα διὰ 7
ταύτας τὰς ἀνάγκας ἐστίν· τὰ δὲ τῆς ὀλιγαρχίας, ὅταν μὲν πλείους ἔχωσιν οὐσίαν, ἐλάττω δὲ καὶ μὴ πολλὴν λίαν, τὸ τῆς πρώτης ὀλιγαρχίας εἶδός ἐστιν· ποιοῦσι γὰρ ἐξουσίαν μετέχειν τῷ κτωμένῳ. καὶ διὰ τὸ πλῆθος εἶναι τῶν μετε- 8
χόντων τοῦ πολιτεύματος ἀνάγκη μὴ τοὺς ἀνθρώπους ἀλλὰ τὸν νόμον εἶναι κύριον· ὅσῳ γὰρ ἂν πλεῖον ἀπέχωσι τῆς μοναρχίας, καὶ μήτε τοσαύτην ἔχωσιν οὐσίαν ὥστε σχολάζειν ἀμελοῦντας, μήθ' οὕτως ὀλίγην ὥστε τρέφεσθαι ἀπὸ τῆς πόλεως, ἀνάγκη τὸν νόμον ἀξιοῦν αὐτοῖς ἄρχειν, ἀλλὰ μὴ αὐτούς. ἐὰν δὲ δὴ ἐλάττους ὦσιν οἱ τὰς οὐσίας ἔχοντες 9
ἢ οἱ τὸ πρότερον, πλείω δέ, τὸ τῆς δευτέρας ὀλιγαρχίας γίνεται εἶδος· μᾶλλον γὰρ ἰσχύοντες πλεονεκτεῖν ἀξιοῦσιν. διὸ αὐτοὶ μὲν αἱροῦνται ἐκ τῶν ἄλλων τοὺς εἰς τὸ πολίτευμα βαδίζοντας, διὰ δὲ τὸ μήπω οὕτως ἰσχυροὶ εἶναι ὥστ' ἄνευ νόμου ἄρχειν, τὸν νόμον τίθενται τοιοῦτον. ἐὰν δ' ἐπι- 10

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cause of the supremacy vested in the majority.'

6 καὶ μάλιστα δὲ σχολάζει] Not only has it the opportunity, 'but more than any other body does it avail itself of that opportunity of leisure.'

ἐμποδίζει αὐτούς] It is unfettered by the attention to their private interests which embarrasses the rich, to such an extent that often they abstain from the public assembly and much more from the administration of justice.'

7 διὰ ταύτας τὰς ἀνάγκας] 'on these strong and compulsory grounds.'

ποιοῦσι γάρ] From their number already, they are not averse to admitting more, they do not feel a jealous, exclusive spirit.

8 εἶναι] If not superfluous, it must be translated: 'and because they are a large number between whom the government is shared.'

αὐτοῖς] may depend on ἀνάγκη. 'They are compelled,' or, 'it is necessary for them to wish the law to rule for them and not themselves,'—ἄρχειν αὐτοῖς.

9 μᾶλλον γὰρ ἰσχύοντες, κ. τ. λ.] power begets in them the desire of increased power.

βαδίζοντας] Compare VIII. (V.) 1, 11.

τοιοῦτον] 'in accordance with their wishes.'

The reasons for there being so many forms of the two governments.

τείνωσι τῷ ἐλάττονες ὄντες μείζονας οὐσίας ἔχειν, ἡ τρίτη ἐπίδοσις γίνεται τῆς ὀλιγαρχίας, τὸ δι' αὑτῶν μὲν τὰς ἀρχὰς ἔχειν, κατὰ νόμον δὲ τὸν κελεύοντα τῶν τελευτώντων διαδέχεσθαι τοὺς υἱεῖς. ὅταν δὲ ἤδη πολὺ ὑπερτείνωσι ταῖς οὐσίαις καὶ ταῖς πολυφιλίαις, ἐγγὺς ἡ
11 τοιαύτη δυναστεία μοναρχίας ἐστίν, καὶ κύριοι γίνονται οἱ ἄνθρωποι, ἀλλ' οὐχ ὁ νόμος· καὶ τὸ τέταρτον εἶδος τῆς ὀλιγαρχίας τοῦτ' ἐστίν, ἀντίστροφον τῷ τελευταίῳ τῆς δημοκρατίας.

Aristocracy and the πολιτεία.

7 Ἔτι δ' εἰσὶ δύο πολιτεῖαι παρὰ δημοκρατίαν τε καὶ ὀλιγαρχίαν, ὧν τὴν μὲν ἑτέρον λέγουσί τε πάντες καὶ εἴρηται τῶν τεττάρων πολιτειῶν εἶδος ἕν· λέγουσί δὲ τέτταρας μοναρχίαν, ὀλιγαρχίαν, δημοκρατίαν, τέταρτον δὲ τὴν καλουμένην ἀριστοκρατίαν· πέμπτη δ' ἐστὶν ἣ προσαγορεύεται τὸ κοινὸν ὄνομα πασῶν (πολιτείαν γὰρ καλοῦσιν), ἀλλὰ διὰ τὸ μὴ πολλάκις γίνεσθαι λανθάνει τοὺς πειρωμένους ἀριθμεῖν τὰ τῶν πολιτειῶν εἴδη, καὶ χρῶνται ταῖς τέτταρσι μόνον, ὥσπερ Πλάτων ἐν ταῖς
1293 B 2 πολιτείαις. Ἀριστοκρατίαν μὲν οὖν καλῶς ἔχει καλεῖν περὶ ἧς διήλθομεν ἐν τοῖς πρώτοις λόγοις· τὴν γὰρ ἐκ

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10 ἐπίδοσις] 'the third stage in the growth or increase.' *αἱ ἐπιδόσεις τῶν τεχνῶν. Eth.* I. vii. 1, p. 1098, 24; Ibid. II. viii. p. 1109, 17.

11 ταῖς πολυφιλίαις] 'large numbers of friends,' comp. *Eth.* IX. x. 6, p. 1171, 17, *πολιτικῶς μὲν οὖν ἔστι πολλοῖς εἶναι φίλον καὶ μὴ ἄρεσκον ὄντα, ἀλλ' ὡς ἀληθῶς ἐπιεικῆ.*

VII. 1 *εἴρηται τῶν τεττάρων*] Aristotle, in the *Rhetoric*, I. viii. p. 1365, b. 29, gives the four here mentioned.

τὴν καλουμένην] 'the so-called aristocracy,' not his own ideal state, as sketched in the 4th and 5th books (VII. VIII.), but aristocracy in the popular sense, answering to the timocracy of Plato's *Republic*. The division in the *Rhetoric*, like the one here given, is popular, and lays no claim to the scientific accuracy of the divisions given in *Eth.* VIII. xii., and *Politics*, III. 7.

πέμπτη δή] 'there is a fifth.'

διὰ τὸ μὴ πολλάκις γίνεσθαι] Though considered more attainable than the other two ideal forms, it yet is far above the average of governments, it remains practically an ideal and of rare occurrence.

ἐν ταῖς πολιτείαις] 'in his treatises on Politics.'

2 *ἐν τοῖς πρώτοις λόγοις*] Books III.–V. (III. VII. VIII.). Here again the language is in favour of a change of arrangement, assuming his own state to have been described.

Aristocracy and the πολιτεία.

τῶν ἀρίστων ἁπλῶς κατ' ἀρετὴν πολιτείαν, καὶ μὴ πρὸς ὑπόθεσίν τινα ἀγαθῶν ἀνδρῶν, μόνην δίκαιον προσαγορεύειν ἀριστοκρατίαν. ἐν μόνῃ γὰρ ἁπλῶς ὁ αὐτὸς ἀνὴρ καὶ πολίτης ἀγαθός ἐστιν· οἱ δ' ἐν ταῖς ἄλλαις ἀγαθοὶ πρὸς τὴν πολιτείαν εἰσὶ τὴν αὑτῶν. οὐ μὴν ἀλλ' εἰσί 3
τινες αἳ πρός τε τὰς ὀλιγαρχουμένας ἔχουσι διαφοράς, καὶ καλοῦνται ἀριστοκρατίαι, καὶ πρὸς τὴν καλουμένην πολιτείαν, ὅπου γε μὴ μόνον πλουτίνδην ἀλλὰ καὶ ἀριστίνδην αἱροῦνται τὰς ἀρχάς. αὕτη ἡ πολιτεία διαφέρει τε ἀμφοῖν καὶ ἀριστοκρατικὴ καλεῖται. καὶ γὰρ ἐν ταῖς μὴ 4
ποιουμέναις κοινὴν ἐπιμέλειαν ἀρετῆς εἰσὶν ὅμως τινὲς οἱ εὐδοκιμοῦντες καὶ δοκοῦντες εἶναι ἐπιεικεῖς. ὅπου οὖν ἡ πολιτεία βλέπει εἴς τε πλοῦτον καὶ ἀρετὴν καὶ δῆμον, οἷον ἐν Καρχηδόνι, αὕτη ἀριστοκρατική ἐστιν· καὶ ἐν αἷς εἰς τὰ δύο μόνον, οἷον ἡ Λακεδαιμονίων εἰς ἀρετήν τε καὶ δῆμον, καὶ ἔστι μίξις τῶν δύο τούτων, δημοκρατίας τε καὶ ἀρετῆς. ἀριστοκρατίας μὲν οὖν παρὰ τὴν πρώτην 5
τὴν ἀρίστην πολιτείαν ταῦτα δύο εἴδη· καὶ τρίτον ὅσαι τῆς καλουμένης πολιτείας ῥέπουσι πρὸς τὴν ὀλιγαρχίαν μᾶλλον.

Λοιπὸν δ' ἐστὶν ἡμῖν περί τε τῆς νομιζομένης πολι- 8
τείας εἰπεῖν καὶ περὶ τυραννίδος· ἐτάξαμεν δ' οὕτως οὐκ

τὴν γὰρ ἐκ τῶν ἀρίστων, κ. τ. λ.] "The government of the best men absolutely, tried by the standard of moral virtue, and not by some arbitrary standard of excellence," 'this is the only one which we are justified in calling aristocracy.' The first part of the translation I quote from Mr. Lewis *on Opinion*, p. 252.

ὁ αὐτός] 'The same person is at once a good man and a good citizen.'

3 τινες] sc. πολιτεῖαι.

ὅπου γε] 'Since in them.'

4 κοινὴν ἐπιμέλειαν ποιουμέναις] This is the characteristic of his true ἀριστοκρατία—his ideal state.

Καρχηδόνι] In the chapter on Carthage, II. 11, he gives πλουτίνδην καὶ ἀριστίνδην, but it is not easy to justify the δῆμον. He says, it is true, δῆμον ἔχουσαν, but the tenor of his remarks is against any democratical admixture. See the notes on that chapter.

VIII. 1 νομιζομένης] I should prefer ὀνομαζομένης, but perhaps it is safer to leave it as it stands. The καλουμένης above is in favour of a change, as are one or two other passages later.

ἐτάξαμεν δ' οὕτως] 'I have placed them here, not that either the πολιτεία or the aristocracies just mentioned are really deviations, but for this reason, that in strict truth they all fall short

The various elements of a state.

ἀρετῆς τῶν πολιτικῶν. Τὰς μὲν οὖν ἄλλας δυνάμεις τοῖς αὐτοῖς ὑπάρχειν ἐνδέχεσθαι δοκεῖ πολλοῖς, οἷον τοὺς
18 αὐτοὺς εἶναι τοὺς προπολεμοῦντας καὶ γεωργοῦντας καὶ τεχνίτας, ἔτι δὲ τοὺς βουλευομένους τε καὶ κρίνοντας· ἀντιποιοῦνται δὲ καὶ τῆς ἀρετῆς πάντες, καὶ τὰς πλείστας ἀρχὰς ἄρχειν οἴονται δύνασθαι. ἀλλὰ πένεσθαι καὶ
19 πλουτεῖν τοὺς αὐτοὺς ἀδύνατον. διὸ ταῦτα μέρη μάλιστα εἶναι δοκεῖ πόλεως, οἱ εὔποροι καὶ οἱ ἄποροι. ἔτι δὲ διὰ τὸ ὡς ἐπὶ τὸ πολὺ τοὺς μὲν ὀλίγους εἶναι τοὺς δὲ πολλούς, ταῦτα ἐναντία μέρη φαίνεται τῶν τῆς πόλεως μορίων. ὥστε καὶ τὰς πολιτείας κατὰ τὰς ὑπεροχὰς τούτων καθιστᾶσι, καὶ δύο πολιτεῖαι δοκοῦσιν εἶναι, δημοκρατία καὶ ὀλιγαρχία.

The different forms of democracy.

20 ὅτι μὲν οὖν εἰσὶ πολιτεῖαι πλείους, καὶ διὰ τίνας αἰτίας, εἴρηται πρότερον·] ὅτι δ' ἐστὶ καὶ δημοκρατίας εἴδη πλείω καὶ ὀλιγαρχίας, λέγωμεν. [φανερὸν δὲ τοῦτο καὶ

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18 διὸ ταῦτα, κ.τ.λ.] as wealth and poverty cannot meet in the same people, and the wealthy and the poor consequently must always be distinct one from the other, whilst all other distinctions are less appreciable, this is the one fixed on, and the state is commonly divided into these two parts, and from the accident of their differing in number, these two stand in the most marked opposition to one another. In Greece and Rome, as in modern Europe, the problem of the opposition between the Have-alls and the Have-nothings, to borrow Mr. Carlyle's language (*Sartor Resartus*), was one which could not escape the philosophic statesman, modified as it was, and in some sense rendered easy by the existence of slavery.

20 If this section followed immediately after § 6, no one would, I think, miss the intervening part. From the consideration of the variety of forms of government generally, Aristotle passes to the varieties of the two forms that, with the exception of interludes of tyrants, monopolized the Greek political world, democracy and oligarchy. That there were such varieties was clear to him from the same premises as before. If the variety of elements of a state accounted for the variety of πολιτεῖαι, the variety in the democratical elements would account for a variety of democratical πολιτεῖαι. Here, again, from φανερὸν δέ . . . to διαφοράν, I suspect an interpolation. It is an evident repetition of Ch. III., not without its value in point of information, but still needlessly burdening the book, and faulty in point of division, as it is not easy to say why πορθμευτικόν and the rest are not included under χρηματιστικόν, and evidently τὸ μικρὰν ἔχον, κ.τ.λ., is applicable to most of the others, as is τὸ μὴ ἐξ ἀμφοτέρων, κ.τ.λ. For these reasons I have inclosed it in brackets.

The different forms of democracy.

ἐκ τῶν εἰρημένων. εἴδη γὰρ πλείω τοῦ τε δήμου καὶ τῶν λεγομένων γνωρίμων ἐστίν, οἷον δήμου μὲν εἴδη ἓν μὲν οἱ γεωργοί, ἕτερον δὲ τὸ περὶ τὰς τέχνας, ἄλλο δὲ τὸ ἀγοραῖον τὸ περὶ ὠνὴν καὶ πρᾶσιν διατρῖβον, ἄλλο δὲ τὸ 21
περὶ θάλατταν, καὶ τούτου τὸ μὲν πολεμικόν, τὸ δὲ χρηματιστικόν, τὸ δὲ πορθμευτικόν, τὸ δ' ἁλιευτικόν (πολλαχοῦ γὰρ ἕκαστα τούτων πολύοχλα, οἷον ἁλιεῖς μὲν ἐν Τάραντι καὶ Βυζαντίῳ, τριηρικὸν δὲ Ἀθήνησιν, ἐμπορικὸν δὲ ἐν Αἰγίνῃ καὶ Χίῳ, πορθμευτικὸν ἐν Τενέδῳ), πρὸς δὲ τούτοις τὸ χερνητικὸν καὶ τὸ μικρὰν ἔχον οὐσίαν ὥστε μὴ δύνασθαι σχολάζειν, ἔτι τὸ μὴ ἐξ ἀμφοτέρων πολιτῶν ἐλεύθερον, κἂν εἴ τι τοιοῦτον ἑτέρου πλήθους εἶδος. τῶν δὲ γνωρίμων 22
πλοῦτος, εὐγένεια, ἀρετή, παιδεία, καὶ τὰ τούτοις λεγόμενα κατὰ τὴν αὐτὴν διαφοράν.] Δημοκρατία μὲν οὖν ἐστὶ πρώτη μὲν ἡ λεγομένη μάλιστα κατὰ τὸ ἴσον. ἴσον γάρ φησιν ὁ νόμος ὁ τῆς τοιαύτης δημοκρατίας τὸ μηδὲν μᾶλλον ἄρχειν[a] τοὺς ἀπόρους ἢ τοὺς εὐπόρους, μηδὲ κυρίους εἶναι

[a] ὑπάρχειν Bekker.

21 Τάραντι] Grote, III. 516. "Shell-fish."

Βυζαντίῳ] Id. IV. 36. "Thunny fishery."

Αἰγίνῃ] The commerce of Ægina, in very early times, is quite historical.

Χίῳ] Grote, VII. 531.

τὸ μὴ ἐξ ἀμφοτέρων πολιτῶν] for this, compare III. v. 8.

22 τούτοις] depends on τὴν αὐτήν. But what the exact meaning of the words is, it is not easy to say. "Sur d'autres avantages analogues," is St. Hilaire's translation, and I believe that is the sense,—a kind of et cætera without any very definite meaning in the writer's mind, as he has certainly enumerated the main distinctions: Wealth, Birth, Merit, Education, are nearly, if not quite, exhaustive.

Δημοκρατία μὲν οὖν, κ.τ.λ.] 'The first form of democracy is that which is, in the strictest sense so called, based on equality,' in its simplest and purest form. Compare VII. (VI.) II. 9, ἡ μάλιστ' εἶναι δοκοῦσα δημοκρατία καὶ δῆμος.

ἄρχειν] This reading, in place of ὑπάρχειν, is proposed by Stahr. I have adopted it, justified, I think, by words from the passage I have just quoted VII. (VI.) II. 9, ἴσον γὰρ τὸ μηθὲν μᾶλλον ἄρχειν τοὺς ἀπόρους ἢ τοὺς εὐπόρους μηδὲ κυρίους εἶναι μόνους ἀλλὰ πάντας ἐξ ἴσου κατ' ἀριθμόν. These last words are an useful comment on μηδὲ κυρίους εἶναι ὁποτερουσοῦν, ἀλλ' ὁμοίους ἀμφοτέρους. In the first part it is true that ὑπάρχειν can be construed, though perhaps not easily, 'that the wealthy should not be anything more, of greater importance, than the poor.' Yet the change is simple, and appears to rest on adequate grounds.

The different forms of democracy.

ὁποτερουσοῦν, ἀλλ' ὁμοίους ἀμφοτέρους. εἴπερ γὰρ ἐλευθερία μάλιστ' ἐστὶν ἐν δημοκρατίᾳ, καθάπερ ὑπολαμβάνουσί τινες, καὶ ἰσότης, οὕτως ἂν εἴη μάλιστα, κοινωνούν-
23 των ἁπάντων μάλιστα τῆς πολιτείας ὁμοίως. ἐπεὶ δὲ πλείων ὁ δῆμος, κύριον δὲ τὸ δόξαν τοῖς πλείοσιν, ἀνάγκη
24 δημοκρατίαν εἶναι ταύτην. ἓν μὲν οὖν εἶδος δημοκρατίας τοῦτο, ἄλλο δὲ τὸ τὰς ἀρχὰς ἀπὸ τιμημάτων εἶναι, βραχέων δὲ τούτων ὄντων· δεῖ δὲ τῷ κτωμένῳ ἐξουσίαν εἶναι μετέχειν, καὶ τὸν ἀποβάλλοντα μὴ μετέχειν. ἕτερον εἶδος
1292 δημοκρατίας τὸ μετέχειν ἅπαντας τοὺς πολίτας ὅσοι
25 ἀνυπεύθυνοι, ἄρχειν δὲ τὸν νόμον. ἕτερον δὲ εἶδος δημοκρατίας τὸ πᾶσι μετεῖναι τῶν ἀρχῶν, ἐὰν μόνον ᾖ πολίτης, ἄρχειν δὲ τὸν νόμον. ἕτερον εἶδος δημοκρατίας τἆλλα μὲν εἶναι ταὐτά, κύριον δ' εἶναι τὸ πλῆθος καὶ μὴ τὸν νόμον· τοῦτο δὲ γίνεται, ὅταν τὰ ψηφίσματα κύρια ᾖ ἀλλὰ μὴ
26 ὁ νόμος. συμβαίνει δὲ τοῦτο διὰ τοὺς δημαγωγούς. ἐν μὲν γὰρ ταῖς κατὰ νόμον δημοκρατουμέναις οὐ γίνεται

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23 *εἴπερ γάρ, κ.τ.λ.*] Compare VII. (VI.) II. I.

οὕτως ἂν εἴη, κ.τ.λ.] 'In this way it would be most likely to exist, by all participating as much as possible in the government on equal terms.'

ἐπεὶ δὲ πλείων] If all are equal, mere number will tell, and 'the people is the larger number. The will of the numerical majority will then be the will of the state, and such a state is of necessity a democracy.'

24 *ἀνυπεύθυνοι*] "quicunque maculæ alicui obnoxii non fuerunt," Vict.; "die kein Makel anhaftet," Stahr. This sense of 'men of unblemished character' is a good one, if the word will bear it—'whose claim is not open to question,' 'who are not liable at any moment to be called to give an account of themselves and justify their claim.' This is the translation I prefer. And the passage in VI. 3 would seem to point the ground of objection that might be taken to the question of birth, *τοῖς ἀνυπευθύνοις κατὰ τὸ γένος*, and so to exclude the two meanings I have quoted above.

25 *ἐὰν μόνον ᾖ πολίτης*] 'admitting no question, but accepting the fact of his exercise of citizenship.'

26 *ἐν μὲν γάρ, κ.τ.λ.*] This seems an odd remark, with the history of Greece such as we have it. It seems to require the attaching a rather limited sense to the word *δημαγωγός*, not such as would have been attached to it in any Greek state by the party which would have claimed to be *οἱ βέλτιστοι τῶν πολιτῶν*. We require a more extended acquaintance with the internal workings of other Greek democracies to estimate the remark. Athens is, in fact, the only one which we can fairly judge of, and it is not true of Athens. The Athenian democracy was eminently legal and constitutional, and yet there were demagogues in the or-

The different forms of democracy.

δημαγωγός, ἀλλ' οἱ βέλτιστοι τῶν πολιτῶν εἰσὶν ἐν προεδρίᾳ· ὅπου δ' οἱ νόμοι μή εἰσι κύριοι, ἐνταῦθα γίνονται δημαγωγοί. μόναρχος γὰρ ὁ δῆμος γίνεται, σύνθετος εἷς ἐκ πολλῶν· οἱ γὰρ πολλοὶ κύριοί εἰσιν οὐχ ὡς ἕκαστος ἀλλὰ πάντες. Ὅμηρος δὲ ποίαν λέγει οὐκ ἀγαθὸν εἶναι πολυ- 27
κοιρανίην, πότερον ταύτην ἢ ὅταν πλείους ὦσιν οἱ ἄρχοντες ὡς ἕκαστος, ἄδηλον. ὁ δ' οὖν τοιοῦτος δῆμος, ἅτε μόναρχος ὤν, ζητεῖ μοναρχεῖν διὰ τὸ μὴ ἄρχεσθαι ὑπὸ νόμου, καὶ γίνεται δεσποτικός, ὥστε οἱ κόλακες ἔντιμοι· καὶ ἔστιν ὁ τοιοῦτος δῆμος ἀνάλογον τῶν μοναρχιῶν τῇ τυραννίδι. διὸ 28
καὶ τὸ ἦθος τὸ αὐτό, καὶ ἄμφω δεσποτικὰ τῶν βελτιόνων, καὶ τὰ ψηφίσματα ὥσπερ ἐκεῖ τὰ ἐπιτάγματα, καὶ ὁ δημαγωγὸς καὶ ὁ κόλαξ οἱ αὐτοὶ καὶ ἀνάλογον· καὶ μάλιστα δ' ἑκάτεροι παρ' ἑκατέροις ἰσχύουσιν, οἱ μὲν κόλακες παρὰ τυράννοις, οἱ δὲ δημαγωγοὶ παρὰ τοῖς δήμοις τοῖς τοιούτοις. αἴτιοι δ' εἰσὶ τοῦ εἶναι τὰ ψηφίσματα κύρια ἀλλὰ 29
μὴ τοὺς νόμους οὗτοι, πάντα ἀνάγοντες εἰς τὸν δῆμον· συμβαίνει γὰρ αὐτοῖς γίνεσθαι μεγάλοις διὰ τὸ τὸν μὲν δῆμον πάντων εἶναι κύριον, τῆς δὲ τοῦ δήμου δόξης τούτους· πείθεται γὰρ τὸ πλῆθος τούτοις. ἔτι δ' οἱ ταῖς ἀρχαῖς 30
ἐγκαλοῦντες τὸν δῆμόν φασι δεῖν κρίνειν· ὁ δὲ ἀσμένως

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dinary sense, and there, as everywhere else,—in fact, it is a necessity of government,—*ψηφίσματα* were frequent, without superseding the real efficacy of law.

οὐχ ὡς ἕκαστος ἀλλὰ πάντες] Compare II. III. 2-4.

Ὅμηρος] *Il.* II. 204. The language of Homer cannot well bear any but the second sense, for, as Mr. Lewis remarks (*Opinion*, 243, note B), "Homer's poems contain no traces of a political body, nor do they mention voting."

μοναρχεῖν] In the sense of *τύραννος εἶναι*, the Latin 'dominari.'

28 *ἐπιτάγματα*] It is difficult to give the distinction in English, the word 'decree' expresses both. In the finely shaded political language of the present French Emperor, 'plébiscite' would express *ψήφισμα*, 'décret' *ἐπίταγμα*. The celebrated 'ordonnances' of Charles X. would be a still better rendering of *ἐπιτάγματα*.

29 *δόξης*] 'of the opinions of the people.'

30 *ἔτι δέ*] Not merely do the demagogues increase the power of the people, 'but also all those who have any fault to find with the existing magistrates.' Compare Grote, v. 493, where this language is considered inapplicable to the change made by Pericles. Thus the popular assembly grasps the administrative and judicial power, as it had before absorbed the legislative.

The different forms of democracy.

δέχεται τὴν πρόκλησιν, ὥστε καταλύονται πᾶσαι αἱ ἀρχαί. εὐλόγως δὲ ἂν δόξειεν ἐπιτιμᾶν ὁ φάσκων τὴν τοιαύτην εἶναι δημοκρατίαν οὐ πολιτείαν· ὅπου γὰρ μὴ νόμοι ἄρ-
31 χουσιν, οὐκ ἔστι πολιτεία. δεῖ γὰρ τὸν μὲν νόμον ἄρχειν πάντων, τῶν δὲ καθ' ἕκαστα τὰς ἀρχὰς καὶ τὴν πολιτείαν κρίνειν. ὥστ' εἴπερ ἐστὶ δημοκρατία μία τῶν πολιτειῶν, φανερὸν ὡς ἡ τοιαύτη κατάστασις, ἐν ᾗ ψηφίσμασι πάντα διοικεῖται, οὐδὲ δημοκρατία κυρίως· οὐδὲν γὰρ ἐνδέχεται ψήφισμα εἶναι καθόλου. Τὰ μὲν οὖν τῆς δημοκρατίας εἴδη διωρίσθω τὸν τρόπον τοῦτον.

The different forms of oligarchy.

5 Ὀλιγαρχίας δὲ εἴδη, ἓν μὲν τὸ ἀπὸ τιμημάτων εἶναι τὰς ἀρχὰς τηλικούτων ὥστε τοὺς ἀπόρους μὴ μετέχειν πλείους ὄντας, ἐξεῖναι δὲ τῷ κτωμένῳ μετέχειν τῆς πολιτείας. ἄλλο
1292 B δέ, ὅταν ἀπὸ τιμημάτων μακρῶν ὦσιν αἱ ἀρχαὶ καὶ αἱρῶνται αὐτοὶ τοὺς ἐλλείποντας. ἂν μὲν οὖν ἐκ πάντων τούτων τοῦτο ποιῶσι, δοκεῖ τοῦτ' εἶναι μᾶλλον ἀριστοκρατικόν,
2 ἐὰν δὲ ἐκ τινῶν ἀφωρισμένων, ὀλιγαρχικόν. ἕτερον εἶδος ὀλιγαρχίας, ὅταν παῖς ἀντὶ πατρὸς εἰσίῃ. τέταρτον δ', ὅταν ὑπάρχῃ τό τε νῦν λεχθὲν καὶ ἄρχῃ μὴ ὁ νόμος ἀλλ' οἱ ἄρχοντες. καὶ ἔστιν ἀντίστροφος αὕτη ἐν ταῖς ὀλιγαρχίαις ὥσπερ ἡ τυραννὶς ἐν ταῖς μοναρχίαις καὶ περὶ ἧς

εὐλόγως ἐπιτιμᾶν] 'to urge a reasonable objection.'

31 τὴν πολιτείαν κρίνειν] "die Verfassung die Entscheidung haben," Stahr. πολιτείαν would then mean 'the government.' That it may have this meaning is clear from III. VI. 1, πολίτευμα ἐστὶν ἡ πολιτεία, and III. VII. 2, πολιτεία καὶ πολίτευμα σημαίνει ταὐτόν. Nor do I see any other meaning to prefer. 'The law is to be supreme, but in particular cases, if judicial or administrative, the magistrates are to decide on what is right; if deliberative, the government.' So I paraphrase it.

Aristotle's general preference of democracy to oligarchy makes this long attack on one form of democracy rather remarkable. It is so also from its length, in contrast with the short treatment of the other forms, and the very small space allotted to the varieties of oligarchy, the last of which is open to precisely the same objections as the last form of democracy. See VI. XI.

V. 1 αἱρῶνται αὐτοί] They form, in fact, a self-electing body. The principle is that of co-optation.

τούτων] Is this 'all who have the required qualifications?'

2 ἀντίστροφος ὥσπερ ἡ τυραννίς] = ἀντίστροφος τῇ τυραννίδι 'corresponds

τελευταίας εἴπαμεν δημοκρατίας ἐν ταῖς δημοκρατίαις· καὶ καλοῦσι δὴ τὴν τοιαύτην ὀλιγαρχίαν δυναστείαν.

Ὀλιγαρχίας μὲν οὖν εἴδη τοσαῦτα καὶ δημοκρατίας. 3
Οὐ δεῖ δὲ λανθάνειν ὅτι πολλαχοῦ συμβέβηκεν ὥστε τὴν μὲν πολιτείαν τὴν κατὰ τοὺς νόμους μὴ δημοτικὴν εἶναι, διὰ δὲ τὸ ἦθος καὶ τὴν ἀγωγὴν πολιτεύεσθαι δημοτικῶς, ὁμοίως δὲ πάλιν παρ' ἄλλοις τὴν μὲν κατὰ τοὺς νόμους εἶναι πολιτείαν δημοτικωτέραν, τῇ δ' ἀγωγῇ καὶ τοῖς ἔθεσιν ὀλιγαρχεῖσθαι μᾶλλον. συμβαίνει δὲ τοῦτο μά- 4
λιστα μετὰ τὰς μεταβολὰς τῶν πολιτειῶν· οὐ γὰρ εὐθὺς μεταβαίνουσιν, ἀλλ' ἀγαπῶσι τὰ πρῶτα μικρὰ πλεονεκτοῦντες παρ' ἀλλήλων, ὥσθ' οἱ μὲν νόμοι διαμένουσιν οἱ προϋπάρχοντες, κρατοῦσι δ' οἱ μεταβάλλοντες τὴν πολιτείαν.

Distinction between the form and spirit of a government.

Ὅτι δ' ἐστὶ τοσαῦτα εἴδη δημοκρατίας καὶ ὀλιγαρ- 6

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to,' 'is the counterpart of.' *Rhet.* I. i. 1, p. 1354. 1.

καλοῦσι δή] In fact, they give this last form of oligarchy a peculiar name, thus distinguishing it, as its counterparts are distinguished from their kindred forms. It is called δυναστεία. 'The rule of a few powerful families.'

3 τὴν κατὰ τοὺς νόμους] 'such as it is expressed in the laws.'

τὸ ἦθος] 'from the character of those who administer it.'

τὴν ἀγωγήν] 'the spirit in which it is administered,' 'the tendency impressed upon it.'

τοῖς ἔθεσιν] = τῷ ἤθει. For ἦθος is in fact the sum and expression of a man's ἔθη.

4 τοῦτο] This contrast between the existing constitution and the spirit in which it is administered.

μετὰ τὰς μεταβολάς] This expression is not quite easy. Is the case Aristotle is contemplating that of a counter-revolution, such as was of frequent occurrence in Greek states, and has been not uncommon in modern history, a case especially familiar to us of late years? The revolution has been successful. The constitution sprung from it has been accepted, but the administration of that constitution has been conducted in an entirely alien spirit. The constitution remains, but by small encroachments is rendered nugatory, till the time comes when it may be set aside in form, as well as in spirit—*οἱ μὲν νόμοι διαμένουσιν οἱ προϋπάρχοντες, κρατοῦσι δ' οἱ μεταβάλλοντες τὴν πολιτείαν.*

ἀγαπῶσι] 'are content at first.'

VI. 1 The connection of this chapter with what precedes is difficult to trace. The statements point to its being a justification of the enumerations given in IV, and V. See especially § 7, τοσαῦτα καὶ τοιαῦτα διὰ ταύτας τὰς ἀνάγκας, but it really does rather give an account of the working of the several forms there enumerated, explaining why in some law is, in others is not powerful. But whatever may be the connection or general

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χίας, ἐξ αὐτῶν τῶν εἰρημένων φανερόν ἐστιν. ἀνάγκη γὰρ ἢ πάντα τὰ εἰρημένα μέρη τοῦ δήμου κοινωνεῖν τῆς πολιτείας, ἢ τὰ μὲν τὰ δὲ μή. ὅταν μὲν οὖν τὸ γεωργικὸν καὶ τὸ κεκτημένον μετρίαν οὐσίαν κύριον ᾖ τῆς πολιτείας, πολιτεύονται κατὰ νόμους· ἔχουσι γὰρ ἐργαζόμενοι ζῆν, οὐ
2 δύνανται δὲ σχολάζειν, ὥστε τὸν νόμον ἐπιστήσαντες ἐκκλησιάζουσι τὰς ἀναγκαίας ἐκκλησίας· τοῖς δὲ ἄλλοις μετέχειν ἔξεστιν, ὅταν κτήσωνται τὸ τίμημα τὸ διωρισμένον ὑπὸ
3 τῶν νόμων.[a] ὅλως μὲν γὰρ τὸ μὲν μὴ ἐξεῖναι πᾶσιν ὀλιγαρχικόν, τὸ δὲ δὴ ἐξεῖναι σχολάζειν ἀδύνατον μὴ προσόδων οὐσῶν. τοῦτο μὲν οὖν εἶδος ἓν δημοκρατίας, διὰ ταύτας τὰς αἰτίας, ἕτερον δὲ εἶδος διὰ τὴν ἐχομένην αἵρεσιν· ἔστι γὰρ καὶ πᾶσιν ἐξεῖναι τοῖς ἀνυπευθύνοις κατὰ τὸ
4 γένος, μετέχειν μέντοι δυναμένοις σχολάζειν. διόπερ ἐν τῇ τοιαύτῃ δημοκρατίᾳ οἱ νόμοι ἄρχουσι, διὰ τὸ μὴ εἶναι πρόσοδον. τρίτον δ' εἶδος τὸ πᾶσιν ἐξεῖναι, ὅσοι ἂν ἐλεύθεροι ὦσι, μετέχειν τῆς πολιτείας, μὴ μέντοι μετέχειν διὰ τὴν προειρημένην αἰτίαν, ὥστ' ἀναγκαῖον καὶ ἐν ταύτῃ
5 ἄρχειν τὸν νόμον. τέταρτον δὲ εἶδος δημοκρατίας ἡ τελευ-
1293 ταία τοῖς χρόνοις ἐν ταῖς πόλεσι γεγενημένη. διὰ γὰρ τὸ μείζους γεγονέναι πολὺ τὰς πόλεις τῶν ἐξ ὑπαρχῆς καὶ προσόδων ὑπάρχειν εὐπορίας, μετέχουσι μὲν πάντες τῆς πολιτείας διὰ τὴν ὑπεροχὴν τοῦ πλήθους, κοινωνοῦσι δὲ καὶ

a [Διὸ πᾶσι τοῖς κτωμένοις ἔξεστι μετέχειν] Bekker.

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bearing of the chapter, its statements are such as to redeem it from the charge of mere repetition.

2 ἔχουσι γὰρ ἐργαζόμενοι ζῆν] 'They can live if they work.'

ἐπιστήσαντες] 'They set the law over them as supreme, and only attend such assemblies as are indispensable.'

3 ἐξεῖναι] If this second ἐξεῖναι be kept, it must be translated: 'But it is impossible they should have it in their power to have leisure unless there are revenues sufficient to secure it them.'

διὰ τὴν ἐχομένην αἵρεσιν] This is hard unless we consider αἵρεσιν as equivalent to διαίρεσιν, and translate 'dependent on the distinction which follows.' If so, the distinction must mean that between this form and the next. But I do not feel clear as to the passage.

ἀνυπευθύνοις] see note on IV. 24.

δυναμένοις] 'only if they are able.'

5 τοῖς χρόνοις] 'in point of time.'

τῶν ἐξ ὑπαρχῆς] 'than they were when originally constituted.'

διὰ τὴν ὑπεροχὴν τοῦ πλήθους] 'be-

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πολιτεύονται διὰ τὸ δύνασθαι σχολάζειν καὶ τοὺς ἀπόρους λαμβάνοντας μισθόν. καὶ μάλιστα δὲ σχολάζει τὸ τοιοῦτον πλῆθος· οὐ γὰρ ἐμποδίζει αὐτοὺς οὐθὲν ἡ τῶν ἰδίων ἐπιμέλεια, τοὺς δὲ πλουσίους ἐμποδίζει, ὥστε πολλάκις οὐ κοινωνοῦσι τῆς ἐκκλησίας οὐδὲ τοῦ δικάζειν. διὸ γίνεται τὸ τῶν ἀπόρων πλῆθος κύριον τῆς πολιτείας, ἀλλ' οὐχ οἱ νόμοι. 6
Τὰ μὲν οὖν τῆς δημοκρατίας εἴδη τοσαῦτα καὶ τοιαῦτα διὰ 7
ταύτας τὰς ἀνάγκας ἐστίν· τὰ δὲ τῆς ὀλιγαρχίας, ὅταν μὲν πλείους ἔχωσιν οὐσίαν, ἐλάττω δὲ καὶ μὴ πολλὴν λίαν, τὸ τῆς πρώτης ὀλιγαρχίας εἶδός ἐστιν· ποιοῦσι γὰρ ἐξουσίαν μετέχειν τῷ κτωμένῳ. καὶ διὰ τὸ πλῆθος εἶναι τῶν μετε- 8
χόντων τοῦ πολιτεύματος ἀνάγκη μὴ τοὺς ἀνθρώπους ἀλλὰ τὸν νόμον εἶναι κύριον· ὅσῳ γὰρ ἂν πλεῖον ἀπέχωσι τῆς μοναρχίας, καὶ μήτε τοσαύτην ἔχωσιν οὐσίαν ὥστε σχολάζειν ἀμελοῦντας, μήθ' οὕτως ὀλίγην ὥστε τρέφεσθαι ἀπὸ τῆς πόλεως, ἀνάγκη τὸν νόμον ἀξιοῦν αὐτοῖς ἄρχειν, ἀλλὰ μὴ αὐτούς. ἐὰν δὲ δὴ ἐλάττους ὦσιν οἱ τὰς οὐσίας ἔχοντες 9
ἢ οἱ τὸ πρότερον, πλείω δέ, τὸ τῆς δευτέρας ὀλιγαρχίας γίνεται εἶδος· μᾶλλον γὰρ ἰσχύοντες πλεονεκτεῖν ἀξιοῦσιν. διὸ αὐτοὶ μὲν αἱροῦνται ἐκ τῶν ἄλλων τοὺς εἰς τὸ πολίτευμα βαδίζοντας, διὰ δὲ τὸ μήπω οὕτως ἰσχυροὶ εἶναι ὥστ' ἄνευ νόμου ἄρχειν, τὸν νόμον τίθενται τοιοῦτον. ἐὰν δ' ἐπι- 10

cause of the supremacy vested in the majority.'

6 καὶ μάλιστα δὲ σχολάζει] Not only has it the opportunity, 'but more than any other body does it avail itself of that opportunity of leisure.'

ἐμποδίζει αὐτούς] It is unfettered by the attention to their private interests which embarrasses the rich, to such an extent that often they abstain from the public assembly and much more from the administration of justice.'

7 διὰ ταύτας τὰς ἀνάγκας] 'on these strong and compulsory grounds.'

ποιοῦσι γάρ] From their number already, they are not averse to admitting more, they do not feel a jealous, exclusive spirit.

8 εἶναι] If not superfluous, it must be translated: 'and because they are a large number between whom the government is shared.'

αὐτοῖς] may depend on ἀνάγκη. 'They are compelled,' or, 'it is necessary for them to wish the law to rule for them and not themselves,'—ἄρχειν αὐτοῖς.

9 μᾶλλον γὰρ ἰσχύοντες, κ. τ. λ.] power begets in them the desire of increased power.

βαδίζοντας] Compare VIII. (V.) 1, 11.

τοιοῦτον] 'in accordance with their wishes.'

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τείνωσι τῷ ἐλάττονες ὄντες μείζονας οὐσίας ἔχειν, ἡ τρίτη ἐπίδοσις γίνεται τῆς ὀλιγαρχίας, τὸ δι' αὑτῶν μὲν τὰς ἀρχὰς ἔχειν, κατὰ νόμον δὲ τὸν κελεύοντα τῶν τελευτώντων διαδέχεσθαι τοὺς υἱεῖς. ὅταν δὲ ἤδη πολὺ ὑπερτείνωσι ταῖς οὐσίαις καὶ ταῖς πολυφιλίαις, ἐγγὺς ἡ
11 τοιαύτη δυναστεία μοναρχίας ἐστίν, καὶ κύριοι γίνονται οἱ ἄνθρωποι, ἀλλ' οὐχ ὁ νόμος· καὶ τὸ τέταρτον εἶδος τῆς ὀλιγαρχίας τοῦτ' ἐστίν, ἀντίστροφον τῷ τελευταίῳ τῆς δημοκρατίας.

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7 Ἔτι δ' εἰσὶ δύο πολιτεῖαι παρὰ δημοκρατίαν τε καὶ ὀλιγαρχίαν, ὧν τὴν μὲν ἑτέρον λέγουσί τε πάντες καὶ εἴρηται τῶν τεττάρων πολιτειῶν εἶδος ἕν· λέγουσί δὲ τέτταρας μοναρχίαν, ὀλιγαρχίαν, δημοκρατίαν, τέταρτον δὲ τὴν καλουμένην ἀριστοκρατίαν· πέμπτη δ' ἐστὶν ἣ προσαγορεύεται τὸ κοινὸν ὄνομα πασῶν (πολιτείαν γὰρ καλοῦσιν), ἀλλὰ διὰ τὸ μὴ πολλάκις γίνεσθαι λανθάνει τοὺς πειρωμένους ἀριθμεῖν τὰ τῶν πολιτειῶν εἴδη, καὶ χρῶνται ταῖς τέτταρσι μόνον, ὥσπερ Πλάτων ἐν ταῖς
1293 B 2 πολιτείαις. Ἀριστοκρατίαν μὲν οὖν καλῶς ἔχει καλεῖν περὶ ἧς διήλθομεν ἐν τοῖς πρώτοις λόγοις· τὴν γὰρ ἐκ

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10 **ἐπίδοσις**] 'the third stage in the growth or increase.' *αἱ ἐπιδόσεις τῶν τεχνῶν. Eth.* I. vii. 1, p. 1098, 24; Ibid. II. viii. p. 1109, 17.

11 **ταῖς πολυφιλίαις**] 'large numbers of friends,' comp. *Eth.* IX. x. 6, p. 1171, 17, **πολιτικῶς μὲν οὖν ἔστι πολλοῖς εἶναι φίλον καὶ μὴ ἄρεσκον ὄντα, ἀλλ' ὡς ἀληθῶς ἐπιεικῆ.**

VII. 1 *εἴρηται τῶν τεττάρων*] Aristotle, in the *Rhetoric*, I. viii. p. 1365, b. 29, gives the four here mentioned.

τὴν καλουμένην] 'the so-called aristocracy,' not his own ideal state, as sketched in the 4th and 5th books (VII. VIII.), but aristocracy in the popular sense, answering to the timocracy of Plato's *Republic*. The division in the *Rhetoric*, like the one here given, is popular, and lays no claim to the scientific accuracy of the divisions given in *Eth.* VIII. xii., and *Politics*, III. 7.

πέμπτη δή] 'there is a fifth.'

διὰ τὸ μὴ πολλάκις γίνεσθαι] Though considered more attainable than the other two ideal forms, it yet is far above the average of governments, it remains practically an ideal and of rare occurrence.

ἐν ταῖς πολιτείαις] 'in his treatises on Politics.'

2 *ἐν τοῖς πρώτοις λόγοις*] Books III.-V. (III. VII. VIII.). Here again the language is in favour of a change of arrangement, assuming his own state to have been described.

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τῶν ἀρίστων ἁπλῶς κατ' ἀρετὴν πολιτείαν, καὶ μὴ πρὸς ὑπόθεσίν τινα ἀγαθῶν ἀνδρῶν, μόνην δίκαιον προσαγορεύειν ἀριστοκρατίαν. ἐν μόνῃ γὰρ ἁπλῶς ὁ αὐτὸς ἀνὴρ καὶ πολίτης ἀγαθός ἐστιν· οἱ δ' ἐν ταῖς ἄλλαις ἀγαθοὶ πρὸς τὴν πολιτείαν εἰσὶ τὴν αὑτῶν. οὐ μὴν ἀλλ' εἰσί 3
τινες αἳ πρός τε τὰς ὀλιγαρχουμένας ἔχουσι διαφοράς, καὶ καλοῦνται ἀριστοκρατίαι, καὶ πρὸς τὴν καλουμένην πολιτείαν, ὅπου γε μὴ μόνον πλουτίνδην ἀλλὰ καὶ ἀριστίνδην αἱροῦνται τὰς ἀρχάς. αὕτη ἡ πολιτεία διαφέρει τε ἀμφοῖν καὶ ἀριστοκρατικὴ καλεῖται. καὶ γὰρ ἐν ταῖς μὴ 4
ποιουμέναις κοινὴν ἐπιμέλειαν ἀρετῆς εἰσὶν ὅμως τινὲς οἱ εὐδοκιμοῦντες καὶ δοκοῦντες εἶναι ἐπιεικεῖς. ὅπου οὖν ἡ πολιτεία βλέπει εἴς τε πλοῦτον καὶ ἀρετὴν καὶ δῆμον, οἷον ἐν Καρχηδόνι, αὕτη ἀριστοκρατική ἐστιν· καὶ ἐν αἷς εἰς τὰ δύο μόνον, οἷον ἡ Λακεδαιμονίων εἰς ἀρετήν τε καὶ δῆμον, καὶ ἔστι μίξις τῶν δύο τούτων, δημοκρατίας τε καὶ ἀρετῆς. ἀριστοκρατίας μὲν οὖν παρὰ τὴν πρώτην 5
τὴν ἀρίστην πολιτείαν ταῦτα δύο εἴδη· καὶ τρίτον ὅσαι τῆς καλουμένης πολιτείας ῥέπουσι πρὸς τὴν ὀλιγαρχίαν μᾶλλον.

Λοιπὸν δ' ἐστὶν ἡμῖν περί τε τῆς νομιζομένης πολι- 8
τείας εἰπεῖν καὶ περὶ τυραννίδος· ἐτάξαμεν δ' οὕτως οὐκ

τὴν γὰρ ἐκ τῶν ἀρίστων, κ. τ. λ.] "The government of the best men absolutely, tried by the standard of moral virtue, and not by some arbitrary standard of excellence," 'this is the only one which we are justified in calling aristocracy.' The first part of the translation I quote from Mr. Lewis *on Opinion*, p. 252.

ὁ αὐτός] 'The same person is at once a good man and a good citizen.'

3 τινες] sc. πολιτεῖαι.

ὅπου γε] 'Since in them.'

4 κοινὴν ἐπιμέλειαν ποιουμέναις] This is the characteristic of his true ἀριστοκρατία—his ideal state.

Καρχηδόνι] In the chapter on Carthage, II. 11, he gives πλουτίνδην καὶ ἀριστίνδην, but it is not easy to justify the δῆμον. He says, it is true, δῆμον ἔχουσαν, but the tenor of his remarks is against any democratical admixture. See the notes on that chapter.

VIII. 1 νομιζομένης] I should prefer ὀνομαζομένης, but perhaps it is safer to leave it as it stands. The καλουμένης above is in favour of a change, as are one or two other passages later.

ἐτάξαμεν δ' οὕτως] 'I have placed them here, not that either the πολιτεία or the aristocracies just mentioned are really deviations, but for this reason, that in strict truth they all fall short

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οὖσαν οὔτε ταύτην, παρέκβασιν, οὔτε τὰς ἄρτι ῥηθείσας ἀριστοκρατίας, ὅτι τὸ μὲν ἀληθὲς πᾶσαι διημαρτήκασι τῆς ὀρθοτάτης πολιτείας, ἔπειτα καταριθμοῦνται μετὰ τούτων, εἰσί τ' αὐτῶν αὗται παρεκβάσεις, ὥσπερ ἐν τοῖς κατ'
2 ἀρχὴν εἴπομεν. Τελευταῖον δὲ περὶ τυραννίδος εὔλογόν ἐστι ποιήσασθαι μνείαν διὰ τὸ πασῶν ἥκιστα ταύτην εἶναι πολιτείαν, ἡμῖν δὲ τὴν μέθοδον εἶναι περὶ πολιτείας. δι' ἣν μὲν οὖν αἰτίαν τέτακται τὸν τρόπον τοῦτον, εἴρηται· νῦν δὲ δεικτέον ἡμῖν περὶ πολιτείας. φανερωτέρα γὰρ ἡ δύναμις αὐτῆς διωρισμένων τῶν περὶ ὀλιγαρχίας καὶ δημοκρατίας.
3 ἔστι γὰρ ἡ πολιτεία ὡς ἁπλῶς εἰπεῖν μίξις ὀλιγαρχίας καὶ δημοκρατίας, εἰώθασι δὲ καλεῖν τὰς μὲν ἀποκλινούσας ὡς πρὸς τὴν δημοκρατίαν πολιτείας, τὰς δὲ πρὸς τὴν ὀλιγαρχίαν μᾶλλον ἀριστοκρατίας διὰ τὸ μᾶλλον ἀκολουθεῖν
4 παιδείαν καὶ εὐγένειαν τοῖς εὐπορωτέροις. ἔτι δὲ δοκοῦσιν ἔχειν οἱ εὔποροι ὧν ἕνεκεν οἱ ἀδικοῦντες ἀδικοῦσιν· ὅθεν καὶ καλοὺς κἀγαθοὺς καὶ γνωρίμους τούτους προσαγορεύουσιν.

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of the ideal form, consequently, they are enumerated with these deviations from the ideal form. These, the true deviations, are themselves, as we said at first, deviations in the second degree, deviations, that is, from the πολιτεία and these two kinds of aristocracy.' Such I conceive to be the meaning of this difficult passage, in which he justifies his arrangement. I cannot agree with Nickes in his view of the passage, pp. 111–112, note 1. For οὐκ οὖσαν, οὐ δοκοῦσαν has been proposed. The ὅτι must be brought into close connection with ἐτάξαμεν. τούτων = τῶν παρεκβάσεων. αὗται = αἱ παρεκβάσεις. αὐτῶν = τῆς πολιτείας καὶ τῶν ἄρτι ῥηθεισῶν ἀριστοκρατιῶν.

3 μίξις, κ.τ.λ.] It combines the two forms, is, as it were, a compromise between them.

ὡς] is superfluous.

πρὸς τὴν δημοκρατίαν] The two elements are difficult to combine on exactly equal terms, and their varying relation will determine the name to be given.

παιδείαν καὶ εὐγένειαν] compare *Rhet.* I. 8, p. 1366, 5. ἀριστοκρατίας τέλος τὰ πρὸς παιδείαν καὶ τὰ νόμιμα. Wealth in the second generation does ordinarily involve education. It secures leisure, and the wealthy cannot without education either enjoy or turn to full account their wealth.

4 Education and birth then are given, what becomes of ἀρετή virtue? It is claimed or assumed. The wealthy have already that which others commit injustice to attain, they have no temptation to evil, hence it is inferred that they are good. The stress is on the word ἔχειν. Wealth, then, in the popular view, is the guarantee for all the other requisites, the wealthy

'Επεὶ οὖν ἡ ἀριστοκρατία βούλεται τὴν ὑπεροχὴν ἀπονέμειν
τοῖς ἀρίστοις τῶν πολιτῶν, καὶ τὰς ὀλιγαρχίας εἶναί φασιν
ἐκ τῶν καλῶν κἀγαθῶν μᾶλλον. δοκεῖ δ' εἶναι τῶν ἀδυνά- 5 1294
των τὸ μὴ εὐνομεῖσθαι τὴν ἀριστοκρατουμένην πόλιν, (ἀλλὰ
πονηροκρατουμένην) ὁμοίως δὲ καὶ ἀριστοκρατεῖσθαι τὴν μὴ
εὐνομουμένην. οὐκ ἔστι δὲ εὐνομία τὸ εὖ κεῖσθαι τοὺς
νόμους, μὴ πείθεσθαι δέ. διὸ μίαν μὲν εὐνομίαν ὑπολη- 6
πτέον εἶναι τὸ πείθεσθαι τοῖς κειμένοις νόμοις, ἑτέραν δὲ τὸ
καλῶς κεῖσθαι τοὺς νόμους οἷς ἐμμένουσιν· ἔστι γὰρ πεί-
θεσθαι καὶ κακῶς κειμένοις· τοῦτο δ' ἐνδέχεται διχῶς· ἢ
γὰρ τοῖς ἀρίστοις τῶν ἐνδεχομένων αὐτοῖς, ἢ τοῖς ἁπλῶς

The πολιτεία, what it is.

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are in the judgment of men, ipso facto, καλοὶ κἀγαθοὶ καὶ γνώριμοι = εὐγενεῖς.

βούλεται] 'It is its aim and object.'

φασιν] and so as far as they can identify them with aristocracy.

5 δοκεῖ] In the popular notions, as we have seen, there exists a confusion on the subject of wealth. It is made to guarantee to its possessor much besides itself. Nor is this the only confusion traceable. The moral sense attached to the words καλοὶ κἀγαθοί has gradually become inextricably entangled with the original sense of the same words, which was social or political, and there may be traced a whole series of errors dependent on the assumption that ἀριστοκρατία is the government of the best and most virtuous citizens, instead of a moderate oligarchy, its true political sense in common language, implying no moral qualifications on the part of those in whom it is vested. But the erroneous reasoning of the many, combined with the interested acceptance of their error by the few, has so rooted the error on this subject, that it is extremely difficult to keep clear of it. It colours much of the political language of our day, from which the particular form of error given in the text might almost seem borrowed. 'It is thought commonly to be an impossibility that the state which has an aristocratical government should not be well-ordered, whilst that which is in the hands of the lowest should be well governed; similarly it is urged that a state not well-ordered cannot possibly be under an aristocratical government.'

πονηροκρατουμένην] πόνηρος, here again the simply political sense is confused with the moral, a fallacy which finds frequent illustration in Aristophanes. It expresses a democratical government from the point of view of its aristocratical opponents.

οὐκ ἔστι δέ, κ.τ.λ.] 'But we must remember,' says Aristotle, 'that good laws, unobeyed, do not constitute good order. In one sense it is good order to obey the law, be that law good or bad; but it is a different and far higher sense of the term, when there is not only obedience to law, but good law to which that obedience may be paid.'

6 τοῦτο] is a short expression for τὸ κεῖσθαι καλῶς τοὺς νόμους οἷς ἐμμένουσιν, and in the next clause the word ἀρίστοις is governed by ἐμμένουσιν, when for the sense it would be better to put it in the accusative, but

The πολιτεία, what it is.

ἀρίστοις. δοκεῖ δὲ ἀριστοκρατία μὲν εἶναι μάλιστα τὸ
τὰς τιμὰς νενεμῆσθαι κατ' ἀρετήν· ἀριστοκρατίας μὲν γὰρ
7 ὅρος ἀρετή, ὀλιγαρχίας δὲ πλοῦτος, δήμου δ' ἐλευθερία· τὸ
δ' ὅ τι ἂν δόξῃ τοῖς πλείοσιν, ἐν πάσαις ὑπάρχει· καὶ γὰρ
ἐν ὀλιγαρχίᾳ καὶ ἐν ἀριστοκρατίᾳ καὶ ἐν δήμοις, ὅ τι ἂν
δόξῃ τῷ πλείονι μέρει τῶν μετεχόντων τῆς πολιτείας, τοῦτ'
8 ἐστὶ κύριον. Ἐν μὲν οὖν ταῖς πλείσταις πόλεσι τὸ τῆς πολι-
τείας εἶδος καλεῖται· μόνον γὰρ ἡ μίξις στοχάζεται τῶν
εὐπόρων καὶ τῶν ἀπόρων πλούτου καὶ ἐλευθερίας· σχεδὸν γὰρ
παρὰ τοῖς πλείστοις οἱ εὔποροι τῶν καλῶν κἀγαθῶν δοκοῦσι
9 κατέχειν χώραν. ἐπεὶ δὲ τρία ἐστὶ τὰ ἀμφισβητοῦντα τῆς
ἰσότητος τῆς πολιτείας, ἐλευθερία πλοῦτος ἀρετή (τὸ γὰρ
τέταρτον, ὃ καλοῦσιν εὐγένειαν, ἀκολουθεῖ τοῖς δυσίν· ἡ γὰρ
εὐγένειά ἐστιν ἀρχαῖος πλοῦτος καὶ ἀρετή), φανερὸν ὅτι
τὴν μὲν τοῖν δυοῖν μίξιν, τῶν εὐπόρων καὶ τῶν ἀπόρων,
πολιτείαν λεκτέον, τὴν δὲ τῶν τριῶν ἀριστοκρατίαν μάλιστα
10 τῶν ἄλλων παρὰ τὴν ἀληθινὴν καὶ πρώτην. ὅτι μὲν οὖν
ἐστὶ καὶ ἕτερα πολιτείας εἴδη παρὰ μοναρχίαν τε καὶ δημο-

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it seems attracted by the datives *κακῶς κειμένοις* and *οἷς ἐμμένουσιν*.

7 *ἀριστοκρατία μέν, κ.τ.λ.*] 'Aristocracy is thought especially to consist in having the offices distributed according to virtue.'

ὅρος] 'The peculiar characteristic,' "le caractère spécial," St. Hil.

τὸ δ' ὅ τι, κ.τ.λ.] See Ch. IV. I. As common to all it cannot be the distinction of any one.

8 *τὸ τῆς πολιτείας εἶδος καλεῖται*] The sense of these words is not very certain. Do they mean 'The form of government is called *πολιτεία* in the great majority of the states where any mixture of the different elements is attempted,' thus limiting the *πλείσταις*? 'For all that the combination aims at is to blend the two elements of rich and poor, wealth and freedom; for the great majority hardly inquire further, but accept the wealthy as competent representatives of the really good.' But still there is this third element of virtue, and where that is taken into account with the two others, there we may apply the term aristocracy, where only the two others, there we have *πολιτεία*.

κατέχειν χώραν] 'to fill the place of.' Comp. Grote, III. 62, on the sense of these words *καλοὶ κἀγαθοί*, and similar ones.

9 *τὰ ἀμφισβητοῦντα*] Compare the long discussion in Book III. XII. 13, for *εὐγένεια* also, III. XIII. 3.

μάλιστα τῶν ἄλλων] 'more than any other form of government, with the exception of the true and ideal form.' *πρώτην* in the sense of 'perfect.' Compare *Rhet.* I. 2, 13, p. 1356, 17, *ὁ πρῶτος συλλογισμός*.

The πολιτεία, what it is.

κρατίαν καὶ ὀλιγαρχίαν, εἴρηται, καὶ ποῖα ταῦτα, καὶ τί διαφέρουσιν ἀλλήλων αἵ τ' ἀριστοκρατίαι καὶ αἱ πολιτεῖαι τῆς ἀριστοκρατίας, καὶ ὅτι οὐ πόρρω αὗται ἀλλήλων, φανερόν.

The πολιτεία. How it is to be constituted.

Τίνα δὲ τρόπον γίνεται παρὰ δημοκρατίαν καὶ ὀλιγαρ- 9
χίαν ἡ καλουμένη πολιτεία, καὶ πῶς αὐτὴν δεῖ καθιστάναι,
λέγωμεν ἐφεξῆς τοῖς εἰρημένοις. ἅμα δὲ δῆλον ἔσται καὶ
οἷς ὁρίζονται τὴν δημοκρατίαν καὶ τὴν ὀλιγαρχίαν· ληπτέον
γὰρ τὴν τούτων διαίρεσιν, εἶτα ἐκ τούτων ἀφ' ἑκατέρας ὥσ-
περ σύμβολον λαμβάνοντας συνθετέον. Εἰσὶ δὲ ὅροι τρεῖς 2
τῆς συνθέσεως καὶ μίξεως. ἢ γὰρ ἀμφότερα ληπτέον ὧν
ἑκάτεραι νομοθετοῦσιν, οἷον περὶ τοῦ δικάζειν. ἐν μὲν γὰρ
ταῖς ὀλιγαρχίαις τοῖς εὐπόροις ζημίαν τάττουσιν, ἂν μὴ δι-
κάζωσι, τοῖς δ' ἀπόροις οὐδένα μισθόν, ἐν δὲ ταῖς δημοκρα-
τίαις τοῖς μὲν ἀπόροις μισθόν, τοῖς δ' εὐπόροις οὐδεμίαν
ζημίαν. κοινὸν δὲ καὶ μέσον τούτων ἀμφότερα ταῦτα· διὸ 3
καὶ πολιτικόν· μέμικται γὰρ ἐξ ἀμφοῖν. εἷς μὲν οὖν οὗτος 1294 B
τοῦ συνδυασμοῦ τρόπος, ἕτερος δὲ τὸ μέσον λαμβάνειν ὧν
ἑκάτεροι τάττουσιν, οἷον ἐκκλησιάζειν οἱ μὲν ἀπὸ τιμήματος
οὐθενὸς ἢ μικροῦ πάμπαν, οἱ δ' ἀπὸ μακροῦ τιμήματος· κοι-
νὸν δέ γε οὐδέτερον, ἀλλὰ τὸ μέσον ἑκατέρου τιμήματος
τούτων. τρίτον δ' ἐκ δυοῖν ταγμάτοιν, τὰ μὲν ἐκ τοῦ ὀλι- 4
γαρχικοῦ νόμου, τὰ δ' ἐκ τοῦ δημοκρατικοῦ. λέγω δ' οἷον
δοκεῖ δημοκρατικὸν μὲν εἶναι τὸ κληρωτὰς εἶναι τὰς ἀρχάς,
τὸ δ' αἱρετὰς ὀλιγαρχικόν, καὶ δημοκρατικὸν μὲν τὸ μὴ ἀπὸ
τιμήματος, ὀλιγαρχικὸν δὲ τὸ ἀπὸ τιμήματος. ἀριστο- 5

IX. 1 *γίνεται*] Having described the *πολιτεία* in itself, he proceeds to the question of its formation.

ἅμα δὲ δῆλον, κ.τ.λ.] 'This will be clear by the simple statement of the characteristics by which men determine democracy and oligarchy.' All that is to be done is to state these, distinguish them, and then take what you want from either, and put the parts together as you would the two halves of anything cut in two. For the *σύμβολον* was something cut in two, the parts of which fitted exactly and served as a ticket for the holder. Compare Plato, *Symp.* 191, D, *ἀνθρώπου σύμβολον, ἅτε τετμημένος, ἐξ ἑνὸς δύο.*

2 *ὅροι τρεῖς*] 'three different modes.'

3 *πολιτικόν*] It suits the *πολιτεία.*

τὸ μέσον λαμβάνειν] 'to take the mean.'

The πολιτεία. How it is to be constituted.

κρατικὸν τοίνυν καὶ πολιτικὸν τὸ ἐξ ἑκατέρας ἑκατέρον λαβεῖν, ἐκ μὲν τῆς ὀλιγαρχίας τὸ αἱρετὰς ποιεῖν τὰς ἀρχάς, ἐκ δὲ τῆς δημοκρατίας τὸ μὴ ἀπὸ τιμήματος. Ὁ μὲν οὖν
6 τρόπος τῆς μίξεως οὗτος, τοῦ δ' εὖ μεμῖχθαι δημοκρατίαν καὶ ὀλιγαρχίαν ὅρος, ὅταν ἐνδέχηται λέγειν τὴν αὐτὴν πολιτείαν δημοκρατίαν καὶ ὀλιγαρχίαν· δῆλον γὰρ ὅτι τοῦτο πάσχουσιν οἱ λέγοντες διὰ τὸ μεμῖχθαι καλῶς. πέπονθε δὲ τοῦτο καὶ τὸ μέσον· ἐμφαίνεται γὰρ ἑκάτερον ἐν αὐτῷ τῶν ἄκρων. Ὅπερ συμβαίνει περὶ τὴν Λακεδαι-
7 μονίων πολιτείαν. πολλοὶ γὰρ ἐγχειροῦσι λέγειν ὡς δημοκρατίας οὔσης διὰ τὸ δημοκρατικὰ πολλὰ τὴν τάξιν ἔχειν, οἷον πρῶτον τὸ περὶ τὴν τροφὴν τῶν παίδων· ὁμοίως γὰρ οἱ τῶν πλουσίων τρέφονται τοῖς τῶν πενήτων, καὶ παιδεύονται τὸν τρόπον τοῦτον ὃν ἂν δύναιντο καὶ τῶν
8 πενήτων οἱ παῖδες. ὁμοίως δὲ καὶ ἐπὶ τῆς ἐχομένης ἡλικίας, καὶ ὅταν ἄνδρες γένωνται, τὸν αὐτὸν τρόπον· οὐθὲν γὰρ διάδηλος ὁ πλούσιος καὶ ὁ πένης. οὕτω τὰ περὶ τὴν τροφὴν ταὐτὰ πᾶσιν ἐν τοῖς συσσιτίοις, καὶ τὴν ἐσθῆτα οἱ πλούσιοι τοιαύτην οἵαν ἄν (τις) παρασκευάσαι δύναιτο καὶ
9 τῶν πενήτων ὁστισοῦν. ἔτι τῷ δύο τὰς μεγίστας ἀρχὰς τὴν μὲν αἱρεῖσθαι τὸν δῆμον, τῆς δὲ μετέχειν· τοὺς μὲν γὰρ γέροντας αἱροῦνται, τῆς δ' ἐφορείας μετέχουσιν. οἱ δ' ὀλιγαρχίαν διὰ τὸ πολλὰ ἔχειν ὀλιγαρχικά, οἷον τὸ πάσας αἱρετὰς εἶναι καὶ μηδεμίαν κληρωτήν, καὶ ὀλίγους εἶναι

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6 ὅρος τοῦ εὖ μεμῖχθαι] 'The test or characteristic of the combination having been successfully performed.'

τοῦτο πάσχουσιν] 'feel this.'

7 ὡς δημοκρατίας οὔσης] 'to speak of it as a democracy,' as though περὶ αὐτῆς had preceded.

8 οὐθὲν γὰρ διάδηλος] 'There is no difference to mark.'

τις] is superfluous. There was then at Lacedæmon considerable social equality side by side with great political inequality, and it acted as a compensation for this last. Social equality is an idea which we in England find it hard to grasp, from the deep-rooted hold which social differences and class distinctions have got, but it is one which it would be most desirable to introduce. It is in the alienation of the various classes and consequent soreness, that lies the sting of political inequalities.

οἵαν ἄν τις] This τις with the ὁστισοῦν at the end of the sentence, is quite superfluous.

9 For the matter of this section, compare II. IX. 25. θανάτου, II. IX. 25, III. I. 10.

The tests of a true πολιτεία.

κυρίους θανάτου καὶ φυγῆς, καὶ ἄλλα τοιαῦτα πολλά. δεῖ δ' ἐν τῇ πολιτείᾳ τῇ μεμιγμένῃ καλῶς ἀμφότερα δοκεῖν εἶναι καὶ μηδέτερον, καὶ σώζεσθαι δι' αὑτῆς καὶ μὴ ἔξωθεν, καὶ δι' αὑτῆς μὴ τῷ πλείους ἔξωθεν εἶναι τοὺς βουλομένους (εἴη γὰρ ἂν καὶ πονηρᾷ πολιτείᾳ τοῦθ' ὑπάρχον) ἀλλὰ τῷ μηδ' ἂν βούλεσθαι πολιτείαν ἑτέραν μηθὲν τῶν τῆς πόλεως μορίων ὅλως. Τίνα μὲν οὖν τρόπον δεῖ καθιστάναι πολιτείαν, ὁμοίως δὲ καὶ τὰς ὀνομαζομένας ἀριστοκρατίας, νῦν εἴρηται.

The tyranny.

Περὶ δὲ τυραννίδος ἦν ἡμῖν λοιπὸν εἰπεῖν, οὐχ ὡς ἐνούσης πολυλογίας περὶ αὐτήν, ἀλλ' ὅπως λάβῃ τῆς μεθόδου τὸ μέρος, ἐπειδὴ καὶ ταύτην τίθεμεν τῶν πολιτειῶν τι μέρος. περὶ μὲν οὖν βασιλείας διωρίσαμεν ἐν τοῖς πρώτοις λόγοις, ἐν οἷς περὶ τῆς μάλιστα λεγομένης βασιλείας ἐποιούμεθα τὴν σκέψιν, πότερον ἀσύμφορον ἢ συμφέρει ταῖς πόλεσιν, καὶ τίνα καὶ πόθεν δεῖ καθιστάναι, καὶ πῶς. τυραννίδος 2
δ' εἴδη δύο μὲν διείλομεν ἐν οἷς περὶ βασιλείας ἐπεσκοποῦμεν, διὰ τὸ τὴν δύναμιν ἐπαλλάττειν πως αὐτῶν καὶ πρὸς τὴν βασιλείαν, διὰ τὸ κατὰ νόμον εἶναι ἀμφοτέρας

10 ἐν τῇ πολιτείᾳ] It would be but a very slight change to read the accusative here, and it is a tempting one, but it is not necessary. Looking at section 6, the actual reading is safer, —ἐμφαίνεται ἐν αὐτῷ—and the sense is the same either way. On the other hand, it would be simpler in point of the construction of σώζεσθαι with the accusative.

τῷ μηδ' ἂν βούλεσθαι, κ.τ.λ.] For this expression compare II. IX. 22, which is not so straightforward as this and may derive light from it.

ὁμοίως δὲ καί] These last are so closely connected with the πολιτεία, as appears from the last chapter, that it is needless to go into details as to the method of establishing them. They are in fact the πολιτεία with an oligarchical tendency impressed upon them.

X. 1 οὐχ ὡς ἐνούσης, κ.τ.λ.] 'not as though there were much to say upon it.'

τῆς μεθόδου τὸ μέρος. 'Its share of our treatise.'

τῆς μάλιστα] 'in the strictest sense so called,' the παμβασιλεία, III. XIV.–XVII.

2 ἐν οἷς] Compare III. VI. 3, and III. X. 2, 'where.'

αὐτῶν] depends on δύναμιν, the subject to ἐπαλλάττειν πως καὶ πρὸς τὴν βασιλείαν. 'The two forms are such that, though strictly tyrannies, yet in its real character the power they express is closely similar to that of the βασιλεία, so that they and it run into one another, as it were, and can hardly be kept quite distinct.' The καί may express even more, 'that they are closely connected one with another, and with the βασιλεία.'

The tyranny.

ταύτας τὰς ἀρχάς· ἔν τε γὰρ τῶν βαρβάρων τισὶν αἱροῦνται αὐτοκράτορας μονάρχους, καὶ τὸ παλαιὸν ἐν τοῖς ἀρχαίοις Ἕλλησιν ἐγίγνοντό τινες μόναρχοι τὸν τρόπον τοῦτον,
3 οὓς ἐκάλουν αἰσυμνήτας. ἔχουσι δέ τινας πρὸς ἀλλήλας αὗται διαφοράς. ἦσαν δὲ διὰ μὲν τὸ κατὰ νόμον βασιλικαὶ καὶ διὰ τὸ μοναρχεῖν ἑκόντων, τυραννικαὶ δὲ διὰ τὸ δεσποτικῶς ἄρχειν κατὰ τὴν αὑτῶν γνώμην. τρίτον δὲ εἶδος τυραννίδος, ἥπερ μάλιστ' εἶναι δοκεῖ τυραννίς, ἀντίστροφος
4 οὖσα τῇ παμβασιλείᾳ. τοιαύτην δ' ἀναγκαῖον εἶναι τυραννίδα τὴν μοναρχίαν, ἥτις ἀνυπεύθυνος ἄρχει τῶν ὁμοίων καὶ βελτιόνων πάντων πρὸς τὸ σφέτερον αὐτῆς συμφέρον, ἀλλὰ μὴ πρὸς τὸ τῶν ἀρχομένων. διόπερ ἀκούσιος· οὐθεὶς γὰρ ἑκὼν ὑπομένει τῶν ἐλευθέρων τὴν τοιαύτην ἀρχήν. Τυραννίδος μὲν οὖν εἴδη ταῦτα καὶ τοσαῦτα διὰ τὰς εἰρημένας αἰτίας.

11 Τίς δ' ἀρίστη πολιτεία καὶ τίς ἄριστος βίος ταῖς πλείσταις πόλεσι καὶ τοῖς πλείστοις τῶν ἀνθρώπων, μήτε πρὸς ἀρετὴν συγκρίνουσι τὴν ὑπὲρ τοὺς ἰδιώτας, μήτε πρὸς παιδείαν ἣ φύσεως δεῖται καὶ χορηγίας τυχηρᾶς, μήτε πρὸς πολιτείαν τὴν κατ' εὐχὴν γινομένην, ἀλλὰ βίον τε τὸν τοῖς πλείστοις κοινωνῆσαι δυνατὸν καὶ πολιτείαν ἧς τὰς πλείστας

The best average constitution is that in which the middle class governs.

τῶν βαρβάρων τισίν] Niebuhr, *Rom. Hist.* Vol. I. 558, note 1257, thinks this alludes to the Roman Dictators. If so, is it not the only allusion we have to their political system?

3 δεσποτικῶς] 'quite arbitrarily and absolutely.'

4 τοιαύτην δ' ἀναγκαῖον, κ.τ.λ.] 'Such a tyranny as this we must necessarily recognise in the monarchy, which, free from all responsibility, rules over the equals and superiors of the monarch, in the interest of itself alone, and with no eye to that of its subjects.' Those subjects are in no sense φύσει δοῦλοι, and in this case, therefore, it cannot hold that ἄρχοντι καὶ ἀρχομένῳ ταὐτὸν συμφέρει.

XI. 1 It must be remembered that the question discussed in this chapter is the best average form, not the best form absolutely. It is quite clear that it is so in the text, but the chapter and its conclusions are sometimes quoted as though it were not so.

συγκρίνουσι πρὸς ἀρετήν, κ.τ.λ.] 'not bringing it to the standard of a virtue above that of ordinary men, nor to that of an education with requires a nature and appliances eminently fortune's gift,' such as in ordinary circumstances cannot be calculated on.

βίον τε] includes both παιδεία καὶ ἀρετή, 'virtue and the training to virtue.'

The best average constitution is that in which the middle class governs.

πόλεις ἐνδέχεται μετασχεῖν. καὶ γὰρ ἃς καλοῦσιν ἀριστο-
κρατίας, περὶ ὧν νῦν εἴπομεν, τὰ μὲν ἐξωτέρω πίπτουσι ταῖς
πλείσταις τῶν πόλεων, τὰ δὲ γειτνιῶσι τῇ καλουμένῃ πολι-
τείᾳ· διὸ περὶ ἀμφοῖν ὡς μιᾶς λεκτέον. ἡ δὲ δὴ κρίσις περὶ
ἁπάντων τούτων ἐκ τῶν αὐτῶν στοιχείων ἐστίν. εἰ γὰρ
καλῶς ἐν τοῖς ἠθικοῖς εἴρηται τὸ τὸν εὐδαίμονα βίον εἶναι τὸν 3
κατ' ἀρετὴν ἀνεμπόδιστον, μεσότητα δὲ τὴν ἀρετήν, τὸν
μέσον ἀναγκαῖον βίον εἶναι βέλτιστον, τῆς ἑκάστοις ἐνδεχο-
μένης τυχεῖν μεσότητος. τοὺς δὲ αὐτοὺς τούτους ὅρους ἀν-
αγκαῖον εἶναι καὶ πόλεως ἀρετῆς καὶ κακίας καὶ πολιτείας·
ἡ γὰρ πολιτεία βίος τίς ἐστι πόλεως. Ἐν ἁπάσαις δὴ 4 1295 B
ταῖς πόλεσίν ἐστι τρία μέρη τῆς πόλεως, οἱ μὲν εὔποροι
σφόδρα, οἱ δὲ ἄποροι σφόδρα, οἱ δὲ τρίτοι οἱ μέσοι τούτων.
ἐπεὶ τοίνυν ὁ ὁμολογεῖται τὸ μέτριον ἄριστον καὶ τὸ μέσον,
φανερὸν ὅτι καὶ τῶν εὐτυχημάτων ἡ κτῆσις ἡ μέση βελτίστη
πάντων· ῥᾴστη γὰρ τῷ λόγῳ πειθαρχεῖν. ὑπέρκαλον δὲ ἢ 5
ὑπερίσχυρον ἢ ὑπερευγενῆ ἢ ὑπερπλούσιον, ἢ τἀναντία τού-
τοις, ὑπέρπτωχον ἢ ὑπερασθενῆ καὶ σφόδρα ἄτιμον, χαλεπὸν
τῷ λόγῳ ἀκολουθεῖν. γίγνονται γὰρ οἱ μὲν ὑβρισταὶ καὶ
μεγαλοπόνηροι μᾶλλον, οἱ δὲ κακοῦργοι καὶ μικροπόνηροι
λίαν· τῶν δ' ἀδικημάτων τὰ μὲν γίγνεται δι' ὕβριν, τὰ δὲ

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2 *τὰ μὲν ἐξωτέρω πίπτουσι*] "sont en dehors des conditions," St. Hil., 'in some respects stand too far removed from the generality of states to be applicable.'

ἀμφοῖν] means not the two forms of aristocracy, but them and the *πολιτεία*.

3 *τό*] The article should be noticed with a view to a subsequent passage, VIII. (V.) I. 13. 'If we were right in the Ethics in using the language.'

ἀνεμπόδιστον] the reference is to *Ethics*, VII. xiii. 2, p. 1153, 15, and is so far in support of the genuineness of the chapters in which it occurs.

τῆς ἑκάστοις, κ.τ.λ.] 'The mean open to each to get.' The construction is abrupt. *ἧς ἑκάστοις ἐνδέχεται τυχεῖν μεσότητος* would have been more regular.

ἡ γὰρ πολιτεία] 'For it is in the organisation and development of its constitution that a state finds its life.'

4 *τῶν εὐτυχημάτων*] 'of the gifts of fortune.'

5 *δι' ὕβριν*] 'From the sense of being above law,' 'from insolence.'

διὰ κακουργίαν] expresses quite an opposite feeling, viz.: the ill-feeling and wish to cause annoyance which is engendered by the conviction tha society and its arrangements are unfavourable and depressing.

οὗτοι] Are the extremes on either side, whether of wealth, &c., or poverty, &c.

The best average constitution is that in which the middle class governs.

διὰ κακουργίαν. ἔτι δ' ἥκισθ' οὗτοι φυλαρχοῦσι καὶ βουλ-
αρχοῦσιν· ταῦτα δ' ἀμφότερα βλαβερὰ ταῖς πόλεσιν. πρὸς
δὲ τούτοις οἱ μὲν ἐν ὑπεροχαῖς εὐτυχημάτων ὄντες, ἰσχύος
καὶ πλούτου καὶ φίλων καὶ τῶν ἄλλων τῶν τοιούτων, ἄρ-
χεσθαι οὔτε βούλονται οὔτε ἐπίστανται (καὶ τοῦτ' εὐθὺς
6 οἴκοθεν ὑπάρχει παισὶν οὖσιν· διὰ γὰρ τὴν τρυφὴν οὐδ' ἐν
τοῖς διδασκαλείοις ἄρχεσθαι σύνηθες αὐτοῖς), οἱ δὲ καθ'
7 ὑπερβολὴν ἐν ἐνδείᾳ τούτων ταπεινοὶ λίαν. ὥσθ' οἱ μὲν
ἄρχειν οὐκ ἐπίστανται ἀλλ' ἄρχεσθαι δουλικὴν ἀρχήν, οἱ δ'
ἄρχεσθαι μὲν οὐδεμιᾷ ἀρχῇ, ἄρχειν δὲ δεσποτικὴν ἀρχήν.
γίνεται οὖν καὶ δούλων καὶ δεσποτῶν πόλις, ἀλλ' οὐκ ἐλευ-
θέρων, καὶ τῶν μὲν φθονούντων τῶν δὲ καταφρονούντων.
ἃ πλείστου ἀπέχει φιλίας καὶ κοινωνίας πολιτικῆς· ἡ γὰρ
κοινωνία φιλικόν· οὐδὲ γὰρ ὁδοῦ βούλονται κοινωνεῖν τοῖς
8 ἐχθροῖς. βούλεται δέ γε ἡ πόλις ἐξ ἴσων εἶναι καὶ ὁμοίων
ὅτι μάλιστα, τοῦτο δ' ὑπάρχει μάλιστα τοῖς μέσοις· ὥστ'
ἀναγκαῖον ἄριστα πολιτεύεσθαι ταύτην τὴν πόλιν ἐστὶν ἐξ
ὧν φαμὲν φύσει τὴν σύστασιν εἶναι τῆς πόλεως. καὶ σώ-
9 ζονται δ' ἐν ταῖς πόλεσιν οὗτοι μάλιστα τῶν πολιτῶν. οὔτε

φυλαρχοῦσι καὶ βουλαρχοῦσι] 'are least competent and willing to hold office, whether local or general,' yet not supreme, to discharge, in fact, the ordinary civil functions; the extremely prosperous despise them, the extremely depressed are not elected to them. So that both look on them with unfavourable eyes and sneer at them, though from opposite points, and the regular state organisation finds no support from either.

ταῦτα ἀμφότερα] Both the tendency to crime, indicated above, and the aversion to office.

6 *οἴκοθεν*] 'at home.'

ἐν τοῖς διδασκαλείοις] Compare Plato, *Republ.* VIII. 560, e, in the *παιδεία ὀλιγαρχική*.

7 *τῶν μὲν φθονούντων τῶν δὲ καταφρονούντων*] Compare the speech of Alcibiades, Thuc. VI. 16. He is the Greek statesman who best illustrates the evils of excessive prosperity, such as Aristotle is here depicting.

ἃ πλείστου, κ.τ.λ.] 'And this is a state of things that is as opposite as possible to friendship.'

φιλικόν] is an element of friendship.

ἐξ ὧν] There seems something missing, such a word as *τὴν συνεστηκυῖαν*. 'The state formed of these elements which according to me are the natural elements from which the state is formed.'

καὶ σώζονται] Compare Xenophon, *Hell.* II. 3, § 35 sqq., the speech of Theramenes in defence of his change of tactics, which he justifies by the attack made by the Thirty on the middle class, *οἱ μέσοι τῶν πολιτῶν*.

γὰρ αὐτοὶ τῶν ἀλλοτρίων ὥσπερ οἱ πένητες ἐπιθυμοῦσιν, οὔτε τῆς τούτων ἕτεροι, καθάπερ τῆς τῶν πλουσίων οἱ πένητες ἐπιθυμοῦσιν· καὶ διὰ τὸ μήτ' ἐπιβουλεύεσθαι μήτ' ἐπιβουλεύειν ἀκινδύνως διάγουσιν. διὰ τοῦτο καλῶς ηὔξατο Φωκυλίδης

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πολλὰ μέσοισιν ἄριστα· μέσος θέλω ἐν πόλει εἶναι.

δῆλον ἄρα ὅτι καὶ ἡ κοινωνία ἡ πολιτικὴ ἀρίστη ἡ διὰ τῶν 10
μέσων, καὶ τὰς τοιαύτας ἐνδέχεται εὖ πολιτεύεσθαι πόλεις ἐν αἷς δὴ πολὺ τὸ μέσον, καὶ κρεῖττον μάλιστα μὲν ἀμφοῖν, εἰ δὲ μή, θατέρου μέρους· προστιθέμενον γὰρ ποιεῖ ῥοπὴν καὶ κωλύει γίνεσθαι τὰς ἐναντίας ὑπερβολάς. διόπερ εὐτυχία 11
μεγίστη τοὺς πολιτευομένους οὐσίαν ἔχειν μέσην καὶ ἱκανήν, ὡς ὅπου οἱ μὲν πολλὰ σφόδρα κέκτηνται οἱ δὲ μηθέν, ἢ δῆ- 1296
μος ἔσχατος γίγνεται ἢ ὀλιγαρχία ἄκρατος ἢ τυραννὶς δι' ἀμφοτέρας τὰς ὑπερβολάς· καὶ γὰρ ἐκ δημοκρατίας τῆς νεανικωτάτης καὶ ἐξ ὀλιγαρχίας γίνεται τυραννίς, ἐκ δὲ τῶν μέσων καὶ τῶν σύνεγγυς πολὺ ἧττον. τὴν δ' αἰτίαν ὕστερον 12
ἐν τοῖς περὶ τὰς μεταβολὰς τῶν πολιτειῶν ἐροῦμεν. Ὅτι δ' ἡ μέση βελτίστη, φανερόν· μόνη γὰρ ἀστασίαστος· ὅπου γὰρ πολὺ τὸ διὰ μέσου, ἥκιστα στάσεις καὶ διαστάσεις γίγνονται τῶν πολιτειῶν. καὶ αἱ μεγάλαι πόλεις ἀστα- 13
σιαστότεραι διὰ τὴν αὐτὴν αἰτίαν, ὅτι πολὺ τὸ μέσον· ἐν δὲ ταῖς μικραῖς ῥᾴδιόν τε διαλαβεῖν εἰς δύο πάντας, ὥστε μηθὲν καταλιπεῖν μέσον, καὶ πάντες σχεδὸν ἄποροι ἢ εὔποροί εἰσιν. καὶ αἱ δημοκρατίαι δὲ ἀσφαλέστεραι τῶν ὀλιγαρχιῶν εἰσὶ 14
καὶ πολυχρονιώτεραι διὰ τοὺς μέσους· πλείους τε γὰρ εἰσὶ

Φωκυλίδης] of Miletus. *Fr.* 12. Ed. Bergk.

10 πολὺ τὸ μέσον] 'the middle class is large.'

προστιθέμενον] 'by its joining one or the other it sways the scale and prevents either of the two opposite extremes being dominant.'

τοὺς πολιτευομένους] 'the citizens,' 'those who actually mix in affairs,' les citoyens actifs.

νεανικωτάτης] 'the most unbridled,' 'luxuriant.'

12 ἀστασίαστος] Compare III. xv. 9, where this word occurs. Both passages show the great importance Aristotle attached to this point.

διαστάσεις] 'the dividing the state into two parts,' 'the setting the two sides one against the other.' διαλαβεῖν εἰς δύο.

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καὶ μᾶλλον μετέχουσι τῶν τιμῶν ἐν ταῖς δημοκρατίαις ἢ
ταῖς ὀλιγαρχίαις, ἐπεὶ ὅταν ἄνευ τούτων τῷ πλήθει ὑπερ-
τείνωσιν οἱ ἄποροι, κακοπραγία γίνεται καὶ ἀπόλλυνται τα-
χέως. σημεῖον δὲ δεῖ νομίζειν καὶ τὸ τοὺς βελτίστους νομο-
θέτας εἶναι τῶν μέσων πολιτῶν· Σόλων τε γὰρ ἦν τούτων
15 (δηλοῖ δ' ἐκ τῆς ποιήσεως) καὶ Λυκοῦργος (οὐ γὰρ ἦν βασι-
λεύς) καὶ Χαρώνδας καὶ σχεδὸν οἱ πλεῖστοι τῶν ἄλλων.
16 Φανερὸν δ' ἐκ τούτων καὶ διότι αἱ πλεῖσται πολιτεῖαι αἱ
μὲν δημοκρατικαί εἰσιν αἱ δ' ὀλιγαρχικαί· διὰ γὰρ τὸ ἐν
ταύταις πολλάκις ὀλίγον εἶναι τὸ μέσον, αἰεὶ ὁπότεροι ἂν
ὑπερέχωσιν, εἴθ' οἱ τὰς οὐσίας ἔχοντες εἴθ' ὁ δῆμος, οἱ τὸ
μέσον ἐκβαίνοντες καθ' αὑτοὺς ἄγουσι τὴν πολιτείαν, ὥστε
17 ἢ δῆμος γίγνεται ἢ ὀλιγαρχία. πρὸς δὲ τούτοις διὰ τὸ
στάσεις γίνεσθαι καὶ μάχας πρὸς ἀλλήλους τῷ δήμῳ καὶ
τοῖς εὐπόροις, ὁποτέροις ἂν μᾶλλον συμβῇ κρατῆσαι τῶν
ἐναντίων, οὐ καθιστᾶσι κοινὴν πολιτείαν οὐδ' ἴσην, ἀλλὰ
τῆς νίκης ἆθλον τὴν ὑπεροχὴν τῆς πολιτείας λαμβάνουσιν,
18 καὶ οἱ μὲν δημοκρατίαν οἱ δ' ὀλιγαρχίαν ποιοῦσιν. ἔτι δὲ
καὶ τῶν ἐν ἡγεμονίᾳ γενομένων τῆς Ἑλλάδος πρὸς τὴν παρ'
αὐτοῖς ἑκατέροι πολιτείαν ἀποβλέποντες οἱ μὲν δημοκρατίας
ἐν ταῖς πόλεσι καθίστασαν οἱ δ' ὀλιγαρχίας, οὐ πρὸς τὸ

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14 *κακοπραγία*] "Ill success," "failure," Liddell and Scott. But I doubt whether this is the meaning. May it not be more active, "there is mutual ill treatment of the one party by the other."

15 *δηλοῖ ἐκ τῆς ποιήσεως*] The general spirit of Solon's remains warrants this, but I do not find any particular passage.

οὐ γὰρ ἦν βασιλεύς] This seems an odd reason. Is it Aristotle's?

Χαρώνδας] Grote, IV. 560.

16 *ἄγουσι*] Compare V. 3, *ἀγωγή*.

17 *τὴν ὑπεροχὴν τῆς πολιτείας*] 'The supremacy in the government.' The rights or claims of the minority are not respected, to use the latest political language. And it is a question open to much discussion, whether this refinement in political arrangements can be introduced, and whether, if introduced, it would really be an improvement in our institutions. It is plainly liable to be the exact contrary, by giving greater power to that which may well be thought to have too much already, the retrograde element, the so-called conservative party. Lastly, there is the question whether, supposing the two former questions answered, as they might be, under certain circumstances, in the affirmative, any such improvement could effectually obviate the evils inherent in a parliamentary government, such as that of England is justly called, and stands self-condemned by being so called. Mr. Carlyle, *Latter-day Pamphlets*.

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τῶν πόλεων συμφέρον σκοποῦντες ἀλλὰ πρὸς τὸ σφέτερον
αὐτῶν. ὥστε διὰ ταύτας τὰς αἰτίας ἢ μηδέποτε τὴν μέσην
γίνεσθαι πολιτείαν ἢ ὀλιγάκις καὶ παρ' ὀλίγοις· εἷς γὰρ ἀνὴρ
συνεπείσθη μόνος τῶν πρότερον ἐφ' ἡγεμονίᾳ γενομένων ταύ-
την ἀποδοῦναι τὴν τάξιν. ἤδη δὲ καὶ τοῖς ἐν ταῖς πόλεσιν
ἔθος καθέστηκε μηδὲ βούλεσθαι τὸ ἴσον, ἀλλ' ἢ ἄρχειν ζητεῖν 1296 B
ἢ κρατουμένους ὑπομένειν. Τίς μὲν οὖν ἀρίστη πολιτεία, καὶ 20
διὰ τίν' αἰτίαν, ἐκ τούτων φανερόν· τῶν δ' ἄλλων πολιτειῶν
ἐπειδὴ πλείους δημοκρατίας καὶ πλείους ὀλιγαρχίας φαμὲν
εἶναι, ποίαν πρώτην θετέον καὶ δευτέραν καὶ τοῦτον δὴ τὸν
τρόπον ἐχομένην τῷ τὴν μὲν εἶναι βελτίω τὴν δὲ χείρω, διω-
ρισμένης τῆς ἀρίστης οὐ χαλεπὸν ἰδεῖν. ἀεὶ[a] γὰρ ἀναγκαῖον 21
εἶναι βελτίω τὴν ἐγγύτατα ταύτης, χείρω δὲ τὴν ἀφεστη-
κυῖαν τοῦ μέσου πλεῖον, ἂν μὴ πρὸς ὑπόθεσιν κρίνῃ τις.
λέγω δὲ τὸ πρὸς ὑπόθεσιν, ὅτι πολλάκις οὔσης ἄλλης πο-
λιτείας αἱρετωτέρας ἐνίοις οὐθὲν κωλύσει συμφέρειν ἑτέραν
μᾶλλον εἶναι πολιτείαν.

[a] Δεῖ Bekker.

18 Compare Thuc. III. 82, on this point. πρὸς τὸ σφέτερον αὐτῶν—σφίσιν ἐπιτηδείως πολιτεύεσθαι is the historical expression of this.

19 εἷς γὰρ ἀνήρ] It is curious that no certain nor even very probable answer can be given to the question who the person here alluded to is? I have been sometimes tempted to think that it is the Spartan King Pausanias (Xenophon, *Hell.* II. 5.), whose position at home and policy led him not to sanction the Athenian oligarchy, but to aim at the restoration of a more moderate government, to revive the older democracy—ἀποδοῦναι τὴν τάξιν—which, doubtless, in the eyes of a later generation, looking on τὴν νῦν δημοκρατίαν, would be considered as a πολιτεία τῶν μέσων.

τοῖς ἐν ταῖς πόλεσιν] simply opposed to the τῶν ἐν ἡγεμονίᾳ γενομένων.

20 ἀρίστη] sc. τοῖς πλείστοις.

τοῦτον δὴ τὸν τρόπον ἐχομένην] 'and so on in due order.'

21 Ἀεὶ γάρ] This correction of Spengel's XXV. note 27, scarcely needs the support of V. (VIII.) I. 2, to make us accept it.

πρὸς ὑπόθεσιν] Compare VII. 2, and note.

ἑτέραν μᾶλλον εἶναι] 'that there be another constitution.' This remark is the connecting link between the two chapters. All cannot have the best average form—their circumstances preclude it and make some other form desirable. What are the other forms that may be desirable under certain circumstances is naturally the next question, and is answered, though in a very general and vague way, in the two next chapters.

The πολιτεία, what it is.

ἀρίστοις. δοκεῖ δὲ ἀριστοκρατία μὲν εἶναι μάλιστα τὸ τὰς τιμὰς νενεμῆσθαι κατ' ἀρετήν· ἀριστοκρατίας μὲν γὰρ
7 ὅρος ἀρετή, ὀλιγαρχίας δὲ πλοῦτος, δήμου δ' ἐλευθερία· τὸ δ' ὅ τι ἂν δόξῃ τοῖς πλείοσιν, ἐν πάσαις ὑπάρχει· καὶ γὰρ ἐν ὀλιγαρχίᾳ καὶ ἐν ἀριστοκρατίᾳ καὶ ἐν δήμοις, ὅ τι ἂν δόξῃ τῷ πλείονι μέρει τῶν μετεχόντων τῆς πολιτείας, τοῦτ'
8 ἐστὶ κύριον. Ἐν μὲν οὖν ταῖς πλείσταις πόλεσι τὸ τῆς πολιτείας εἶδος καλεῖται· μόνον γὰρ ἡ μίξις στοχάζεται τῶν εὐπόρων καὶ τῶν ἀπόρων πλούτου καὶ ἐλευθερίας· σχεδὸν γὰρ παρὰ τοῖς πλείστοις οἱ εὔποροι τῶν καλῶν κἀγαθῶν δοκοῦσι
9 κατέχειν χώραν. ἐπεὶ δὲ τρία ἐστὶ τὰ ἀμφισβητοῦντα τῆς ἰσότητος τῆς πολιτείας, ἐλευθερία πλοῦτος ἀρετή (τὸ γὰρ τέταρτον, ὃ καλοῦσιν εὐγένειαν, ἀκολουθεῖ τοῖς δυσίν· ἡ γὰρ εὐγένειά ἐστιν ἀρχαῖος πλοῦτος καὶ ἀρετή), φανερὸν ὅτι τὴν μὲν τοῖν δυοῖν μίξιν, τῶν εὐπόρων καὶ τῶν ἀπόρων, πολιτείαν λεκτέον, τὴν δὲ τῶν τριῶν ἀριστοκρατίαν μάλιστα
10 τῶν ἄλλων παρὰ τὴν ἀληθινὴν καὶ πρώτην. ὅτι μὲν οὖν ἐστὶ καὶ ἕτερα πολιτείας εἴδη παρὰ μοναρχίαν τε καὶ δημο-

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it seems attracted by the datives κακῶς κειμένοις and οἷς ἐμμένουσιν.

7 ἀριστοκρατία μέν, κ.τ.λ.] 'Aristocracy is thought especially to consist in having the offices distributed according to virtue.'

ὅρος] 'The peculiar characteristic,' "le caractère spécial," St. Hil.

τὸ δ' ὅ τι, κ.τ.λ.] See Ch. IV. 1. As common to all it cannot be the distinction of any one.

8 τὸ τῆς πολιτείας εἶδος καλεῖται] The sense of these words is not very certain. Do they mean 'The form of government is called πολιτεία in the great majority of the states where any mixture of the different elements is attempted,' thus limiting the πλείσταις? 'For all that the combination aims at is to blend the two elements of rich and poor, wealth and freedom; for the great majority hardly inquire further, but accept the wealthy as competent representatives of the really good.' But still there is this third element of virtue, and where that is taken into account with the two others, there we may apply the term aristocracy, where only the two others, there we have πολιτεία.

κατέχειν χώραν] 'to fill the place of.' Comp. Grote, III. 62, on the sense of these words καλοὶ κἀγαθοί, and similar ones.

9 τὰ ἀμφισβητοῦντα] Compare the long discussion in Book III. XII. 13, for εὐγένεια also, III. XIII. 3.

μάλιστα τῶν ἄλλων] 'more than any other form of government, with the exception of the true and ideal form.' πρώτην in the sense of 'perfect.' Compare *Rhet.* I. 2, 13, p. 1356, 17, ὁ πρῶτος συλλογισμός.

κρατίαν καὶ ὀλιγαρχίαν, εἴρηται, καὶ ποῖα ταῦτα, καὶ τί διαφέρουσιν ἀλλήλων αἵ τ' ἀριστοκρατίαι καὶ αἱ πολιτεῖαι τῆς ἀριστοκρατίας, καὶ ὅτι οὐ πόρρω αὗται ἀλλήλων, φανερόν.

The πολιτεία, what it is.

9 Τίνα δὲ τρόπον γίνεται παρὰ δημοκρατίαν καὶ ὀλιγαρχίαν ἡ καλουμένη πολιτεία, καὶ πῶς αὐτὴν δεῖ καθιστάναι, λέγωμεν ἐφεξῆς τοῖς εἰρημένοις. ἅμα δὲ δῆλον ἔσται καὶ οἷς ὁρίζονται τὴν δημοκρατίαν καὶ τὴν ὀλιγαρχίαν· ληπτέον γὰρ τὴν τούτων διαίρεσιν, εἶτα ἐκ τούτων ἀφ' ἑκατέρας ὥσπερ σύμβολον λαμβάνοντας συνθετέον. Εἰσὶ δὲ ὅροι τρεῖς 2
τῆς συνθέσεως καὶ μίξεως. ἢ γὰρ ἀμφότερα ληπτέον ὧν ἑκάτεραι νομοθετοῦσιν, οἷον περὶ τοῦ δικάζειν. ἐν μὲν γὰρ ταῖς ὀλιγαρχίαις τοῖς εὐπόροις ζημίαν τάττουσιν, ἂν μὴ δικάζωσι, τοῖς δ' ἀπόροις οὐδένα μισθόν, ἐν δὲ ταῖς δημοκρατίαις τοῖς μὲν ἀπόροις μισθόν, τοῖς δ' εὐπόροις οὐδεμίαν ζημίαν. κοινὸν δὲ καὶ μέσον τούτων ἀμφότερα ταῦτα· διὸ 3
καὶ πολιτικόν· μέμικται γὰρ ἐξ ἀμφοῖν. εἷς μὲν οὖν οὗτος 1294 B
τοῦ συνδυασμοῦ τρόπος, ἕτερος δὲ τὸ μέσον λαμβάνειν ὧν ἑκάτεροι τάττουσιν, οἷον ἐκκλησιάζειν οἱ μὲν ἀπὸ τιμήματος οὐθενὸς ἢ μικροῦ πάμπαν, οἱ δ' ἀπὸ μακροῦ τιμήματος· κοινὸν δέ γε οὐδέτερον, ἀλλὰ τὸ μέσον ἑκατέρου τιμήματος τούτων. τρίτον δ' ἐκ δυοῖν ταγμάτοιν, τὰ μὲν ἐκ τοῦ ὀλι- 4
γαρχικοῦ νόμου, τὰ δ' ἐκ τοῦ δημοκρατικοῦ. λέγω δ' οἷον δοκεῖ δημοκρατικὸν μὲν εἶναι τὸ κληρωτὰς εἶναι τὰς ἀρχάς, τὸ δ' αἱρετὰς ὀλιγαρχικόν, καὶ δημοκρατικὸν μὲν τὸ μὴ ἀπὸ τιμήματος, ὀλιγαρχικὸν δὲ τὸ ἀπὸ τιμήματος. ἀριστο- 5

The πολιτεία. How it is to be constituted.

IX. 1 γίνεται] Having described the πολιτεία in itself, he proceeds to the question of its formation.

ἅμα δὲ δῆλον, κ.τ.λ.] 'This will be clear by the simple statement of the characteristics by which men determine democracy and oligarchy.' All that is to be done is to state these, distinguish them, and then take what you want from either, and put the parts together as you would the two halves of anything cut in two. For the σύμβολον was something cut in two, the parts of which fitted exactly and served as a ticket for the holder. Compare Plato, *Symp.* 191, D, ἀνθρώπου σύμβολον, ἅτε τετμημένος, ἐξ ἑνὸς δύο.

2 ὅροι τρεῖς] 'three different modes.'

3 πολιτικόν] It suits the πολιτεία.

τὸ μέσον λαμβάνειν] 'to take the mean.'

The πολιτεία. How it is to be constituted.

κρατικὸν τοίνυν καὶ πολιτικὸν τὸ ἐξ ἑκατέρας ἑκατέρον λαβεῖν, ἐκ μὲν τῆς ὀλιγαρχίας τὸ αἱρετὰς ποιεῖν τὰς ἀρχάς, ἐκ δὲ τῆς δημοκρατίας τὸ μὴ ἀπὸ τιμήματος. Ὁ μὲν οὖν
6 τρόπος τῆς μίξεως οὗτος, τοῦ δ' εὖ μεμῖχθαι δημοκρατίαν καὶ ὀλιγαρχίαν ὅρος, ὅταν ἐνδέχηται λέγειν τὴν αὐτὴν πολιτείαν δημοκρατίαν καὶ ὀλιγαρχίαν· δῆλον γὰρ ὅτι τοῦτο πάσχουσιν οἱ λέγοντες διὰ τὸ μεμῖχθαι καλῶς. πέπονθε δὲ τοῦτο καὶ τὸ μέσον· ἐμφαίνεται γὰρ ἑκάτερον ἐν αὐτῷ τῶν ἄκρων. Ὅπερ συμβαίνει περὶ τὴν Λακεδαι-
7 μονίων πολιτείαν. πολλοὶ γὰρ ἐγχειροῦσι λέγειν ὡς δημοκρατίας οὔσης διὰ τὸ δημοκρατικὰ πολλὰ τὴν τάξιν ἔχειν, οἷον πρῶτον τὸ περὶ τὴν τροφὴν τῶν παίδων· ὁμοίως γὰρ οἱ τῶν πλουσίων τρέφονται τοῖς τῶν πενήτων, καὶ παιδεύονται τὸν τρόπον τοῦτον ὃν ἂν δύναιντο καὶ τῶν
8 πενήτων οἱ παῖδες. ὁμοίως δὲ καὶ ἐπὶ τῆς ἐχομένης ἡλικίας, καὶ ὅταν ἄνδρες γένωνται, τὸν αὐτὸν τρόπον· οὐθὲν γὰρ διάδηλος ὁ πλούσιος καὶ ὁ πένης. οὕτω τὰ περὶ τὴν τροφὴν ταὐτὰ πᾶσιν ἐν τοῖς συσσιτίοις, καὶ τὴν ἐσθῆτα οἱ πλούσιοι τοιαύτην οἵαν ἄν (τις) παρασκευάσαι δύναιτο καὶ
9 τῶν πενήτων ὁστισοῦν. ἔτι τῷ δύο τὰς μεγίστας ἀρχὰς τὴν μὲν αἱρεῖσθαι τὸν δῆμον, τῆς δὲ μετέχειν· τοὺς μὲν γὰρ γέροντας αἱροῦνται, τῆς δ' ἐφορείας μετέχουσιν. οἱ δ' ὀλιγαρχίαν διὰ τὸ πολλὰ ἔχειν ὀλιγαρχικά, οἷον τὸ πάσας αἱρετὰς εἶναι καὶ μηδεμίαν κληρωτήν, καὶ ὀλίγους εἶναι

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6 ὅρος τοῦ εὖ μεμῖχθαι] 'The test or characteristic of the combination having been successfully performed.'

τοῦτο πάσχουσιν] 'feel this.'

7 ὡς δημοκρατίας οὔσης] 'to speak of it as a democracy,' as though περὶ αὐτῆς had preceded.

8 οὐθὲν γὰρ διάδηλος] 'There is no difference to mark.'

τις] is superfluous. There was then at Lacedæmon considerable social equality side by side with great political inequality, and it acted as a compensation for this last. Social equality is an idea which we in England find it hard to grasp, from the deep-rooted hold which social differences and class distinctions have got, but it is one which it would be most desirable to introduce. It is in the alienation of the various classes and consequent soreness, that lies the sting of political inequalities.

οἵαν ἄν τις] This τις with the ὁστισοῦν at the end of the sentence, is quite superfluous.

9 For the matter of this section, compare II. ix. 25. θανάτου, II. ix. 25, III. i. 10.

The tests of a true πολιτεία. κυρίους θανάτου καὶ φυγῆς, καὶ ἄλλα τοιαῦτα πολλά. δεῖ δ' ἐν τῇ πολιτείᾳ τῇ μεμιγμένῃ καλῶς ἀμφότερα δοκεῖν εἶναι καὶ μηδέτερον, καὶ σώζεσθαι δι' αὑτῆς καὶ μὴ ἔξωθεν, καὶ δι' αὑτῆς μὴ τῷ πλείους ἔξωθεν εἶναι τοὺς βουλομένους (εἴη γὰρ ἂν καὶ πονηρᾷ πολιτείᾳ τοῦθ' ὑπάρχον) ἀλλὰ τῷ μηδ' ἂν βούλεσθαι πολιτείαν ἑτέραν μηθὲν τῶν τῆς πόλεως μορίων ὅλως. Τίνα μὲν οὖν τρόπον δεῖ καθιστάναι πολιτείαν, ὁμοίως δὲ καὶ τὰς ὀνομαζομένας ἀριστοκρατίας, νῦν εἴρηται.

Περὶ δὲ τυραννίδος ἦν ἡμῖν λοιπὸν εἰπεῖν, οὐχ ὡς ἐνούσης IO
πολυλογίας περὶ αὐτήν, ἀλλ' ὅπως λάβῃ τῆς μεθόδου 1295 **The tyranny.**
τὸ μέρος, ἐπειδὴ καὶ ταύτην τίθεμεν τῶν πολιτειῶν τι μέρος. περὶ μὲν οὖν βασιλείας διωρίσαμεν ἐν τοῖς πρώτοις λόγοις, ἐν οἷς περὶ τῆς μάλιστα λεγομένης βασιλείας ἐποιούμεθα τὴν σκέψιν, πότερον ἀσύμφορον ἢ συμφέρει ταῖς πόλεσιν, καὶ τίνα καὶ πόθεν δεῖ καθιστάναι, καὶ πῶς. τυραννίδος 2
δ' εἴδη δύο μὲν διείλομεν ἐν οἷς περὶ βασιλείας ἐπεσκοποῦμεν, διὰ τὸ τὴν δύναμιν ἐπαλλάττειν πως αὐτῶν καὶ πρὸς τὴν βασιλείαν, διὰ τὸ κατὰ νόμον εἶναι ἀμφοτέρας

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10 *ἐν τῇ πολιτείᾳ*] It would be but a very slight change to read the accusative here, and it is a tempting one, but it is not necessary. Looking at section 6, the actual reading is safer, —*ἐμφαίνεται ἐν αὐτῷ*—and the sense is the same either way. On the other hand, it would be simpler in point of the construction of *σώζεσθαι* with the accusative.

τῷ μηδ' ἂν βούλεσθαι, κ.τ.λ.] For this expression compare II. IX. 22, which is not so straightforward as this and may derive light from it.

ὁμοίως δὲ καί] These last are so closely connected with the *πολιτεία*, as appears from the last chapter, that it is needless to go into details as to the method of establishing them. They are in fact the *πολιτεία* with an oligarchical tendency impressed upon them.

X. 1 *οὐχ ὡς ἐνούσης, κ.τ.λ.*] 'not as though there were much to say upon it.'

τῆς μεθόδου τὸ μέρος. 'Its share of our treatise.'

τῆς μάλιστα] 'in the strictest sense so called,' the *παμβασιλεία*, III. XIV.–XVII.

2 *ἐν οἷς*] Compare III. VI. 3, and III. X. 2, 'where.'

αὐτῶν] depends on *δύναμιν*, the subject to *ἐπαλλάττειν πῶς καὶ πρὸς τὴν βασιλείαν.* 'The two forms are such that, though strictly tyrannies, yet in its real character the power they express is closely similar to that of the *βασιλεία*, so that they and it run into one another, as it were, and can hardly be kept quite distinct.' The *καί* may express even more, 'that they are closely connected one with another, and with the *βασιλεία*.'

The tyranny.

ταύτας τὰς ἀρχάς· ἔν τε γὰρ τῶν βαρβάρων τισὶν αἱροῦνται αὐτοκράτορας μονάρχους, καὶ τὸ παλαιὸν ἐν τοῖς ἀρχαίοις Ἕλλησιν ἐγίγνοντό τινες μόναρχοι τὸν τρόπον τοῦτον,
3 οὓς ἐκάλουν αἰσυμνήτας. ἔχουσι δέ τινας πρὸς ἀλλήλας αὗται διαφοράς. ἦσαν δὲ διὰ μὲν τὸ κατὰ νόμον βασιλικαὶ καὶ διὰ τὸ μοναρχεῖν ἑκόντων, τυραννικαὶ δὲ διὰ τὸ δεσποτικῶς ἄρχειν κατὰ τὴν αὑτῶν γνώμην. τρίτον δὲ εἶδος τυραννίδος, ἥπερ μάλιστ' εἶναι δοκεῖ τυραννίς, ἀντίστροφος
4 οὖσα τῇ παμβασιλείᾳ. τοιαύτην δ' ἀναγκαῖον εἶναι τυραννίδα τὴν μοναρχίαν, ἥτις ἀνυπεύθυνος ἄρχει τῶν ὁμοίων καὶ βελτιόνων πάντων πρὸς τὸ σφέτερον αὐτῆς συμφέρον, ἀλλὰ μὴ πρὸς τὸ τῶν ἀρχομένων. διόπερ ἀκούσιος· οὐθεὶς γὰρ ἑκὼν ὑπομένει τῶν ἐλευθέρων τὴν τοιαύτην ἀρχήν. Τυραννίδος μὲν οὖν εἴδη ταῦτα καὶ τοσαῦτα διὰ τὰς εἰρημένας αἰτίας.

The best average constitution is that in which the middle class governs.

11 Τίς δ' ἀρίστη πολιτεία καὶ τίς ἄριστος βίος ταῖς πλείσταις πόλεσι καὶ τοῖς πλείστοις τῶν ἀνθρώπων, μήτε πρὸς ἀρετὴν συγκρίνουσι τὴν ὑπὲρ τοὺς ἰδιώτας, μήτε πρὸς παιδείαν ἣ φύσεως δεῖται καὶ χορηγίας τυχηρᾶς, μήτε πρὸς πολιτείαν τὴν κατ' εὐχὴν γινομένην, ἀλλὰ βίον τε τὸν τοῖς πλείστοις κοινωνῆσαι δυνατὸν καὶ πολιτείαν ἧς τὰς πλείστας

τῶν βαρβάρων τισίν] Niebuhr, *Rom. Hist.* Vol. I. 558, note 1257, thinks this alludes to the Roman Dictators. If so, is it not the only allusion we have to their political system?

3 *δεσποτικῶς*] 'quite arbitrarily and absolutely.'

4 *τοιαύτην δ' ἀναγκαῖον, κ.τ.λ.*] 'Such a tyranny as this we must necessarily recognise in the monarchy, which, free from all responsibility, rules over the equals and superiors of the monarch, in the interest of itself alone, and with no eye to that of its subjects.' Those subjects are in no sense *φύσει δοῦλοι*, and in this case, therefore, it cannot hold that *ἄρχοντι καὶ ἀρχομένῳ ταὐτὸν συμφέρει*.

XI. 1 It must be remembered that the question discussed in this chapter is the best average form, not the best form absolutely. It is quite clear that it is so in the text, but the chapter and its conclusions are sometimes quoted as though it were not so.

συγκρίνουσι πρὸς ἀρετήν, κ.τ.λ.] 'not bringing it to the standard of a virtue above that of ordinary men, nor to that of an education with requires a nature and appliances eminently fortune's gift,' such as in ordinary circumstances cannot be calculated on.

βίον τε] includes both *παιδεία καὶ ἀρέτη*, 'virtue and the training to virtue.'

The best average constitution is that in which the middle class governs.

πόλεις ἐνδέχεται μετασχεῖν. καὶ γὰρ ἃς καλοῦσιν ἀριστοκρατίας, περὶ ὧν νῦν εἴπομεν, τὰ μὲν ἐξωτέρω πίπτουσι ταῖς πλείσταις τῶν πόλεων, τὰ δὲ γειτνιῶσι τῇ καλουμένῃ πολιτείᾳ· διὸ περὶ ἀμφοῖν ὡς μιᾶς λεκτέον. ἡ δὲ δὴ κρίσις περὶ ἁπάντων τούτων ἐκ τῶν αὐτῶν στοιχείων ἐστίν. εἰ γὰρ
3 καλῶς ἐν τοῖς ἠθικοῖς εἴρηται τὸ τὸν εὐδαίμονα βίον εἶναι τὸν κατ' ἀρετὴν ἀνεμπόδιστον, μεσότητα δὲ τὴν ἀρετήν, τὸν μέσον ἀναγκαῖον βίον εἶναι βέλτιστον, τῆς ἑκάστοις ἐνδεχομένης τυχεῖν μεσότητος. τοὺς δὲ αὐτοὺς τούτους ὅρους ἀναγκαῖον εἶναι καὶ πόλεως ἀρετῆς καὶ κακίας καὶ πολιτείας· ἡ γὰρ πολιτεία βίος τίς ἐστι πόλεως.
4 1295 B Ἐν ἁπάσαις δὴ ταῖς πόλεσίν ἐστι τρία μέρη τῆς πόλεως, οἱ μὲν εὔποροι σφόδρα, οἱ δὲ ἄποροι σφόδρα, οἱ δὲ τρίτοι οἱ μέσοι τούτων. ἐπεὶ τοίνυν ὁ ὁμολογεῖται τὸ μέτριον ἄριστον καὶ τὸ μέσον, φανερὸν ὅτι καὶ τῶν εὐτυχημάτων ἡ κτῆσις ἡ μέση βελτίστη πάντων· ῥᾴστη γὰρ τῷ λόγῳ πειθαρχεῖν.
5 ὑπέρκαλον δὲ ἢ ὑπερίσχυρον ἢ ὑπερευγενῆ ἢ ὑπερπλούσιον, ἢ τἀναντία τούτοις, ὑπέρπτωχον ἢ ὑπερασθενῆ καὶ σφόδρα ἄτιμον, χαλεπὸν τῷ λόγῳ ἀκολουθεῖν. γίγνονται γὰρ οἱ μὲν ὑβρισταὶ καὶ μεγαλοπόνηροι μᾶλλον, οἱ δὲ κακοῦργοι καὶ μικροπόνηροι λίαν· τῶν δ' ἀδικημάτων τὰ μὲν γίγνεται δι' ὕβριν, τὰ δὲ

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2 τὰ μὲν ἐξωτέρω πίπτουσι] "sont en dehors des conditions," St. Hil., 'in some respects stand too far removed from the generality of states to be applicable.'

ἀμφοῖν] means not the two forms of aristocracy, but them and the πολιτεία.

3 τό] The article should be noticed with a view to a subsequent passage, VIII. (V.) I. 13. 'If we were right in the Ethics in using the language.'

ἀνεμπόδιστον] the reference is to *Ethics*, VII. xiii. 2, p. 1153, 15, and is so far in support of the genuineness of the chapters in which it occurs.

τῆς ἑκάστοις, κ.τ.λ.] 'The mean open to each to get.' The construcon is abrupt. ἧς ἑκάστοις ἐνδέχεται τυχεῖν μεσότητος would have been more regular.

ἡ γὰρ πολιτεία] 'For it is in the organisation and development of its constitution that a state finds its life.'

4 τῶν εὐτυχημάτων] 'of the gifts of fortune.'

5 δι' ὕβριν] 'From the sense of being above law,' 'from insolence.'

διὰ κακουργίαν] expresses quite an opposite feeling, viz.: the ill-feeling and wish to cause annoyance which is engendered by the conviction tha society and its arrangements are unfavourable and depressing.

οὗτοι] Are the extremes on either side, whether of wealth, &c., or poverty, &c.

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διὰ κακουργίαν. ἔτι δ' ἥκισθ' οὗτοι φυλαρχοῦσι καὶ βουλ-
αρχοῦσιν· ταῦτα δ' ἀμφότερα βλαβερὰ ταῖς πόλεσιν. πρὸς
δὲ τούτοις οἱ μὲν ἐν ὑπεροχαῖς εὐτυχημάτων ὄντες, ἰσχύος
καὶ πλούτου καὶ φίλων καὶ τῶν ἄλλων τῶν τοιούτων, ἄρ-
χεσθαι οὔτε βούλονται οὔτε ἐπίστανται (καὶ τοῦτ' εὐθὺς
6 οἴκοθεν ὑπάρχει παισὶν οὖσιν· διὰ γὰρ τὴν τρυφὴν οὐδ' ἐν
τοῖς διδασκαλείοις ἄρχεσθαι σύνηθες αὐτοῖς), οἱ δὲ καθ'
7 ὑπερβολὴν ἐν ἐνδείᾳ τούτων ταπεινοὶ λίαν. ὥσθ' οἱ μὲν
ἄρχειν οὐκ ἐπίστανται ἀλλ' ἄρχεσθαι δουλικὴν ἀρχήν, οἱ δ'
ἄρχεσθαι μὲν οὐδεμιᾷ ἀρχῇ, ἄρχειν δὲ δεσποτικὴν ἀρχήν.
γίνεται οὖν καὶ δούλων καὶ δεσποτῶν πόλις, ἀλλ' οὐκ ἐλευ-
θέρων, καὶ τῶν μὲν φθονούντων τῶν δὲ καταφρονούντων.
ἃ πλεῖστον ἀπέχει φιλίας καὶ κοινωνίας πολιτικῆς· ἡ γὰρ
κοινωνία φιλικόν· οὐδὲ γὰρ ὁδοῦ βούλονται κοινωνεῖν τοῖς
8 ἐχθροῖς. βούλεται δέ γε ἡ πόλις ἐξ ἴσων εἶναι καὶ ὁμοίων
ὅτι μάλιστα, τοῦτο δ' ὑπάρχει μάλιστα τοῖς μέσοις· ὥστ'
ἀναγκαῖον ἄριστα πολιτεύεσθαι ταύτην τὴν πόλιν ἐστὶν ἐξ
ὧν φαμὲν φύσει τὴν σύστασιν εἶναι τῆς πόλεως. καὶ σώ-
9 ζονται δ' ἐν ταῖς πόλεσιν οὗτοι μάλιστα τῶν πολιτῶν. οὔτε

φυλαρχοῦσι καὶ βουλαρχοῦσι] 'are least competent and willing to hold office, whether local or general,' yet not supreme, to discharge, in fact, the ordinary civil functions; the extremely prosperous despise them, the extremely depressed are not elected to them. So that both look on them with unfavourable eyes and sneer at them, though from opposite points, and the regular state organisation finds no support from either.

ταῦτα ἀμφότερα] Both the tendency to crime, indicated above, and the aversion to office.

6 *οἴκοθεν*] 'at home.'

ἐν τοῖς διδασκαλείοις] Compare Plato, *Republ.* VIII. 560, e, in the *παιδεία ὀλιγαρχική*.

7 *τῶν μὲν φθονούντων τῶν δὲ καταφρονούντων*] Compare the speech of Alcibiades, Thuc. VI. 16. He is the Greek statesman who best illustrates the evils of excessive prosperity, such as Aristotle is here depicting.

ἃ πλεῖστον, κ.τ.λ.] 'And this is a state of things that is as opposite as possible to friendship.'

φιλικόν] is an element of friendship.

ἐξ ὧν] There seems something missing, such a word as *τὴν συνεστηκυῖαν*. 'The state formed of these elements which according to me are the natural elements from which the state is formed.'

καὶ σώζονται] Compare Xenophon, *Hell.* II. 3, § 35 sqq., the speech of Theramenes in defence of his change of tactics, which he justifies by the attack made by the Thirty on the middle class, *οἱ μέσοι τῶν πολιτῶν*.

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γὰρ αὐτοὶ τῶν ἀλλοτρίων ὥσπερ οἱ πένητες ἐπιθυμοῦσιν, οὔτε τῆς τούτων ἕτεροι, καθάπερ τῆς τῶν πλουσίων οἱ πένητες ἐπιθυμοῦσιν· καὶ διὰ τὸ μήτ' ἐπιβουλεύεσθαι μήτ' ἐπιβουλεύειν ἀκινδύνως διάγουσιν. διὰ τοῦτο καλῶς ηὔξατο Φωκυλίδης

πολλὰ μέσοισιν ἄριστα· μέσος θέλω ἐν πόλει εἶναι.

δῆλον ἄρα ὅτι καὶ ἡ κοινωνία ἡ πολιτικὴ ἀρίστη ἡ διὰ τῶν 10
μέσων, καὶ τὰς τοιαύτας ἐνδέχεται εὖ πολιτεύεσθαι πόλεις ἐν αἷς δὴ πολὺ τὸ μέσον, καὶ κρεῖττον μάλιστα μὲν ἀμφοῖν, εἰ δὲ μή, θατέρου μέρους· προστιθέμενον γὰρ ποιεῖ ῥοπὴν καὶ κωλύει γίνεσθαι τὰς ἐναντίας ὑπερβολάς. διόπερ εὐτυχία 11
μεγίστη τοὺς πολιτευομένους οὐσίαν ἔχειν μέσην καὶ ἱκανήν, ὡς ὅπου οἱ μὲν πολλὰ σφόδρα κέκτηνται οἱ δὲ μηθέν, ἢ δῆ- 1296
μος ἔσχατος γίγνεται ἢ ὀλιγαρχία ἄκρατος ἢ τυραννὶς δι' ἀμφοτέρας τὰς ὑπερβολάς· καὶ γὰρ ἐκ δημοκρατίας τῆς νεανικωτάτης καὶ ἐξ ὀλιγαρχίας γίνεται τυραννίς, ἐκ δὲ τῶν μέσων καὶ τῶν σύνεγγυς πολὺ ἧττον. τὴν δ' αἰτίαν ὕστερον 12
ἐν τοῖς περὶ τὰς μεταβολὰς τῶν πολιτειῶν ἐροῦμεν. Ὅτι δ' ἡ μέση βελτίστη, φανερόν· μόνη γὰρ ἀστασίαστος· ὅπου γὰρ πολὺ τὸ διὰ μέσου, ἥκιστα στάσεις καὶ διαστάσεις γίγνονται τῶν πολιτειῶν. καὶ αἱ μεγάλαι πόλεις ἀστα- 13
σιαστότεραι διὰ τὴν αὐτὴν αἰτίαν, ὅτι πολὺ τὸ μέσον· ἐν δὲ ταῖς μικραῖς ῥᾴδιόν τε διαλαβεῖν εἰς δύο πάντας, ὥστε μηθὲν καταλιπεῖν μέσον, καὶ πάντες σχεδὸν ἄποροι ἢ εὔποροί εἰσιν. καὶ αἱ δημοκρατίαι δὲ ἀσφαλέστεραι τῶν ὀλιγαρχιῶν εἰσὶ 14
καὶ πολυχρονιώτεραι διὰ τοὺς μέσους· πλείους τε γὰρ εἰσὶ

Φωκυλίδης] of Miletus. *Fr.* 12. Ed. Bergk.

10 πολὺ τὸ μέσον] 'the middle class is large.'

προστιθέμενον] 'by its joining one or the other it sways the scale and prevents either of the two opposite extremes being dominant.'

τοὺς πολιτευομένους] 'the citizens,' 'those who actually mix in affairs,' les citoyens actifs.

νεανικωτάτης] 'the most unbridled,' 'luxuriant.'

12 ἀστασίαστος] Compare III. xv. 9, where this word occurs. Both passages show the great importance Aristotle attached to this point.

διαστάσεις] 'the dividing the state into two parts,' 'the setting the two sides one against the other.' διαλαβεῖν εἰς δύο.

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καὶ μᾶλλον μετέχουσι τῶν τιμῶν ἐν ταῖς δημοκρατίαις ἢ ταῖς ὀλιγαρχίαις, ἐπεὶ ὅταν ἄνευ τούτων τῷ πλήθει ὑπερτείνωσιν οἱ ἄποροι, κακοπραγία γίνεται καὶ ἀπόλλυνται ταχέως. σημεῖον δὲ δεῖ νομίζειν καὶ τὸ τοὺς βελτίστους νομοθέτας εἶναι τῶν μέσων πολιτῶν· Σόλων τε γὰρ ἦν τούτων
15 (δηλοῖ δ' ἐκ τῆς ποιήσεως) καὶ Λυκοῦργος (οὐ γὰρ ἦν βασιλεύς) καὶ Χαρώνδας καὶ σχεδὸν οἱ πλεῖστοι τῶν ἄλλων.
16 Φανερὸν δ' ἐκ τούτων καὶ διότι αἱ πλεῖσται πολιτεῖαι αἱ μὲν δημοκρατικαί εἰσιν αἱ δ' ὀλιγαρχικαί· διὰ γὰρ τὸ ἐν ταύταις πολλάκις ὀλίγον εἶναι τὸ μέσον, αἰεὶ ὁπότεροι ἂν ὑπερέχωσιν, εἴθ' οἱ τὰς οὐσίας ἔχοντες εἴθ' ὁ δῆμος, οἱ τὸ μέσον ἐκβαίνοντες καθ' αὑτοὺς ἄγουσι τὴν πολιτείαν, ὥστε
17 ἢ δῆμος γίγνεται ἢ ὀλιγαρχία. πρὸς δὲ τούτοις διὰ τὸ στάσεις γίνεσθαι καὶ μάχας πρὸς ἀλλήλους τῷ δήμῳ καὶ τοῖς εὐπόροις, ὁποτέροις ἂν μᾶλλον συμβῇ κρατῆσαι τῶν ἐναντίων, οὐ καθιστᾶσι κοινὴν πολιτείαν οὐδ' ἴσην, ἀλλὰ τῆς νίκης ἆθλον τὴν ὑπεροχὴν τῆς πολιτείας λαμβάνουσιν,
18 καὶ οἱ μὲν δημοκρατίαν οἱ δ' ὀλιγαρχίαν ποιοῦσιν. ἔτι δὲ καὶ τῶν ἐν ἡγεμονίᾳ γενομένων τῆς Ἑλλάδος πρὸς τὴν παρ' αὑτοῖς ἑκάτεροι πολιτείαν ἀποβλέποντες οἱ μὲν δημοκρατίας ἐν ταῖς πόλεσι καθίστασαν οἱ δ' ὀλιγαρχίας, οὐ πρὸς τὸ

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14 *κακοπραγία*] "Ill success," "failure," Liddell and Scott. But I doubt whether this is the meaning. May it not be more active, "there is mutual ill treatment of the one party by the other."

15 *δηλοῖ ἐκ τῆς ποιήσεως*] The general spirit of Solon's remains warrants this, but I do not find any particular passage.

οὐ γὰρ ἦν βασιλεύς] This seems an odd reason. Is it Aristotle's?

Χαρώνδας] Grote, IV. 560.

16 *ἄγουσι*] Compare v. 3, *ἀγωγή*.

17 *τὴν ὑπεροχὴν τῆς πολιτείας*] 'The supremacy in the government.' The rights or claims of the minority are not respected, to use the latest political language. And it is a question open to discussion, whether this refinement in political arrangements can be introduced, and whether, if introduced, it would really be an improvement in our institutions. It is plainly liable to be the exact contrary, by giving greater power to that which may well be thought to have too much already, the retrograde element, the so-called conservative party. Lastly, there is the question whether, supposing the two former questions answered, as they might be, under certain circumstances, in the affirmative, any such improvement could effectually obviate the evils inherent in a parliamentary government, such as that of England is justly called, and stands self-condemned by being so called. Mr. Carlyle, *Latter-day Pamphlets*.

The best average constitution is that in which the middle class governs.

τῶν πόλεων συμφέρον σκοποῦντες ἀλλὰ πρὸς τὸ σφέτερον αὐτῶν. ὥστε διὰ ταύτας τὰς αἰτίας ἢ μηδέποτε τὴν μέσην γίνεσθαι πολιτείαν ἢ ὀλιγάκις καὶ παρ' ὀλίγοις· εἷς γὰρ ἀνὴρ συνεπείσθη μόνος τῶν πρότερον ἐφ' ἡγεμονίᾳ γενομένων ταύτην ἀποδοῦναι τὴν τάξιν. ἤδη δὲ καὶ τοῖς ἐν ταῖς πόλεσιν
1296 B ἔθος καθέστηκε μηδὲ βούλεσθαι τὸ ἴσον, ἀλλ' ἢ ἄρχειν ζητεῖν
20 ἢ κρατουμένους ὑπομένειν. Τίς μὲν οὖν ἀρίστη πολιτεία, καὶ διὰ τίν' αἰτίαν, ἐκ τούτων φανερόν· τῶν δ' ἄλλων πολιτειῶν ἐπειδὴ πλείους δημοκρατίας καὶ πλείους ὀλιγαρχίας φαμὲν εἶναι, ποίαν πρώτην θετέον καὶ δευτέραν καὶ τοῦτον δὴ τὸν τρόπον ἐχομένην τῷ τὴν μὲν εἶναι βελτίω τὴν δὲ χείρω, διωρισμένης τῆς ἀρίστης οὐ χαλεπὸν ἰδεῖν. ἀεὶ[a] γὰρ ἀναγκαῖον
21 εἶναι βελτίω τὴν ἐγγύτατα ταύτης, χείρω δὲ τὴν ἀφεστηκυῖαν τοῦ μέσου πλεῖον, ἂν μὴ πρὸς ὑπόθεσιν κρίνῃ τις. λέγω δὲ τὸ πρὸς ὑπόθεσιν, ὅτι πολλάκις οὔσης ἄλλης πολιτείας αἱρετωτέρας ἐνίοις οὐθὲν κωλύσει συμφέρειν ἑτέραν μᾶλλον εἶναι πολιτείαν.

[a] Δεῖ Bekker.

18 Compare Thuc. III. 82, on this point. πρὸς τὸ σφέτερον αὐτῶν—σφίσιν ἐπιτηδείως πολιτεύεσθαι is the historical expression of this.

19 εἷς γὰρ ἀνήρ] It is curious that no certain nor even very probable answer can be given to the question who the person here alluded to is? I have been sometimes tempted to think that it is the Spartan King Pausanias (Xenophon, *Hell.* II. 5.), whose position at home and policy led him not to sanction the Athenian oligarchy, but to aim at the restoration of a more moderate government, to revive the older democracy—ἀποδοῦναι τὴν τάξιν—which, doubtless, in the eyes of a later generation, looking on τὴν νῦν δημοκρατίαν, would be considered as a πολιτεία τῶν μέσων.

τοῖς ἐν ταῖς πόλεσιν] simply opposed to the τῶν ἐν ἡγεμονίᾳ γενομένων.

20 ἀρίστη] sc. τοῖς πλείστοις.

τοῦτον δὴ τὸν τρόπον ἐχομένην] 'and so on in due order.'

21 Ἀεὶ γάρ] This correction of Spengel's XXV. note 27, scarcely needs the support of V. (VIII.) I. 2, to make us accept it.

πρὸς ὑπόθεσιν] Compare VII. 2, and note.

ἑτέραν μᾶλλον εἶναι] 'that there be another constitution.' This remark is the connecting link between the two chapters. All cannot have the best average form—their circumstances preclude it and make some other form desirable. What are the other forms that may be desirable under certain circumstances is naturally the next question, and is answered, though in a very general and vague way, in the two next chapters.

The constitutions suitable in particular cases.

Τίς δὲ πολιτεία τίσι καὶ ποία συμφέρει ποίοις, ἐχόμενόν
ἐστι τῶν εἰρημένων διελθεῖν. ληπτέον δὴ πρῶτον περὶ πα-
σῶν καθόλου ταὐτόν· δεῖ γὰρ κρεῖττον εἶναι τὸ βουλόμενον
12 μέρος τῆς πόλεως τοῦ μὴ βουλομένου μένειν τὴν πολιτείαν.
ἔστι δὲ πᾶσα πόλις ἔκ τε τοῦ ποιοῦ καὶ ποσοῦ. λέγω δὲ
ποιὸν μὲν ἐλευθερίαν πλοῦτον παιδείαν εὐγένειαν, ποσὸν δὲ
2 τὴν τοῦ πλήθους ὑπεροχήν. ἐνδέχεται δὲ τὸ μὲν ποιὸν
ὑπάρχειν ἑτέρῳ μέρει τῆς πόλεως, ἐξ ὧν συνέστηκε μερῶν
ἡ πόλις, ἄλλῳ δὲ μέρει τὸ ποσόν, οἷον πλείους τὸν ἀριθμὸν
εἶναι τῶν γενναίων τοὺς ἀγεννεῖς ἢ τῶν πλουσίων τοὺς ἀπό-
ρους, μὴ μέντοι τοσοῦτον ὑπερέχειν τῷ ποσῷ ὅσον λείπε-
3 σθαι τῷ ποιῷ. διὸ ταῦτα πρὸς ἄλληλα συγκριτέον. ὅπου
μὲν οὖν ὑπερέχει τὸ τῶν ἀπόρων πλῆθος τὴν εἰρημένην ἀνα-
λογίαν, ἐνταῦθα πέφυκεν εἶναι δημοκρατίαν, καὶ ἕκαστον
εἶδος δημοκρατίας κατὰ τὴν ὑπεροχὴν τοῦ δήμου ἑκάστου,
οἷον ἐὰν μὲν τὸ τῶν γεωργῶν ὑπερτείνῃ πλῆθος, τὴν πρώ-
την δημοκρατίαν, ἐὰν δὲ τὸ τῶν βαναύσων καὶ μισθαρνούν-
των, τὴν τελευταίαν, ὁμοίως δὲ καὶ τὰς ἄλλας τὰς μεταξὺ
τούτων· ὅπου δὲ τὸ τῶν εὐπόρων καὶ γνωρίμων μᾶλλον ὑπερ-
τείνει τῷ ποιῷ ἢ λείπεται τῷ ποσῷ, ἐνταῦθα δὲ ὀλιγαρ-
χίαν, καὶ τῆς ὀλιγαρχίας τὸν αὐτὸν τρόπον ἕκαστον εἶδος

XII. 1 *δεῖ γὰρ κρεῖττον, κ.τ.λ.*] 'There must be a preponderance in favour of the existing government.' But this idea of preponderance involves conflicting elements, and a comparison, a balancing of the powers of these elements.

πᾶσα πόλις] 'Every state is composed of quality and number.' It is, in other words, a given number of citizens, and in that number of citizens there are many different classes.

τὴν τοῦ πλήθους ὑπεροχήν] Such a term shows that Aristotle was rather thinking of the political element of the mass as opposed to that of those who are opposed to the mass, either by birth, education, or wealth, than simply of number. 'The superiority of the large majority' is spoken of as balancing the power attaching to the other points above mentioned.

2 *ἐξ ὧν συνέστηκε, κ.τ.λ.*] 'granting, of course, that it be one of the parts of which a state really consists,' the essential elements of a state. Compare IV. (VII.) viii. i. 6.

συγκριτέον] 'we must compare.' On this subject see Arnold, *Rom. Hist.* Vol. i. Ch. xiii. the concluding paragraph.

3 *τὴν εἰρημένην ἀναλογίαν*] 'In the proportion stated,' rather implied. *τοσοῦτον τῷ ποσῷ ὥστε μὴ λείπεσθαι τῷ ποιῷ.* Its superiority in number is not overbalanced by its opponent's superiority in other points.

ἐνταῦθα δέ] 'Here then.'

The constitutions suitable in particular cases.

κατὰ τὴν ὑπεροχὴν τοῦ ὀλιγαρχικοῦ πλήθους. δεῖ δ' ἀεὶ
τὸν νομοθέτην ἐν τῇ πολιτείᾳ προσλαμβάνειν τοὺς μέσους·
ἄν τε γὰρ ὀλιγαρχικοὺς τοὺς νόμους τιθῇ, στοχάζεσθαι
χρὴ τῶν μέσων, ἐάν τε δημοκρατικούς, προσάγεσθαι τοῖς 4
νόμοις τούτους. ὅπου δὲ τὸ τῶν μέσων ὑπερτείνει πλῆθος
ἢ συναμφοτέρων τῶν ἄκρων ἢ καὶ θατέρου μόνον, ἐνταῦθ'
ἐνδέχεται πολιτείαν εἶναι μόνιμον. οὐθὲν γὰρ φοβερὸν μή 5
ποτε συμφωνήσωσιν οἱ πλούσιοι τοῖς πένησιν ἐπὶ τούτους· 1297
οὐδέποτε γὰρ ἅτεροι βουλήσονται δουλεύειν τοῖς ἑτέροις,
κοινοτέραν δ' ἂν ζητῶσιν, οὐδεμίαν εὑρήσουσιν ἄλλην ταύτης.
ἐν μέρει γὰρ ἄρχειν οὐκ ἂν ὑπομείνειαν διὰ τὴν ἀπιστίαν
τὴν πρὸς ἀλλήλους. πανταχοῦ δὲ πιστότατος ὁ διαιτητής,
διαιτητὴς δ' ὁ μέσος. ὅσῳ δ' ἂν ἄμεινον ἡ πολιτεία 6
μιχθῇ, τοσούτῳ μονιμωτέρα. διαμαρτάνουσι δὲ πολλοὶ καὶ
τῶν τὰς ἀριστοκρατικὰς βουλομένων ποιεῖν πολιτείας, οὐ
μόνον ἐν τῷ πλεῖον νέμειν τοῖς εὐπόροις, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐν τῷ
παρακρούεσθαι τὸν δῆμον. ἀνάγκη γὰρ χρόνῳ ποτὲ ἐκ τῶν
ψευδῶν ἀγαθῶν ἀληθὲς συμβῆναι κακόν· αἱ γὰρ πλεονεξίαι
τῶν πλουσίων ἀπολλύουσι μᾶλλον τὴν πολιτείαν ἢ αἱ τοῦ
δήμου.

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4 *ἐν τῇ πολιτείᾳ*] 'in his constitutional arrangement.'

προσάγεσθαι τοῖς νόμοις τούτους] sc. *τοὺς μέσους*. 'To interest the middle class in favour of his laws,' or should it be the dative of the instrument, 'by his laws to interest the middle class in the support of his constitution.'

καὶ θατέρου μόνον] 'or even of one of the two only.'

5 *ἐν μέρει γάρ, κ.τ.λ.*] Comp. XI. 19. *ἤδη δὲ καί, κ.τ.λ.*

6 One of the two parties must be the stronger, and the constitution must, in its arrangements, express that fact. Allowing this, Aristotle urges upon the statesman the necessity of tempering the truth; of, as far as possible, introducing the middle class, which stands in the position of mediator or arbitrator. Secondly, of mixing, so far as is possible, the various elements, not giving to the party which must be essentially dominant, more uncontrolled, unchecked power, than is indispensable. So the constitution will be more permanent. And this second caution is often violated even by those who wish, not for an unmitigated oligarchy, but for an aristocratical government. *διαμαρτάνουσι δὲ πολλοί, κ.τ.λ.*

ἐν τῷ πλέον νέμειν] This is essential. The other (*ἐν τῷ παρακρούεσθαι τὸν δῆμον*), 'the deceiving the people,' is not so.

χρόνῳ ποτέ] 'that at some time or other, if not at once.'

ἀπολλύουσι μᾶλλον] 'are of a more destructive tendency.'

Various oligarchical contrivances.

13 Ἔστι δ' ὅσα προφάσεως χάριν ἐν ταῖς πολιτείαις
σοφίζονται πρὸς τὸν δῆμον πέντε τὸν ἀριθμόν, περὶ ἐκκλη-
σίαν, περὶ τὰς ἀρχάς, περὶ δικαστήρια, περὶ ὅπλισιν, περὶ
γυμνασίαν. περὶ ἐκκλησίαν μὲν τὸ ἐξεῖναι ἐκκλησιάζειν
πᾶσι, ζημίαν δὲ ἐπικεῖσθαι τοῖς εὐπόροις ἐὰν μὴ ἐκκλησιά-
2 ζωσιν, ἢ μόνοις ἢ μείζω πολλῷ. περὶ δὲ τὰς ἀρχὰς τὸ
τοῖς μὲν ἔχουσι τίμημα μὴ ἐξεῖναι ἐξόμνυσθαι, τοῖς δ' ἀπό-
ροις ἐξεῖναι. καὶ περὶ τὰ δικαστήρια τοῖς μὲν εὐπόροις
εἶναι ζημίαν ἂν μὴ δικάζωσι, τοῖς δ' ἀπόροις ἄδειαν, ἢ τοῖς
μὲν μεγάλην τοῖς δὲ μικράν, ὥσπερ ἐν τοῖς Χαρώνδου
3 νόμοις. ἐνιαχοῦ δ' ἔξεστι μὲν πᾶσιν ἀπογραψαμένοις
ἐκκλησιάζειν καὶ δικάζειν, ἐὰν δὲ ἀπογραψάμενοι μήτ' ἐκ-
κλησιάζωσι μήτε δικάζωσιν, ἐπίκεινται μεγάλαι ζημίαι τού-
τοις, ἵνα διὰ μὲν τὴν ζημίαν φεύγωσι τὸ ἀπογράφεσθαι,
διὰ δὲ τὸ μὴ ἀπογράφεσθαι μὴ δικάζωσι μηδ' ἐκκλησιάζω-
4 σιν. τὸν αὐτὸν δὲ τρόπον καὶ περὶ τοῦ ὅπλα κεκτῆσθαι
καὶ τοῦ γυμνάζεσθαι νομοθετοῦσιν· τοῖς μὲν γὰρ ἀπόροις
ἔξεστι μὴ κεκτῆσθαι, τοῖς δ' εὐπόροις ἐπιζήμιον μὴ κεκτη-
μένοις· κἂν μὴ γυμνάζωνται, τοῖς μὲν οὐδεμία ζημία, τοῖς
δ' εὐπόροις ἐπιζήμιον, ὅπως οἱ μὲν διὰ τὴν ζημίαν μετέ-
5 χωσιν, οἱ δὲ διὰ τὸ μὴ φοβεῖσθαι μὴ μετέχωσιν. Ταῦτα
μὲν οὖν ὀλιγαρχικὰ σοφίσματα τῆς νομοθεσίας, ἐν δὲ ταῖς
δημοκρατίαις πρὸς ταῦτ' ἀντισοφίζονται· τοῖς μὲν γὰρ
ἀπόροις μισθὸν πορίζουσιν ἐκκλησιάζουσι καὶ δικάζουσιν,
6 τοῖς δ' εὐπόροις οὐδεμίαν τάττουσι ζημίαν. ὥστε φανερὸν
ὅτι εἴ τις βούλεται μιγνύναι δικαίως, δεῖ τὰ παρ' ἑκατέροις
συνάγειν καὶ τοῖς μὲν μισθὸν πορίζειν τοῖς δὲ ζημίαν· οὕτω
γὰρ ἂν κοινωνοῖεν ἅπαντες, ἐκείνως δ' ἡ πολιτεία γίγνεται
1297 B 7 τῶν ἑτέρων μόνον. Δεῖ δὲ τὴν πολιτείαν εἶναι μὲν ἐκ τῶν

The democratical contrivances.

XIII. 1 ὅσα σοφίζονται] 'The devices or artifices they have recourse to' προφάσεως χάριν, 'by way of pretext.'

2 ἐξόμνυσθαι] 'to decline an office or oath.'

Χαρώνδου νόμοις] Grote, IV. 561.

3 ἀπογραψαμένοις] 'when they have registered.'

6 τῶν ἑτέρων μόνον] 'of one of the two parties only.'

7 δεῖ δὲ τὴν πολιτείαν] 'The government must be in the hands of those who have the arms.'

τὰ ὅπλα ἐχόντων μόνον· τοῦ δὲ τιμήματος τὸ πλῆθος
ἁπλῶς μὲν ὁρισαμένους οὐκ ἔστιν εἰπεῖν τοσοῦτον ὑπάρχειν,
ἀλλὰ σκεψαμένους τὸ ποῖον ἐπιβάλλει μακρότατον ὥστε
τοὺς μετέχοντας τῆς πολιτείας εἶναι πλείους τῶν μὴ μετε-
χόντων, τοῦτο τάττειν. ἐθέλουσι γὰρ οἱ πένητες καὶ μὴ 8
μετέχοντες τῶν τιμῶν ἡσυχίαν ἔχειν, ἐὰν μὴ ὑβρίζῃ τις
αὐτοὺς μήτε ἀφαιρῆται μηθὲν τῆς οὐσίας. ἀλλὰ τοῦτο οὐ
ῥᾴδιον· οὐ γὰρ ἀεὶ συμβαίνει χαρίεντας εἶναι τοὺς μετέχον-
τας τοῦ πολιτεύματος. καὶ εἰώθασι δέ, ὅταν πόλεμος ᾖ, 9
ὀκνεῖν, ἂν μὴ λαμβάνωσι τροφήν, ἄποροι δὲ ὦσιν· ἐὰν
δὲ πορίζῃ τις τροφήν, βούλονται πολεμεῖν. ἔστι δ' ἡ
πολιτεία παρ' ἐνίοις οὐ μόνον ἐκ τῶν ὁπλιτευόντων ἀλλὰ
καὶ ἐκ τῶν ὡπλιτευκότων· ἐν Μαλιεῦσι δὲ ἡ μὲν πολιτεία
ἦν ἐκ τούτων, τὰς δὲ ἀρχὰς ᾑροῦντο ἐκ τῶν στρατευομένων.
καὶ ἡ πρώτη δὲ πολιτεία ἐν τοῖς Ἕλλησιν ἐγένετο μετὰ 10
τὰς βασιλείας ἐκ τῶν πολεμούντων, ἡ μὲν ἐξ ἀρχῆς ἐκ τῶν
ἱππέων (τὴν γὰρ ἰσχὺν καὶ τὴν ὑπεροχὴν ἐν τοῖς ἱππεῦσιν
ὁ πόλεμος εἶχεν· ἄνευ μὲν γὰρ συντάξεως ἄχρηστον τὸ
ὁπλιτικόν, αἱ δὲ περὶ τῶν τοιούτων ἐμπειρίαι καὶ τάξεις ἐν
τοῖς ἀρχαίοις οὐχ ὑπῆρχον, ὥστ' ἐν τοῖς ἱππεῦσιν εἶναι τὴν
ἰσχύν), αὐξανομένων δὲ τῶν πόλεων καὶ τῶν ἐν τοῖς ὅπλοις
ἰσχυσάντων μᾶλλον πλείους μετεῖχον τῆς πολιτείας. διόπερ 11

The democratical contrivances.

The course of political experience in Greece.

ἁπλῶς μὲν ὁρισαμένους] 'We cannot absolutely fix its limits, and say it is to be so much and no more, but we must find out what is the highest amount that extends far enough,' takes in a sufficient number, 'for those who share in the government to outnumber those who do not share in it, and we must fix it at this amount.'

8 *χαρίεντας*] 'moderate,' 'decorous,' 'intelligent.'

9 *βούλονται πολεμεῖν*] This was the feeling of the Roman people at the commencement of the first Punic war.

ἡ πολιτεία] 'The governing body in some cases is not only formed of those who bear arms at the time, but takes in those who have borne arms and are now past the military age.'

Μαλιεῦσι] Compare Grote, II. 378.

τούτων] who are meant? I conceive both of the classes just mentioned, whilst the executive was chosen out of the men of military age. The text, of course, will bear quite a different interpretation.

10 *ἡ πρώτη πολιτεία*] 'The first constitution of Greek freemen.'

μετὰ τὰς βασιλείας] One of the many passages which exclude *βασιλεία* from the list of *πολιτεῖαι*.

συντάξεως] 'training,' 'discipline,' 'organisation.'

11 *διόπερ*] This is an interesting passage on the progress of political

The course of political experience in Greece.

ἃς νῦν καλοῦμεν πολιτείας, οἱ πρότερον ἐκάλουν δημοκρατίας. ἦσαν δὲ αἱ ἀρχαῖαι πολιτεῖαι εὐλόγως ὀλιγαρχικαὶ καὶ βασιλικαί· δι' ὀλιγανθρωπίαν γὰρ οὐκ εἶχον πολὺ τὸ μέσον, ὥστ' ὀλίγοι τε ὄντες τὸ πλῆθος καὶ κατὰ τὴν
12 σύνταξιν μᾶλλον ὑπέμενον τὸ ἄρχεσθαι. Διὰ τίνα μὲν οὖν εἰσὶν αἰτίαν αἱ πολιτεῖαι πλείους, καὶ διὰ τί παρὰ τὰς λεγομένας ἕτεραι (δημοκρατία τε γὰρ οὐ μία τὸν ἀριθμόν ἐστι, καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ὁμοίως), ἔτι δὲ τίνες αἱ διαφοραὶ καὶ διὰ τίνα αἰτίαν συμβαίνει, πρὸς δὲ τούτοις τίς ἀρίστη τῶν πολιτειῶν ὡς ἐπὶ τὸ πλεῖστον εἰπεῖν, καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ποία ποίοις ἁρμόττει τῶν πολιτειῶν εἴρηται.

The three powers.

14 Πάλιν δὲ καὶ κοινῇ καὶ χωρὶς περὶ ἑκάστης λέγωμεν περὶ τῶν ἐφεξῆς, λαβόντες ἀρχὴν τὴν προσήκουσαν αὐτῶν. Ἔστι δὴ τρία μόρια τῶν πολιτειῶν πασῶν, περὶ ὧν δεῖ θεωρεῖν τὸν σπουδαῖον νομοθέτην ἑκάστῃ τὸ συμφέρον· ὧν ἐχόντων καλῶς ἀνάγκη τὴν πολιτείαν ἔχειν καλῶς, καὶ τὰς πολιτείας ἀλλήλων διαφέρειν ἐν τῷ διαφέρειν ἕκαστον τού-
1298 2 των. ἔστι δὲ τῶν τριῶν τούτων ἓν μέν τί[a] τὸ βουλευόμε-

[a] τι Bekker.

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ideas, and the gradual enlargement of the social union.

καὶ κατὰ τὴν σύνταξιν] This, Stahr makes to depend on *ὀλίγοι*, "unbedeutend," and the *ὀλίγοι τε—καί* seems to justify him, 'few in number and unimportant in the military arrangement.'

12 *παρὰ τὰς λεγομένας*] So above, IV. 7, *πλείους τῶν εἰρημένων*. On this paragraph, as an instance of Aristotle's method, at any point where his subject changes, compare Spengel, pp. 32, 33.

XIV. 1 Aristotle enters now on the point stated Ch. II. 5, *μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα τίνα τρόπον δεῖ καθιστάναι ταύτας τὰς πολιτείας, λέγω δὲ δημοκρατίας τε καθ' ἕκαστον εἶδος καὶ πάλιν ὀλιγαρχίας*. Its discussion occupies the closing chapters of Book VI. and the whole of Book VII. (VI.). In this book he treats of that which concerns them all alike (*κοινῇ*). We have his theory of the three powers, the deliberative, executive, and judicial, which must, he says, exist in every constitution; as such they may be separated off from the detail of the various forms of oligarchy and democracy; at least all general statements about them may; and the various modifications necessary for these various forms may be introduced later. This explains his language here, *καὶ κοινῇ καὶ χωρὶς περὶ ἑκάστης*.

τὴν προσήκουσαν αὐτῶν] 'The appropriate basis of the discussion.'

2 *τι τὸ βουλευόμενον*] There is an inconsistency in this sentence as it stands in Bekker's text. The most symmetrical arrangement would be to throw out the *τι* in both places. But if it is kept in both places, it is diffi-

The three powers.

νον περὶ τῶν κοινῶν, δεύτερον δὲ τὸ περὶ τὰς ἀρχάς (τοῦτο δ' ἐστὶν ἃς δεῖ καὶ τίνων εἶναι κυρίας, καὶ ποίαν τινὰ δεῖ γίγνεσθαι τὴν αἵρεσιν αὐτῶν), τρίτον δὲ τί τὸ δικάζον. Κύριον 3
δ' ἐστὶ τὸ βουλευόμενον περὶ πολέμου καὶ εἰρήνης καὶ συμμαχίας καὶ διαλύσεως, καὶ περὶ νόμων, καὶ περὶ θανάτου καὶ φυγῆς καὶ δημεύσεως, καὶ τῶν εὐθυνῶν. ἀναγκαῖον δ' ἤτοι πᾶσι τοῖς πολίταις ἀποδεδόσθαι πάσας ταύτας τὰς κρίσεις ἢ τισὶ πάσας, οἷον ἀρχῇ τινὶ μιᾷ ἢ πλείοσιν, ἢ ἑτέραις ἑτέρας, ἢ τινὰς μὲν αὐτῶν πᾶσι τινὰς δὲ τισίν. τὸ μὲν 4
οὖν πάντας καὶ περὶ ἁπάντων δημοτικόν· τὴν τοιαύτην γὰρ ἰσότητα ζητεῖ ὁ δῆμος· εἰσὶ δὲ οἱ τρόποι τοῦ πάντας πλείους, εἷς μὲν τὸ κατὰ μέρος ἀλλὰ μὴ πάντας ἀθρόους, ὥσπερ ἐν τῇ πολιτείᾳ τῇ Τηλεκλέους ἐστὶ τοῦ Μιλησίου (καὶ ἐν ἄλλαις δὲ πολιτείαις βουλεύονται αἱ συναρχίαι συνιοῦσαι, εἰς δὲ τὰς ἀρχὰς βαδίζουσι πάντες κατὰ μέρος ἐκ τῶν φυλῶν καὶ τῶν μορίων τῶν ἐλαχίστων παντελῶς, ἕως ἂν διέλθῃ διὰ πάντων), συνιέναι δὲ μόνον περί τε νόμων θέσεως καὶ τῶν περὶ τῆς πολιτείας, καὶ τὰ παραγγελλόμενα ἀκουσομένους ὑπὸ τῶν ἀρχόντων. ἄλλος δὲ τρόπος 5
τὸ πάντας ἀθρόους, συνιέναι δὲ μόνον πρός τε τὰς ἀρχαιρεσίας αἱρησομένους καὶ πρὸς τὰς νομοθεσίας καὶ περὶ πολέμου καὶ εἰρήνης καὶ πρὸς εὐθύνας, τὰ δ' ἄλλα τὰς ἀρχὰς βουλεύεσθαι τὰς ἐφ' ἑκάστοις τεταγμένας, αἱρετὰς οὔσας ἐξ ἁπάντων ἢ κληρωτάς. ἄλλος δὲ τρόπος τὸ περὶ 6
τὰς ἀρχὰς καὶ τὰς εὐθύνας ἀπαντᾶν τοὺς πολίτας, καὶ περὶ πολέμου βουλευσομένους καὶ συμμαχίας, τὰ δ' ἄλλα τὰς

The deliberative.

In democracies.

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cult to see why one should be indefinite, the other interrogative. I have made them both interrogative.

3 **Κύριον δ' ἐστί**] 'The sovereign power resides in.'

διαλύσεως] 'dissolving an alliance.'

δημεύσεως] 'confiscation.'

4 **δημοτικόν**] 'democratical,' 'characteristic of a popular government.'

τὸ κατὰ μέρος ἀλλὰ μὴ πάντας ἀθρόους] The sense would seem to require a repetition of the word **πάντας**; 'that all should deliberate, but by parts, and not in one collective body.'

Telecles, the Milesian, not known.

συναρχίαι] The boards of magistrates.

τῶν περὶ τῆς πολιτείας] 'questions that concern the constitution.'

5 ***τὰ δ' ἄλλα***] There are not many points left of the list given in § 3, ***θανάτου, φυγῆς, δημεύσεως***,—judicial

In democracies. ἀρχὰς διοικεῖν αἱρετὰς οὔσας, ὅσας ἐνδέχεται· τοιαῦται δ᾽
εἰσὶν ὅσας ἄρχειν ἀναγκαῖον τοὺς ἐπισταμένους. τέταρτος
7 δὲ τρόπος τὸ πάντας περὶ πάντων βουλεύεσθαι συνιόντας,
τὰς δ᾽ ἀρχὰς περὶ μηθενὸς κρίνειν ἀλλὰ μόνον προανακρίνειν·
ὅνπερ ἡ τελευταία δημοκρατία νῦν διοικεῖται τρόπον, ἣν
ἀνάλογόν φαμεν εἶναι ὀλιγαρχίᾳ τε δυναστευτικῇ καὶ μο-
ναρχίᾳ τυραννικῇ. Οὗτοι μὲν οὖν οἱ τρόποι δημοκρατικοὶ
8 πάντες, τὸ δὲ τινὰς περὶ πάντων ὀλιγαρχικόν. ἔχει δὲ καὶ
In oligarchies. τοῦτο διαφορὰς πλείους. ὅταν μὲν γὰρ ἀπὸ τιμημάτων
μετριωτέρων αἱρετοί τε ὦσι καὶ πλείους διὰ τὴν μετριότητα
τοῦ τιμήματος, καὶ περὶ ὧν ὁ νόμος ἀπαγορεύει, μὴ κινῶσιν
ἀλλ᾽ ἀκολουθῶσι, καὶ ἐξῇ κτωμένῳ τὸ τίμημα μετέχειν, ὀλι-
γαρχία μὲν πολιτικὴ δ᾽ ἐστὶν ἡ τοιαύτη διὰ τὸ μετριάζειν·
1298 a ὅταν δὲ μὴ πάντες τοῦ βουλεύεσθαι μετέχωσιν ἀλλ᾽ αἱρετοί,
κατὰ νόμον δ᾽ ἄρχωσιν ὥσπερ καὶ πρότερον, ὀλιγαρχικόν.
9 ὅταν δὲ καὶ αἱρῶνται αὐτοὶ αὐτοὺς οἱ κύριοι τοῦ βουλεύεσθαι,
καὶ ὅταν παῖς ἀντὶ πατρὸς εἰσίῃ καὶ κύριοι τῶν νόμων ὦσιν,
10 ὀλιγαρχικὴν ἀναγκαῖον εἶναι τὴν τάξιν ταύτην. ὅταν δὲ
τινῶν τινές, οἷον πολέμου μὲν καὶ εἰρήνης καὶ εὐθυνῶν πάντες,
τῶν δὲ ἄλλων ἄρχοντες, καὶ οὗτοι αἱρετοὶ ἢ κληρωτοί, ἀρι-
στοκρατία μὲν ἡ πολιτεία· ἐὰν δ᾽ ἐνίων μὲν αἱρετοὶ ἐνίων
δὲ κληρωτοί, καὶ κληρωτοὶ ἢ ἁπλῶς ἢ ἐκ προκρίτων, ἢ κοινῇ
αἱρετοὶ καὶ κληρωτοί, τὰ μὲν πολιτείας ἀριστοκρατικῆς ἐστὶ
11 τούτων, τὰ δὲ πολιτείας αὐτῆς. Διῄρηται μὲν οὖν τὸ
Advice as to its organisation. βουλευόμενον πρὸς τὰς πολιτείας τοῦτον τὸν τρόπον, καὶ
διοίσει[a] ἑκάστη πολιτεία κατὰ τὸν εἰρημένον διορισμόν.

[a] διοικεῖ Bekker.

questions mainly, concerning of course political offenders.

6 ὅσας ἐνδέχεται] 'as many as it is possible to have elective.'

7 προανακρίνειν] 'previously examine.' This was the function after Cleisthenes of the βουλή, or probouleutic council, and in the ordinary jurisdiction of the archons.

8 κινῶσιν] 'They do not feel at liberty to interfere, but simply obey the law.'

ὀλιγαρχία μέν, κ.τ.λ.] 'It is an oligarchy, it is true, but one that borders on the πολιτεία, from its moderation.'

10 προκρίτων] 'a body previously selected.'

11 διοίσει] So I read, instead of Bekker's διοικεῖ, and the change is easier than διοικεῖται, which several editors have adopted. Stahr preserves διοικεῖ; but διοίσει is quite in keeping

Advice as to its organisation.

συμφέρει δὲ δημοκρατίᾳ τε τῇ μάλιστ' εἶναι δοκούσῃ δημο-
κρατίᾳ νῦν (λέγω δὲ τοιαύτην ἐν ᾗ κύριος ὁ δῆμος καὶ τῶν
νόμων ἐστίν) πρὸς τὸ βουλεύεσθαι βέλτιον τὸ αὐτὸ ποιεῖν
ὅπερ ἐπὶ τῶν δικαστηρίων ἐν ταῖς ὀλιγαρχίαις (τάττουσι 12
γὰρ ζημίαν τούτοις οὓς βούλονται δικάζειν, ἵνα δικάζωσιν,
οἱ δὲ δημοτικοὶ μισθὸν τοῖς ἀπόροις), τοῦτο δὲ καὶ περὶ
τὰς ἐκκλησίας ποιεῖν· βουλεύσονται γὰρ βέλτιον κοινῇ
βουλευόμενοι πάντες, ὁ μὲν δῆμος μετὰ τῶν γνωρίμων, οὗτοι
δὲ μετὰ τοῦ πλήθους. συμφέρει δὲ καὶ τὸ αἱρετοὺς εἶναι 13
τοὺς βουλευομένους ἢ κληρωτοὺς ἴσως ἐκ τῶν μορίων. συμ-
φέρει δὲ κἂν ὑπερβάλλωσι πολὺ κατὰ τὸ πλῆθος οἱ δημο-
τικοὶ τῶν πολιτικῶν, ἢ μὴ πᾶσι διδόναι μισθόν, ἀλλ' ὅσοι
σύμμετροι πρὸς τὸ τῶν γνωρίμων πλῆθος, ἢ ἀποκληροῦν
τοὺς πλείους. ἐν δὲ ταῖς ὀλιγαρχίαις ἢ προαιρεῖσθαί τινας 14
ἐκ τοῦ πλήθους, ἢ κατασκευάσαντας ἀρχεῖον οἷον ἐν ἐνίαις
πολιτείαις ἐστὶν οὓς καλοῦσι προβούλους καὶ νομοφύλακας,
καὶ περὶ τούτων χρηματίζειν περὶ ὧν ἂν οὗτοι προβουλεύ-
σωσιν· οὕτω γὰρ μεθέξει ὁ δῆμος τοῦ βουλεύεσθαι, καὶ λύειν
οὐθὲν δυνήσεται τῶν περὶ τὴν πολιτείαν. ἔτι ἢ ταὐτὰ 15
ψηφίζεσθαι τὸν δῆμον ἢ μηθὲν ἐναντίον τοῖς εἰσφερομένοις,
ἢ τῆς συμβουλῆς μὲν μεταδιδόναι πᾶσι, βουλεύεσθαι δὲ τοὺς
ἄρχοντας. καὶ τὸ ἀντικείμενον δὲ τοῦ ἐν ταῖς πολιτείαις
γιγνομένου δεῖ ποιεῖν· ἀποψηφιζόμενον μὲν γὰρ κύριον δεῖ
ποιεῖν τὸ πλῆθος, καταψηφιζόμενον δὲ μὴ κύριον, ἀλλ'

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with his general language. Compare § 1, τὰς πολιτείας διαφέρειν. The Vet. Tr. read διοικεῖ; he gives "disponitur" as his rendering. It is stated that no MS. reads διοικεῖται.

13 ἴσως] 'equally from the different parts of the state.'

συμφέρει δὲ κἂν] 'It is expedient also if.'

τῶν πολιτικῶν] "politiquement capables," says St. Hilaire rightly.

ἀποκληροῦν] 'exclude by lot the numbers in excess of the limit indicated.'

14 προαιρεῖσθαι] 'choose beforehand,' not the common Aristotelian sense of the word, but the strict literal meaning of it, which is the basis of the other.

προβούλους] Comp. Thuc. VIII. 1, for this magistracy, established in Athens after the defeat in Sicily, B.C. 412. See VII. (VI.) VIII. 17, 24.

νομοφύλακας] Later VII. (VI.) VIII. 24.

χρηματίζειν περὶ τούτων] 'decide on these points only.'

15 τῆς συμβουλῆς] 'Advice.'

βουλεύεσθαι] 'the effective deliberation.'

ἀποψηφιζόμενον] 'The veto of the

Advice as to the organisation of the deliberative power.

ἐπαναγέσθω πάλιν ἐπὶ τοὺς ἄρχοντας. ἐν γὰρ ταῖς πολιτείαις ἀντεστραμμένως ποιοῦσιν· οἱ γὰρ ὀλίγοι ἀποψηφισάμενοι μὲν κύριοι, καταψηφισάμενοι δὲ οὐ κύριοι, ἀλλ' ἐπανάγεται εἰς τοὺς πλείστους αἰεί. Περὶ μὲν οὖν τοῦ
1299 16 βουλευομένου καὶ τοῦ κυρίου δὴ τῆς πολιτείας τοῦτον διωρίσθω τὸν τρόπον.

15 Ἐχομένη δὲ τούτων ἐστὶν ἡ περὶ τὰς ἀρχὰς διαίρεσις·

The executive.

ἔχει γὰρ καὶ τοῦτο τὸ μόριον τῆς πολιτείας πολλὰς διαφοράς, πόσαι τε ἀρχαί, καὶ κύριαι τίνων, καὶ περὶ χρόνου, πόσος ἑκάστης ἀρχῆς (οἱ μὲν γὰρ ἑξαμήνους, οἱ δὲ δι' ἐλάττονος, οἱ δ' ἐνιαυσίας, οἱ δὲ πολυχρονιωτέρας ποιοῦσι τὰς ἀρχάς), καὶ πότερον εἶναι δεῖ τὰς ἀρχὰς ἀϊδίους, ἢ πολυχρονίους ἢ μηδέτερον ἀλλὰ πλεονάκις τοὺς αὐτούς, ἢ μὴ τὸν αὐτὸν δὶς ἀλλ' ἅπαξ μόνον· ἔτι δὲ περὶ τὴν κατάστασιν τῶν ἀρχῶν, ἐκ τίνων δεῖ γίνεσθαι καὶ ὑπὸ τίνων καὶ πῶς.
2 περὶ πάντων γὰρ τούτων δεῖ δύνασθαι διελεῖν κατὰ πόσους ἐνδέχεται γενέσθαι τρόπους, κἄπειτα προσαρμόσαι, ποίαις ποῖαι πολιτεῖαι συμφέρουσιν. ἔστι δὲ οὐδὲ τοῦτο διορίσαι ῥᾴδιον, ποίας δεῖ καλεῖν ἀρχάς· πολλῶν γὰρ ἐπιστατῶν ἡ πολιτικὴ κοινωνία δεῖται, διόπερ πάντας οὔτε τοὺς αἱρετοὺς οὔτε τοὺς κληρωτοὺς ἄρχοντας θετέον, οἷον τοὺς ἱερεῖς πρῶτον· τοῦτο γὰρ ἕτερόν τι παρὰ τὰς πολιτικὰς ἀρχὰς
3 θετέον. ἔτι δὲ χορηγοὶ καὶ κήρυκες· αἱροῦνται δὲ καὶ πρεσβευτάς.[a] εἰσὶ δὲ αἱ μὲν πολιτικαὶ τῶν ἐπιμελειῶν, ἢ πάντων τῶν πολιτῶν πρός τινα πρᾶξιν, οἷον στρατηγὸς στρατευομένων, ἢ κατὰ μέρος, οἷον ὁ γυναικονόμος ἢ παιδονόμος· αἱ δ' οἰκονομικαί (πολλάκις γὰρ αἱροῦνται σιτομέτρας),

[a] πρεσβευταί Bekker.

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great majority is to be allowed, its assent not to be final.'

16 τοῦ κυρίου δή] 'and that which consequently is sovereign.'

XV. 1 τῆς πολιτείας] 'of the political system.

ἀϊδίους] 'for life,' as elsewhere.

2 προσαρμόσαι] 'to adapt them.'

ποίας δεῖ καλεῖν ἀρχάς] 'What are the functions to which we may give this name ἀρχάς.'

3 πρεσβευταί] If this reading is kept, αἱροῦνται must be passive. I should prefer using it in its usual sense, and reading πρεσβευτάς.

σιτομέτρας] The question submitted to these officials would, in Aristotle's

αἱ δ' ὑπηρετικαί, πρὸς ἅς, ἂν εὐπορῶσι, τάττουσι δούλους. μάλιστα δ' ὡς ἁπλῶς εἰπεῖν ἀρχὰς λεκτέον ταύτας, ὅσαις ἀποδέδοται βουλεύσασθαί τε περὶ τινῶν καὶ κρῖναι καὶ ἐπι- 4 τάξαι, καὶ μάλιστα τοῦτο· τὸ γὰρ ἐπιτάττειν ἀρχικώτερόν ἐστιν. ἀλλὰ ταῦτα διαφέρει πρὸς μὲν τὰς χρήσεις οὐθὲν ὡς εἰπεῖν· οὐ γάρ πω κρίσις γέγονεν ἀμφισβητούντων περὶ τοῦ ὀνόματος· ἔχει δέ τιν' ἄλλην διανοητικὴν πραγματείαν. ποῖαι δ' ἀρχαὶ καὶ πόσαι ἀναγκαῖαι εἰ ἔσται πόλις, καὶ 5 ποῖαι ἀναγκαῖαι μὲν οὔ, χρήσιμοι δὲ πρὸς σπουδαίαν πολιτείαν, μᾶλλον ἄν τις ἀπορήσειε πρὸς ἅπασάν τε δὴ πολιτείαν καὶ δὴ καὶ τὰς μικρὰς πόλεις. ἐν μὲν γὰρ δὴ ταῖς 6 μεγάλαις ἐνδέχεταί τε καὶ δεῖ μίαν τετάχθαι πρὸς ἓν ἔργον· πολλούς τε γὰρ εἰς τὰ ἀρχεῖα ἐνδέχεται βαδίζειν διὰ τὸ πολλοὺς εἶναι τοὺς πολίτας, ὥστε τὰς μὲν διαλείπειν πολὺν χρόνον τὰς δ' ἅπαξ ἄρχειν, καὶ βέλτιον ἕκαστον ἔργον τυγχάνει τῆς ἐπιμελείας μονοπραγματούσης ἢ πολυπραγματούσης. ἐν δὲ ταῖς μικραῖς ἀνάγκη συνάγειν 7 1299 B εἰς ὀλίγους πολλὰς ἀρχάς· διὰ γὰρ ὀλιγανθρωπίαν οὐ ῥᾴδιόν ἐστι πολλοὺς ἐν ταῖς ἀρχαῖς εἶναι· τίνες γὰρ οἱ τούτους ἔσονται διαδεξόμενοι πάλιν; δέονται δ' ἐνίοτε τῶν αὐτῶν ἀρχῶν καὶ νόμων αἱ μικραὶ ταῖς μεγάλαις· πλὴν αἱ μὲν δέονται πολλάκις τῶν αὐτῶν, ταῖς δ' ἐν πολλῷ χρόνῳ

The executive power.

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view, more properly concern the interests of the citizens as fathers of families and possessed of property, than as citizens proper. Hence he considers their functions as economical in a sense quite in accordance with his use of the term in the first book.

ἂν εὐπορῶσι] Compare I. VII. 5, ὅσοις ἐξουσία μὴ αὐτοὺς κακοπαθεῖν.

4 τὸ γὰρ ἐπιτάττειν ἀρχικώτερόν ἐστιν] 'is more strictly the characteristic of a magistrate,' the highest form of the citizen, to whom the highest political virtue belongs properly, ἄρχοντος ἴδιος ἀρετὴ μόνη φρόνησις (III. IV. 17), and φρόνησις is, by *Eth.* VI. xi. 2, p. 1143, 8, ἐπιτακτική.

οὐ γάρ πω κρίσις, κ.τ.λ.] 'For there has as yet no question arisen for decision in consequence of a dispute about the name; still such points have their interest for thought.' Such I take to be the sense, and I believe Stahr agrees with this rendering.

6 τὰς μὲν διαλείπειν] 'so that in holding some, they leave long intervals;' or, in other words, 'they hold some only at long intervals.'

τῆς ἐπιμελείας, κ.τ.λ.] 'If the attention is engaged on one point only, than if it is distracted by being bent on many.'

The executive power.

τοῦτο συμβαίνει. διόπερ οὐθὲν κωλύει πολλὰς ἐπιμελείας
ἅμα προστάττειν· οὐ γὰρ ἐμποδιοῦσιν ἀλλήλαις, καὶ πρὸς
8 τὴν ὀλιγανθρωπίαν ἀναγκαῖον τὰ ἀρχεῖα οἷον ὀβελισκο-
λύχνια ποιεῖν. ἐὰν οὖν ἔχωμεν λέγειν πόσας ἀναγκαῖον
ὑπάρχειν πάσῃ πόλει, καὶ πόσας οὐκ ἀναγκαῖον μὲν δεῖ δ'
ὑπάρχειν, ῥᾷον ἄν τις εἰδὼς ταῦτα συνάγοι ποίας ἁρμόττει
9 συνάγειν ἀρχὰς εἰς μίαν ἀρχήν. ἁρμόττει δὲ καὶ τοῦτο
μὴ λεληθέναι, ποῖα δεῖ, κατὰ τόπον, ἀρχεῖα πολλῶν ἐπιμε-
λεῖσθαι καὶ ποίων πανταχοῦ μίαν ἀρχὴν εἶναι κυρίαν, οἷον
εὐκοσμίας πότερον ἐν ἀγορᾷ μὲν ἀγορανόμον, ἄλλον δὲ κατ'
ἄλλον τόπον, ἢ πανταχοῦ τὸν αὐτόν. καὶ πότερον κατὰ
τὸ πρᾶγμα δεῖ διαιρεῖν ἢ κατὰ τοὺς ἀνθρώπους, λέγω δ' οἷον
10 ἕνα τῆς εὐκοσμίας, ἢ παίδων ἄλλον καὶ γυναικῶν. καὶ κατὰ
τὰς πολιτείας δέ, πότερον διαφέρει καθ' ἑκάστην καὶ τὸ τῶν
ἀρχῶν γένος ἢ οὐθέν, οἷον ἐν δημοκρατίᾳ καὶ ὀλιγαρχίᾳ καὶ
ἀριστοκρατίᾳ καὶ μοναρχίᾳ πότερον αἱ αὐταὶ μέν εἰσιν ἀρ-
χαὶ κύριαι, οὐκ ἐξ ἴσων δ' οὐδ' ἐξ ὁμοίων, ἀλλ' ἕτεραι ἐν
ἑτέραις. οἷον ἐν μὲν ταῖς ἀριστοκρατίαις ἐκ πεπαιδευμένων,
ἐν δὲ ταῖς ὀλιγαρχίαις ἐκ τῶν πλουσίων, ἐν δὲ ταῖς δημοκρα-
τίαις ἐκ τῶν ἐλευθέρων, ἢ τυγχάνουσι μέν τινες οὖσαι καὶ
κατ' αὐτὰς τὰς διαφορὰς τῶν ἀρχῶν, ἔστι δ' ὅπου συμφέ-
ρουσιν αἱ αὐταὶ καὶ ὅπου διαφέρουσιν, ἔνθα μὲν γὰρ ἁρμότ-

8 πολλὰς ἐπιμελείας, κ. τ. λ.] 'To assign many branches of administration at the same time to the same person.'

ὀβελισκολύχνια] 'spits for roasting, used as candlesticks.' The general meaning is the same as in the case of the Δελφικὴ μάχαιρα of I. II. 3.

συνάγοι] 'might infer,' 'collect.'

9 κατὰ τόπον] "Bei örtlicher Beschränkung," Stahr; 'from considerations of space and distance,' or is it simply 'local,' as opposed to 'general'?

κατὰ τὸ πρᾶγμα] 'by the subject.'

ἢ κατὰ τοὺς ἀνθρώπους] 'or with reference to the persons.'

10 πεπαιδευμένων] *Rhet.* I. 8, p. 1366, 5, ἀριστοκρατίας τέλος τὰ πρὸς παιδείαν καὶ τὰ νομίμα.

κατ' αὐτὰς τὰς διαφορὰς τῶν ἀρχῶν] If this is genuine it is a very concise expression. κατ' αὐτὰς τὰς διαφορὰς διαφοραὶ τῶν ἀρχῶν, or κατὰ ταύτας τὰς διαφορὰς διαφοραὶ τῶν ἀρχῶν: either of these forms would express what I conceive to be the meaning of the passage better than the one which Bekker has and Stahr keeps, though his translation is in favour of a change. 'Corresponding to the differences we observe in the constitutions are these differences in the magistracies required.'

διαφέρουσιν] This seems to mean 'where different ones are required.'

The executive power.

τει μεγάλας, ἔνθα δ' εἶναι μικρὰς τὰς αὐτάς. οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ
καὶ ἴδιαί τινές εἰσιν, οἷον ἡ τῶν προβούλων· αὕτη γὰρ οὐ
δημοκρατική, βουλὴ δὲ δημοτικόν. δεῖ μὲν γὰρ εἶναί τι 11
τοιοῦτον ᾧ ἐπιμελὲς ἔσται τοῦ δήμου προβουλεύειν, ὅπως
ἀσχολῶν ἔσται· τοῦτο δ', ἐὰν ὀλίγοι τὸν ἀριθμὸν ὦσιν, ὀλι-
γαρχικόν· τοὺς δὲ προβούλους ὀλίγους ἀναγκαῖον εἶναι τὸ
πλῆθος, ὥστ' ὀλιγαρχικόν. ἀλλ' ὅπου ἄμφω αὗται αἱ 12
ἀρχαί, οἱ πρόβουλοι καθεστᾶσιν ἐπὶ τοῖς βουλευταῖς· ὁ μὲν
γὰρ βουλευτὴς δημοτικόν, ὁ δὲ πρόβουλος ὀλιγαρχικόν.
καταλύεται δὲ καὶ τῆς βουλῆς ἡ δύναμις ἐν ταῖς τοιαύταις
δημοκρατίαις ἐν αἷς αὐτὸς συνιὼν ὁ δῆμος χρηματίζει περὶ 1300
πάντων. τοῦτο δὲ συμβαίνειν εἴωθεν, ὅταν εὐπορία τις ᾖ 13
ἢ μισθὸς τοῖς ἐκκλησιάζουσιν· σχολάζοντες γὰρ συλλέγονταί
τε πολλάκις καὶ ἅπαντα αὐτοὶ κρίνουσιν. παιδονόμος δὲ
καὶ γυναικονόμος, καὶ εἴ τις ἄλλος ἄρχων κύριός ἐστι τοιαύ-
της ἐπιμελείας, ἀριστοκρατικόν, δημοκρατικὸν δ' οὔ· πῶς γὰρ
οἷόν τε κωλύειν ἐξιέναι τὰς τῶν ἀπόρων; οὐδ' ὀλιγαρχικόν·
τρυφῶσι γὰρ αἱ τῶν ὀλιγαρχούντων. ἀλλὰ περὶ μὲν τού- 14
των ἐπὶ τοσοῦτον εἰρήσθω νῦν, περὶ δὲ τὰς τῶν ἀρχῶν κατα-
στάσεις πειρατέον ἐξ ἀρχῆς διελθεῖν. εἰσὶ δ' αἱ διαφοραὶ
ἐν τρισὶν ὅροις, ὧν συντιθεμένων ἀναγκαῖον πάντας εἰλῆφθαι
τοὺς τρόπους. ἔστι δὲ τῶν τριῶν τούτων ἓν μὲν τίνες οἱ
καθιστάντες τὰς ἀρχάς, δεύτερον δ' ἐκ τίνων, λοιπὸν δὲ
τίνα τρόπον. ἑκάστου δὲ τῶν τριῶν τούτων διαφοραὶ τρεῖς 15
εἰσίν· ἢ γὰρ πάντες οἱ πολῖται καθιστᾶσιν ἢ τινές, καὶ ἢ

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11 *ὅπως ἀσχολῶν ἔσται*] 'how it shall be kept engaged.'

12 *καθεστᾶσιν ἐπὶ τοῖς βουλευταῖς*] 'are established as a check upon the members of the senate.' This was the case at Athens at the time above mentioned, when Probuli were appointed.

13 *εὐπορία τις ᾖ ἢ μισθός*] Spengel, p. 40, wishes to read *μισθοῦ*, relying on VII. (VI.) II. 6, *μισθοῦ εὐπορία*. But there is no absolute necessity for the change, for we may conceive the *ἢ μισθός* introduced to make more precise the meaning of *εὐπορία*, and the second passage written at first with greater accuracy.

ἐξιέναι τὰς τῶν ἀπόρων] Comp. VII. (VI.) VIII. 23, *διὰ τὴν ἀδουλίαν*. There is no possibility of subjecting them to regulations as the simplest necessity of their state of poverty would set any such aside.

14 *ἐν τρισὶν ὅροις*] 'under three heads,' 'in three points.'

Various oligarchical contrivances.

13 Ἔστι δʼ ὅσα προφάσεως χάριν ἐν ταῖς πολιτείαις
σοφίζονται πρὸς τὸν δῆμον πέντε τὸν ἀριθμόν, περὶ ἐκκλη-
σίαν, περὶ τὰς ἀρχάς, περὶ δικαστήρια, περὶ ὅπλισιν, περὶ
γυμνασίαν. περὶ ἐκκλησίαν μὲν τὸ ἐξεῖναι ἐκκλησιάζειν
πᾶσι, ζημίαν δὲ ἐπικεῖσθαι τοῖς εὐπόροις ἐὰν μὴ ἐκκλησιά-
2 ζωσιν, ἢ μόνοις ἢ μείζω πολλῷ. περὶ δὲ τὰς ἀρχὰς τὸ
τοῖς μὲν ἔχουσι τίμημα μὴ ἐξεῖναι ἐξόμνυσθαι, τοῖς δʼ ἀπό-
ροις ἐξεῖναι. καὶ περὶ τὰ δικαστήρια τοῖς μὲν εὐπόροις
εἶναι ζημίαν ἂν μὴ δικάζωσι, τοῖς δʼ ἀπόροις ἄδειαν, ἢ τοῖς
μὲν μεγάλην τοῖς δὲ μικράν, ὥσπερ ἐν τοῖς Χαρώνδου
3 νόμοις. ἐνιαχοῦ δʼ ἔξεστι μὲν πᾶσιν ἀπογραψαμένοις
ἐκκλησιάζειν καὶ δικάζειν, ἐὰν δὲ ἀπογραψάμενοι μήτʼ ἐκ-
κλησιάζωσι μήτε δικάζωσιν, ἐπίκεινται μεγάλαι ζημίαι τού-
τοις, ἵνα διὰ μὲν τὴν ζημίαν φεύγωσι τὸ ἀπογράφεσθαι,
διὰ δὲ τὸ μὴ ἀπογράφεσθαι μὴ δικάζωσι μηδʼ ἐκκλησιάζω-
4 σιν. τὸν αὐτὸν δὲ τρόπον καὶ περὶ τοῦ ὅπλα κεκτῆσθαι
καὶ τοῦ γυμνάζεσθαι νομοθετοῦσιν· τοῖς μὲν γὰρ ἀπόροις
ἔξεστι μὴ κεκτῆσθαι, τοῖς δʼ εὐπόροις ἐπιζήμιον μὴ κεκτη-
μένοις· κἂν μὴ γυμνάζωνται, τοῖς μὲν οὐδεμία ζημία, τοῖς
δʼ εὐπόροις ἐπιζήμιον, ὅπως οἱ μὲν διὰ τὴν ζημίαν μετέ-
5 χωσιν, οἱ δὲ διὰ τὸ μὴ φοβεῖσθαι μὴ μετέχωσιν. Ταῦτα

The democratical contrivances.

μὲν οὖν ὀλιγαρχικὰ σοφίσματα τῆς νομοθεσίας, ἐν δὲ ταῖς
δημοκρατίαις πρὸς ταῦτʼ ἀντισοφίζονται· τοῖς μὲν γὰρ
ἀπόροις μισθὸν πορίζουσιν ἐκκλησιάζουσι καὶ δικάζουσιν,
6 τοῖς δʼ εὐπόροις οὐδεμίαν τάττουσι ζημίαν. ὥστε φανερὸν
ὅτι εἴ τις βούλεται μιγνύναι δικαίως, δεῖ τὰ παρʼ ἑκατέροις
συνάγειν καὶ τοῖς μὲν μισθὸν πορίζειν τοῖς δὲ ζημίαν· οὕτω
γὰρ ἂν κοινωνοῖεν ἅπαντες, ἐκείνως δʼ ἡ πολιτεία γίγνεται
1297 B 7 τῶν ἑτέρων μόνον. Δεῖ δὲ τὴν πολιτείαν εἶναι μὲν ἐκ τῶν

XIII. 1 ὅσα σοφίζονται] 'The devices or artifices they have recourse to' προφάσεως χάριν, 'by way of pretext.'

2 ἐξόμνυσθαι] 'to decline an office or oath.'

Χαρώνδου νόμοις] Grote, IV. 561.

3 ἀπογραψαμένοις] 'when they have registered.'

6 τῶν ἑτέρων μόνον] 'of one of the two parties only.'

7 δεῖ δὲ τὴν πολιτείαν] 'The government must be in the hands of those who have the arms.'

The democratical contrivances.

τὰ ὅπλα ἐχόντων μόνον· τοῦ δὲ τιμήματος τὸ πλῆθος
ἁπλῶς μὲν ὁρισαμένους οὐκ ἔστιν εἰπεῖν τοσοῦτον ὑπάρχειν,
ἀλλὰ σκεψαμένους τὸ ποῖον ἐπιβάλλει μακρότατον ὥστε
τοὺς μετέχοντας τῆς πολιτείας εἶναι πλείους τῶν μὴ μετε-
χόντων, τοῦτο τάττειν. ἐθέλουσι γὰρ οἱ πένητες καὶ μὴ 8
μετέχοντες τῶν τιμῶν ἡσυχίαν ἔχειν, ἐὰν μὴ ὑβρίζῃ τις
αὐτοὺς μήτε ἀφαιρῆται μηθὲν τῆς οὐσίας. ἀλλὰ τοῦτο οὐ
ῥᾴδιον· οὐ γὰρ ἀεὶ συμβαίνει χαρίεντας εἶναι τοὺς μετέχον-
τας τοῦ πολιτεύματος. καὶ εἰώθασι δέ, ὅταν πόλεμος ᾖ, 9
ὀκνεῖν, ἂν μὴ λαμβάνωσι τροφήν, ἄποροι δὲ ὦσιν· ἐὰν
δὲ πορίζῃ τις τροφήν, βούλονται πολεμεῖν. ἔστι δ' ἡ
πολιτεία παρ' ἐνίοις οὐ μόνον ἐκ τῶν ὁπλιτευόντων ἀλλὰ
καὶ ἐκ τῶν ὡπλιτευκότων· ἐν Μαλιεῦσι δὲ ἡ μὲν πολιτεία
ἦν ἐκ τούτων, τὰς δὲ ἀρχὰς ᾑροῦντο ἐκ τῶν στρατευομένων.
καὶ ἡ πρώτη δὲ πολιτεία ἐν τοῖς Ἕλλησιν ἐγένετο μετὰ 10
τὰς βασιλείας ἐκ τῶν πολεμούντων, ἡ μὲν ἐξ ἀρχῆς ἐκ τῶν
ἱππέων (τὴν γὰρ ἰσχὺν καὶ τὴν ὑπεροχὴν ἐν τοῖς ἱππεῦσιν
ὁ πόλεμος εἶχεν· ἄνευ μὲν γὰρ συντάξεως ἄχρηστον τὸ
ὁπλιτικόν, αἱ δὲ περὶ τῶν τοιούτων ἐμπειρίαι καὶ τάξεις ἐν
τοῖς ἀρχαίοις οὐχ ὑπῆρχον, ὥστ' ἐν τοῖς ἱππεῦσιν εἶναι τὴν
ἰσχύν), αὐξανομένων δὲ τῶν πόλεων καὶ τῶν ἐν τοῖς ὅπλοις
ἰσχυσάντων μᾶλλον πλείους μετεῖχον τῆς πολιτείας. διόπερ 11

The course of political experience in Greece.

ἁπλῶς μὲν ὁρισαμένους] 'We cannot absolutely fix its limits, and say it is to be so much and no more, but we must find out what is the highest amount that extends far enough,' takes in a sufficient number, 'for those who share in the government to outnumber those who do not share in it, and we must fix it at this amount.'

8 **χαρίεντας**] 'moderate,' 'decorous,' 'intelligent.'

9 **βούλονται πολεμεῖν**] This was the feeling of the Roman people at the commencement of the first Punic war.

ἡ πολιτεία] 'The governing body in some cases is not only formed of those who bear arms at the time, but takes in those who have borne arms and are now past the military age.'

Μαλιεῦσι] Compare Grote, II. 378.

τούτων] who are meant? I conceive both of the classes just mentioned, whilst the executive was chosen out of the men of military age. The text, of course, will bear quite a different interpretation.

10 **ἡ πρώτη πολιτεία**] 'The first constitution of Greek freemen.'

μετὰ τὰς βασιλείας] One of the many passages which exclude **βασιλεία** from the list of **πολιτεῖαι**.

συντάξεως] 'training,' 'discipline,' 'organisation.'

11 **διόπερ**] This is an interesting passage on the progress of political

The course of political experience in Greece.

ἃς νῦν καλοῦμεν πολιτείας, οἱ πρότερον ἐκάλουν δημοκρατίας. ἦσαν δὲ αἱ ἀρχαῖαι πολιτεῖαι εὐλόγως ὀλιγαρχικαὶ καὶ βασιλικαί· δι' ὀλιγανθρωπίαν γὰρ οὐκ εἶχον πολὺ τὸ μέσον, ὥστ' ὀλίγοι τε ὄντες τὸ πλῆθος καὶ κατὰ τὴν
12 σύνταξιν μᾶλλον ὑπέμενον τὸ ἄρχεσθαι. Διὰ τίνα μὲν οὖν εἰσὶν αἰτίαν αἱ πολιτεῖαι πλείους, καὶ διὰ τί παρὰ τὰς λεγομένας ἕτεραι (δημοκρατία τε γὰρ οὐ μία τὸν ἀριθμόν ἐστι, καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ὁμοίως), ἔτι δὲ τίνες αἱ διαφοραὶ καὶ διὰ τίνα αἰτίαν συμβαίνει, πρὸς δὲ τούτοις τίς ἀρίστη τῶν πολιτειῶν ὡς ἐπὶ τὸ πλεῖστον εἰπεῖν, καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ποία ποίοις ἁρμόττει τῶν πολιτειῶν εἴρηται.

14 Πάλιν δὲ καὶ κοινῇ καὶ χωρὶς περὶ ἑκάστης λέγωμεν

The three powers.

περὶ τῶν ἐφεξῆς, λαβόντες ἀρχὴν τὴν προσήκουσαν αὐτῶν. Ἔστι δὴ τρία μόρια τῶν πολιτειῶν πασῶν, περὶ ὧν δεῖ θεωρεῖν τὸν σπουδαῖον νομοθέτην ἑκάστῃ τὸ συμφέρον· ὧν ἐχόντων καλῶς ἀνάγκη τὴν πολιτείαν ἔχειν καλῶς, καὶ τὰς πολιτείας ἀλλήλων διαφέρειν ἐν τῷ διαφέρειν ἕκαστον τού-
1298 a των. ἔστι δὲ τῶν τριῶν τούτων ἓν μέν τι[a] τὸ βουλευόμε-

[a] τι Bekker.

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ideas, and the gradual enlargement of the social union.

καὶ κατὰ τὴν σύνταξιν] This, Stahr makes to depend on ὀλίγοι, "unbedeutend," and the ὀλίγοι τε—καί seems to justify him, 'few in number and unimportant in the military arrangement.'

12 παρὰ τὰς λεγομένας] So above, IV. 7, πλείους τῶν εἰρημένων. On this paragraph, as an instance of Aristotle's method, at any point where his subject changes, compare Spengel, pp. 32, 33.

XIV. 1 Aristotle enters now on the point stated Ch. II. 5, μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα τίνα τρόπον δεῖ καθιστάναι ταύτας τὰς πολιτείας, λέγω δὲ δημοκρατίας τε καθ' ἕκαστον εἶδος καὶ πάλιν ὀλιγαρχίας. Its discussion occupies the closing chapters of Book VI. and the whole of Book VII. (VI.). In this book he treats of that which concerns them all alike (κοινῇ). We have his theory of the three powers, the deliberative, executive, and judicial, which must, he says, exist in every constitution; as such they may be separated off from the detail of the various forms of oligarchy and democracy; at least all general statements about them may; and the various modifications necessary for these various forms may be introduced later. This explains his language here, καὶ κοινῇ καὶ χωρὶς περὶ ἑκάστης.

τὴν προσήκουσαν αὐτῶν] 'The appropriate basis of the discussion.'

2 τι τὸ βουλευόμενον] There is an inconsistency in this sentence as it stands in Bekker's text. The most symmetrical arrangement would be to throw out the τι in both places. But if it is kept in both places, it is diffi-

The three powers.

νον περὶ τῶν κοινῶν, δεύτερον δὲ τὸ περὶ τὰς ἀρχάς (τοῦτο δ' ἐστὶν ἃς δεῖ καὶ τίνων εἶναι κυρίας, καὶ ποίαν τινὰ δεῖ γίγνεσθαι τὴν αἵρεσιν αὐτῶν), τρίτον δὲ τί τὸ δικάζον. Κύριον 3
δ' ἐστὶ τὸ βουλευόμενον περὶ πολέμου καὶ εἰρήνης καὶ συμμαχίας καὶ διαλύσεως, καὶ περὶ νόμων, καὶ περὶ θανάτου καὶ φυγῆς καὶ δημεύσεως, καὶ τῶν εὐθυνῶν. ἀναγκαῖον δ' ἤτοι πᾶσι τοῖς πολίταις ἀποδεδόσθαι πάσας ταύτας τὰς κρίσεις ἢ τισὶ πάσας, οἷον ἀρχῇ τινὶ μιᾷ ἢ πλείοσιν, ἢ ἑτέραις ἑτέρας, ἢ τινὰς μὲν αὐτῶν πᾶσι τινὰς δὲ τισίν. τὸ μὲν 4
οὖν πάντας καὶ περὶ ἁπάντων δημοτικόν· τὴν τοιαύτην γὰρ ἰσότητα ζητεῖ ὁ δῆμος· εἰσὶ δὲ οἱ τρόποι τοῦ πάντας πλείους, εἷς μὲν τὸ κατὰ μέρος ἀλλὰ μὴ πάντας ἀθρόους, ὥσπερ ἐν τῇ πολιτείᾳ τῇ Τηλεκλέους ἐστὶ τοῦ Μιλησίου (καὶ ἐν ἄλλαις δὲ πολιτείαις βουλεύονται αἱ συναρχίαι συνιοῦσαι, εἰς δὲ τὰς ἀρχὰς βαδίζουσι πάντες κατὰ μέρος ἐκ τῶν φυλῶν καὶ τῶν μορίων τῶν ἐλαχίστων παντελῶς, ἕως ἂν διέλθῃ διὰ πάντων), συνιέναι δὲ μόνον περί τε νόμων θέσεως καὶ τῶν περὶ τῆς πολιτείας, καὶ τὰ παραγγελλόμενα ἀκουσομένους ὑπὸ τῶν ἀρχόντων. ἄλλος δὲ τρόπος 5
τὸ πάντας ἀθρόους, συνιέναι δὲ μόνον πρός τε τὰς ἀρχαιρεσίας αἱρησομένους καὶ πρὸς τὰς νομοθεσίας καὶ περὶ πολέμου καὶ εἰρήνης καὶ πρὸς εὐθύνας, τὰ δ' ἄλλα τὰς ἀρχὰς βουλεύεσθαι τὰς ἐφ' ἑκάστοις τεταγμένας, αἱρετὰς οὔσας ἐξ ἁπάντων ἢ κληρωτάς. ἄλλος δὲ τρόπος τὸ περὶ 6
τὰς ἀρχὰς καὶ τὰς εὐθύνας ἀπαντᾶν τοὺς πολίτας, καὶ περὶ πολέμου βουλευσομένους καὶ συμμαχίας, τὰ δ' ἄλλα τὰς

The deliberative.

In democracies.

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cult to see why one should be indefinite, the other interrogative. I have made them both interrogative.

3 Κύριον δ' ἐστί] 'The sovereign power resides in.'

διαλύσεως] 'dissolving an alliance.'

δημεύσεως] 'confiscation.'

4 δημοτικόν] 'democratical,' 'characteristic of a popular government.'

τὸ κατὰ μέρος ἀλλὰ μὴ πάντας ἀθρόους] The sense would seem to require a repetition of the word πάντας; 'that all should deliberate, but by parts, and not in one collective body.'

Telecles, the Milesian, not known.

συναρχίαι] The boards of magistrates.

τῶν περὶ τῆς πολιτείας] 'questions that concern the constitution.'

5 τὰ δ' ἄλλα] There are not many points left of the list given in § 3, θανάτου, φυγῆς, δημεύσεως,—judicial

In democracies. ἀρχὰς διοικεῖν αἱρετὰς οὔσας, ὅσας ἐνδέχεται· τοιαῦται δ᾽ εἰσὶν ὅσας ἄρχειν ἀναγκαῖον τοὺς ἐπισταμένους. τέταρτος
7 δὲ τρόπος τὸ πάντας περὶ πάντων βουλεύεσθαι συνιόντας, τὰς δ᾽ ἀρχὰς περὶ μηδενὸς κρίνειν ἀλλὰ μόνον προανακρίνειν· ὅνπερ ἡ τελευταία δημοκρατία νῦν διοικεῖται τρόπον, ἥν ἀνάλογόν φαμεν εἶναι ὀλιγαρχίᾳ τε δυναστευτικῇ καὶ μοναρχίᾳ τυραννικῇ. Οὗτοι μὲν οὖν οἱ τρόποι δημοκρατικοὶ
8 πάντες, τὸ δὲ τινὰς περὶ πάντων ὀλιγαρχικόν. *In oligarchies.* ἔχει δὲ καὶ τοῦτο διαφορὰς πλείους. ὅταν μὲν γὰρ ἀπὸ τιμημάτων μετριωτέρων αἱρετοί τε ὦσι καὶ πλείους διὰ τὴν μετριότητα τοῦ τιμήματος, καὶ περὶ ὧν ὁ νόμος ἀπαγορεύει μὴ κινῶσιν ἀλλ᾽ ἀκολουθῶσι, καὶ ἐξῇ κτωμένῳ τὸ τίμημα μετέχειν, ὀλιγαρχία μὲν πολιτικὴ δ᾽ ἐστὶν ἡ τοιαύτη διὰ τὸ μετριάζειν·
1298 b ὅταν δὲ μὴ πάντες τοῦ βουλεύεσθαι μετέχωσιν ἀλλ᾽ αἱρετοί, κατὰ νόμον δ᾽ ἄρχωσιν ὥσπερ καὶ πρότερον, ὀλιγαρχικόν.
9 ὅταν δὲ καὶ αἱρῶνται αὐτοὶ αὑτοὺς οἱ κύριοι τοῦ βουλεύεσθαι, καὶ ὅταν παῖς ἀντὶ πατρὸς εἰσίῃ καὶ κύριοι τῶν νόμων ὦσιν,
10 ὀλιγαρχικὴν ἀναγκαῖον εἶναι τὴν τάξιν ταύτην. ὅταν δὲ τινῶν τινές, οἷον πολέμου μὲν καὶ εἰρήνης καὶ εὐθυνῶν πάντες, τῶν δὲ ἄλλων ἄρχοντες, καὶ οὗτοι αἱρετοὶ ἢ κληρωτοί, ἀριστοκρατία μὲν ἡ πολιτεία· ἐὰν δ᾽ ἐνίων μὲν αἱρετοὶ ἐνίων δὲ κληρωτοί, καὶ κληρωτοὶ ἢ ἁπλῶς ἢ ἐκ προκρίτων, ἢ κοινῇ αἱρετοὶ καὶ κληρωτοί, τὰ μὲν πολιτείας ἀριστοκρατικῆς ἐστὶ
11 τούτων, τὰ δὲ πολιτείας αὐτῆς. *Advice as to its organisation.* Διῄρηται μὲν οὖν τὸ βουλευόμενον πρὸς τὰς πολιτείας τοῦτον τὸν τρόπον, καὶ διοίσει[a] ἑκάστη πολιτεία κατὰ τὸν εἰρημένον διορισμόν.

[a] διοικεῖ Bekker.

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questions mainly, concerning of course political offenders.

6 ὅσας ἐνδέχεται] 'as many as it is possible to have elective.'

7 προανακρίνειν] 'previously examine.' This was the function after Cleisthenes of the βουλή, or probouleutic council, and in the ordinary jurisdiction of the archons.

8 κινῶσιν] 'They do not feel at liberty to interfere, but simply obey the law.'

ὀλιγαρχία μέν, κ.τ.λ.] 'It is an oligarchy, it is true, but one that borders on the πολιτεία, from its moderation.'

10 προκρίτων] 'a body previously selected.'

11 διοίσει] So I read, instead of Bekker's διοικεῖ, and the change is easier than διοικεῖται, which several editors have adopted. Stahr preserves διοικεῖ; but διοίσει is quite in keeping

Advice as to its organisation.

συμφέρει δὲ δημοκρατίᾳ τε τῇ μάλιστ' εἶναι δοκούσῃ δημο-
κρατίᾳ νῦν (λέγω δὲ τοιαύτην ἐν ᾗ κύριος ὁ δῆμος καὶ τῶν
νόμων ἐστίν) πρὸς τὸ βουλεύεσθαι βέλτιον τὸ αὐτὸ ποιεῖν
ὅπερ ἐπὶ τῶν δικαστηρίων ἐν ταῖς ὀλιγαρχίαις (τάττουσι 12
γὰρ ζημίαν τούτοις οὓς βούλονται δικάζειν, ἵνα δικάζωσιν,
οἱ δὲ δημοτικοὶ μισθὸν τοῖς ἀπόροις), τοῦτο δὲ καὶ περὶ
τὰς ἐκκλησίας ποιεῖν· βουλεύσονται γὰρ βέλτιον κοινῇ
βουλευόμενοι πάντες, ὁ μὲν δῆμος μετὰ τῶν γνωρίμων, οὗτοι
δὲ μετὰ τοῦ πλήθους. συμφέρει δὲ καὶ τὸ αἱρετοὺς εἶναι 13
τοὺς βουλευομένους ἢ κληρωτοὺς ἴσως ἐκ τῶν μορίων. συμ-
φέρει δὲ κἂν ὑπερβάλλωσι πολὺ κατὰ τὸ πλῆθος οἱ δημο-
τικοὶ τῶν πολιτικῶν, ἢ μὴ πᾶσι διδόναι μισθόν, ἀλλ' ὅσοι
σύμμετροι πρὸς τὸ τῶν γνωρίμων πλῆθος, ἢ ἀποκληροῦν
τοὺς πλείους. ἐν δὲ ταῖς ὀλιγαρχίαις ἢ προαιρεῖσθαί τινας 14
ἐκ τοῦ πλήθους, ἢ κατασκευάσαντας ἀρχεῖον οἷον ἐν ἐνίαις
πολιτείαις ἐστὶν οὓς καλοῦσι προβούλους καὶ νομοφύλακας,
καὶ περὶ τούτων χρηματίζειν περὶ ὧν ἂν οὗτοι προβουλεύ-
σωσιν· οὕτω γὰρ μεθέξει ὁ δῆμος τοῦ βουλεύεσθαι, καὶ λύειν
οὐθὲν δυνήσεται τῶν περὶ τὴν πολιτείαν. ἔτι ἢ ταὐτὰ 15
ψηφίζεσθαι τὸν δῆμον ἢ μηθὲν ἐναντίον τοῖς εἰσφερομένοις,
ἢ τῆς συμβουλῆς μὲν μεταδιδόναι πᾶσι, βουλεύεσθαι δὲ τοὺς
ἄρχοντας. καὶ τὸ ἀντικείμενον δὲ τοῦ ἐν ταῖς πολιτείαις
γιγνομένου δεῖ ποιεῖν· ἀποψηφιζόμενον μὲν γὰρ κύριον δεῖ
ποιεῖν τὸ πλῆθος, καταψηφιζόμενον δὲ μὴ κύριον, ἀλλ'

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with his general language. Compare § 1, τὰς πολιτείας διαφέρειν. The Vet. Tr. read διοικεῖ; he gives "disponitur" as his rendering. It is stated that no MS. reads διοικεῖται.

13 ἴσως] 'equally from the different parts of the state.'

συμφέρει δὲ κἂν] 'It is expedient also if.'

τῶν πολιτικῶν] "politiquement capables," says St. Hilaire rightly.

ἀποκληροῦν] 'exclude by lot the numbers in excess of the limit indicated.'

14 προαιρεῖσθαι] 'choose beforehand,' not the common Aristotelian sense of the word, but the strict literal meaning of it, which is the basis of the other.

προβούλους] Comp. Thuc. VIII. 1, for this magistracy, established in Athens after the defeat in Sicily, B.C. 412. See VII. (VI.) VIII. 17, 24.

νομοφύλακας] Later VII. (VI.) VIII. 24.

χρηματίζειν περὶ τούτων] 'decide on these points only.'

15 τῆς συμβουλῆς] 'Advice.'

βουλεύεσθαι] 'the effective deliberation.'

ἀποψηφιζόμενον] 'The veto of the

The executive power.

τοῦτο συμβαίνει. διόπερ οὐθὲν κωλύει πολλὰς ἐπιμελείας ἅμα προστάττειν· οὐ γὰρ ἐμποδιοῦσιν ἀλλήλαις, καὶ πρὸς
8 τὴν ὀλιγανθρωπίαν ἀναγκαῖον τὰ ἀρχεῖα οἷον ὀβελισκολύχνια ποιεῖν. ἐὰν οὖν ἔχωμεν λέγειν πόσας ἀναγκαῖον ὑπάρχειν πάσῃ πόλει, καὶ πόσας οὐκ ἀναγκαῖον μὲν δεῖ δ' ὑπάρχειν, ῥᾷον ἄν τις εἰδὼς ταῦτα συνάγοι ποίας ἁρμόττει
9 συνάγειν ἀρχὰς εἰς μίαν ἀρχήν. ἁρμόττει δὲ καὶ τοῦτο μὴ λεληθέναι, ποῖα δεῖ, κατὰ τόπον, ἀρχεῖα πολλῶν ἐπιμελεῖσθαι καὶ ποίων πανταχοῦ μίαν ἀρχὴν εἶναι κυρίαν, οἷον εὐκοσμίας πότερον ἐν ἀγορᾷ μὲν ἀγορανόμον, ἄλλον δὲ κατ' ἄλλον τόπον, ἢ πανταχοῦ τὸν αὐτόν. καὶ πότερον κατὰ τὸ πρᾶγμα δεῖ διαιρεῖν ἢ κατὰ τοὺς ἀνθρώπους, λέγω δ' οἷον
10 ἕνα τῆς εὐκοσμίας, ἢ παίδων ἄλλον καὶ γυναικῶν. καὶ κατὰ τὰς πολιτείας δέ, πότερον διαφέρει καθ' ἑκάστην καὶ τὸ τῶν ἀρχῶν γένος ἢ οὐθέν, οἷον ἐν δημοκρατίᾳ καὶ ὀλιγαρχίᾳ καὶ ἀριστοκρατίᾳ καὶ μοναρχίᾳ πότερον αἱ αὐταὶ μέν εἰσιν ἀρχαὶ κύριαι, οὐκ ἐξ ἴσων δ' οὐδ' ἐξ ὁμοίων, ἀλλ' ἕτεραι ἐν ἑτέραις. οἷον ἐν μὲν ταῖς ἀριστοκρατίαις ἐκ πεπαιδευμένων, ἐν δὲ ταῖς ὀλιγαρχίαις ἐκ τῶν πλουσίων, ἐν δὲ ταῖς δημοκρατίαις ἐκ τῶν ἐλευθέρων, ἢ τυγχάνουσι μέν τινες οὖσαι καὶ κατ' αὐτὰς τὰς διαφορὰς τῶν ἀρχῶν, ἔστι δ' ὅπου συμφέρουσιν αἱ αὐταὶ καὶ ὅπου διαφέρουσιν· ἔνθα μὲν γὰρ ἁρμότ-

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8 **πολλὰς ἐπιμελείας, κ. τ. λ.**] 'To assign many branches of administration at the same time to the same person.'

ὀβελισκολύχνια] 'spits for roasting, used as candlesticks.' The general meaning is the same as in the case of the **Δελφικὴ μάχαιρα** of I. II. 3.

συνάγοι] 'might infer,' 'collect.'

9 **κατὰ τόπον**] "Bei örtlicher Beschränkung," Stahr; 'from considerations of space and distance,' or is it simply 'local,' as opposed to 'general'?

κατὰ τὸ πρᾶγμα] 'by the subject.'

ἢ κατὰ τοὺς ἀνθρώπους] 'or with reference to the persons.'

10 **πεπαιδευμένων**] *Rhet.* I. 8, p. 1366, 5, **ἀριστοκρατίας τέλος τὰ πρὸς παιδείαν καὶ τὰ νομίμα.**

κατ' αὐτὰς τὰς διαφορὰς τῶν ἀρχῶν] If this is genuine it is a very concise expression. **κατ' αὐτὰς τὰς διαφορὰς διαφοραὶ τῶν ἀρχῶν**, or **κατὰ ταύτας τὰς διαφορὰς διαφοραὶ τῶν ἀρχῶν**: either of these forms would express what I conceive to be the meaning of the passage better than the one which Bekker has and Stahr keeps, though his translation is in favour of a change. 'Corresponding to the differences we observe in the constitutions are these differences in the magistracies required.'

διαφέρουσιν] This seems to mean 'where different ones are required.'

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τει μεγάλας, ἔνθα δ' εἶναι μικρὰς τὰς αὐτάς. οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ καὶ ἴδιαί τινές εἰσιν, οἷον ἡ τῶν προβούλων· αὕτη γὰρ οὐ δημοκρατική, βουλὴ δὲ δημοτικόν. δεῖ μὲν γὰρ εἶναί τι 11
τοιοῦτον ᾧ ἐπιμελὲς ἔσται τοῦ δήμου προβουλεύειν, ὅπως ἀσχολῶν ἔσται· τοῦτο δ', ἐὰν ὀλίγοι τὸν ἀριθμὸν ὦσιν, ὀλιγαρχικόν· τοὺς δὲ προβούλους ὀλίγους ἀναγκαῖον εἶναι τὸ πλῆθος, ὥστ' ὀλιγαρχικόν. ἀλλ' ὅπου ἄμφω αὗται αἱ 12
ἀρχαί, οἱ πρόβουλοι καθεστᾶσιν ἐπὶ τοῖς βουλευταῖς· ὁ μὲν γὰρ βουλευτὴς δημοτικόν, ὁ δὲ πρόβουλος ὀλιγαρχικόν. καταλύεται δὲ καὶ τῆς βουλῆς ἡ δύναμις ἐν ταῖς τοιαύταις δημοκρατίαις ἐν αἷς αὐτὸς συνιὼν ὁ δῆμος χρηματίζει περὶ 1300
πάντων. τοῦτο δὲ συμβαίνειν εἴωθεν, ὅταν εὐπορία τις ᾖ 13
ἢ μισθὸς τοῖς ἐκκλησιάζουσιν· σχολάζοντες γὰρ συλλέγονταί τε πολλάκις καὶ ἅπαντα αὐτοὶ κρίνουσιν. παιδονόμος δὲ καὶ γυναικονόμος, καὶ εἴ τις ἄλλος ἄρχων κύριός ἐστι τοιαύτης ἐπιμελείας, ἀριστοκρατικόν, δημοκρατικὸν δ' οὔ· πῶς γὰρ οἷόν τε κωλύειν ἐξιέναι τὰς τῶν ἀπόρων; οὐδ' ὀλιγαρχικόν· τρυφῶσι γὰρ αἱ τῶν ὀλιγαρχούντων. ἀλλὰ περὶ μὲν τού- 14
των ἐπὶ τοσοῦτον εἰρήσθω νῦν, περὶ δὲ τὰς τῶν ἀρχῶν καταστάσεις πειρατέον ἐξ ἀρχῆς διελθεῖν. εἰσὶ δ' αἱ διαφοραὶ ἐν τρισὶν ὅροις, ὧν συντιθεμένων ἀναγκαῖον πάντας εἰλῆφθαι τοὺς τρόπους. ἔστι δὲ τῶν τριῶν τούτων ἓν μὲν τίνες οἱ καθιστάντες τὰς ἀρχάς, δεύτερον δ' ἐκ τίνων, λοιπὸν δὲ τίνα τρόπον. ἑκάστου δὲ τῶν τριῶν τούτων διαφοραὶ τρεῖς 15
εἰσίν· ἢ γὰρ πάντες οἱ πολῖται καθιστᾶσιν ἢ τινές, καὶ ἢ

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11 ὅπως ἀσχολῶν ἔσται] 'how it shall be kept engaged.'

12 καθεστᾶσιν ἐπὶ τοῖς βουλευταῖς] 'are established as a check upon the members of the senate.' This was the case at Athens at the time above mentioned, when Probuli were appointed.

13 εὐπορία τις ᾖ ἢ μισθός] Spengel, p. 40, wishes to read μισθοῦ, relying on VII. (VI.) II. 6, μισθοῦ εὐπορία. But there is no absolute necessity for the change, for we may conceive the ἢ μισθός introduced to make more precise the meaning of εὐπορία, and the second passage written at first with greater accuracy.

ἐξιέναι τὰς τῶν ἀπόρων] Comp. VII. (VI.) VIII. 23, διὰ τὴν ἀδουλίαν. There is no possibility of subjecting them to regulations as the simplest necessity of their state of poverty would set any such aside.

14 ἐν τρισὶν ὅροις] 'under three heads,' 'in three points.'

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ἐκ πάντων ἢ ἐκ τινῶν ἀφωρισμένων, οἷον ἢ τιμήματι ἢ γένει ἢ ἀρετῇ ἤ τινι τοιούτῳ ἄλλῳ, ὥσπερ ἐν Μεγάροις ἐκ τῶν συγκατελθόντων καὶ συμμαχεσαμένων πρὸς τὸν δῆμον, καὶ
16 ταῦτα ἢ αἱρέσει ἢ κλήρῳ. πάλιν ταῦτα συνδυαζόμενα, λέγω δὲ τὰς μὲν τινὲς τὰς δὲ πάντες, καὶ τὰς μὲν ἐκ πάντων τὰς δ' ἐκ τινῶν, καὶ τὰς μὲν αἱρέσει τὰς δὲ κλήρῳ. τούτων δ'
17 ἑκάστης ἔσονται τῆς διαφορᾶς τρόποι τέσσαρες. ἢ γὰρ πάντες ἐκ πάντων αἱρέσει, ἢ πάντες ἐκ πάντων κλήρῳ, καὶ ἢ ἐξ ἁπάντων ἢ ὡς ἀνὰ μέρος, οἷον κατὰ φυλὰς καὶ δήμους καὶ φρατρίας, ἕως ἂν διέλθῃ διὰ πάντων τῶν πολιτῶν, ἢ ἀεὶ ἐξ
18 ἁπάντων, καὶ τὰ μὲν οὕτω τὰ δὲ ἐκείνως. πάλιν εἰ τινὲς οἱ καθιστάντες, ἢ ἐκ πάντων αἱρέσει ἢ ἐκ πάντων κλήρῳ, ἢ ἐκ τινῶν αἱρέσει ἢ ἐκ τινῶν κλήρῳ, ἢ τὰ μὲν οὕτω τὰ δ' ἐκείνως, λέγω δὲ τὰ μὲν ἐκ πάντων αἱρέσει τὰ δὲ κλήρῳ. ὥστε δώδεκα οἱ τρόποι γίνονται χωρὶς τῶν δύο συνδυασμῶν.
19 τούτων δ' αἱ μὲν δύο καταστάσεις δημοτικαί, τὸ πάντας ἐκ πάντων αἱρέσει ἢ κλήρῳ γίνεσθαι ἢ ἀμφοῖν, τὰς μὲν κλήρῳ τὰς δ' αἱρέσει τῶν ἀρχῶν· τὸ δὲ μὴ πάντας ἅμα μὲν καθιστάναι, ἐξ ἁπάντων δ' ἢ ἐκ τινῶν, ἢ κλήρῳ ἢ αἱρέσει ἢ ἀμφοῖν, ἢ τὰς μὲν ἐκ πάντων τὰς δ' ἐκ τινῶν ἀμφοῖν (τὸ δὲ ἀμφοῖν λέγω τὰς μὲν κλήρῳ τὰς δ' αἱρέσει), πολιτικόν.
20 Καὶ τὸ τινὰς ἐκ πάντων τὰς μὲν αἱρέσει καθιστάναι τὰς δὲ κλήρῳ ἢ ἀμφοῖν, τὰς μὲν κλήρῳ τὰς δ' αἱρέσει, ὀλιγαρχικόν· ὀλιγαρχικώτερον δὲ καὶ τὸ ἐξ ἀμφοῖν. τὸ δὲ τὰς
1300 B μὲν ἐκ πάντων τὰς δ' ἐκ τινῶν πολιτικὸν ἀριστοκρατικῶς, ἢ
21 τὰς μὲν αἱρέσει τὰς δὲ κλήρῳ. τὸ δὲ τινὰς ἐκ τινῶν ὀλιγαρχικόν, καὶ τὸ τινὰς ἐκ τινῶν κλήρῳ [μὴ γενόμενον δ' ὁμοίως], καὶ τὸ τινὰς ἐκ τινῶν ἀμφοῖν, τὸ δὲ τινὰς ἐξ ἁπάν-
22 των. τὸ δὲ ἐκ τινῶν αἱρέσει πάντας ἀριστοκρατικόν. οἱ μὲν οὖν τρόποι τῶν περὶ τὰς ἀρχὰς τοσοῦτοι τὸν ἀριθμόν

15 ἐν Μεγάροις] Mr Grote, III. 60, in reference to this allusion speaks of its being of no historical value, for dates and details escape us.

τούτων δ' ἑκάστης, κ.τ.λ.] On this passage see Nickes, Excursus, VIII. p. 145. He practically re-writes it. But, allowing that he does this successfully, and I think he does, the question occurs, is it worth while? I prefer leaving the text as it stands.

εἰσι, καὶ διῄρηνται κατὰ τὰς πολιτείας οὕτως· τίνα δὲ τίσι συμφέρει καὶ πῶς δεῖ γίνεσθαι τὰς καταστάσεις, ἅμα ταῖς δυνάμεσι τῶν ἀρχῶν, καὶ τίνες εἰσίν, ἔσται φανερόν. λέγω δὲ δύναμιν ἀρχῆς, οἷον τὴν κυρίαν τῶν προσόδων καὶ τὴν κυρίαν τῆς φυλακῆς· ἄλλο γὰρ εἶδος δυνάμεως οἷον στρατηγίας καὶ τῆς τῶν περὶ τὴν ἀγορὰν συμβολαίων κυρίας.

The executive power.

16 Λοιπὸν δὲ τῶν τριῶν τὸ δικαστικὸν εἰπεῖν. ληπτέον δὲ καὶ τούτων τοὺς τρόπους κατὰ τὴν αὐτὴν ὑπόθεσιν. ἔστι δὲ διαφορὰ τῶν δικαστηρίων ἐν τρισὶν ὅροις, ἐξ ὧν τε καὶ περὶ ὧν καὶ πῶς. λέγω δὲ ἐξ ὧν μέν, πότερον ἐκ πάντων ἢ ἐκ τινῶν· περὶ ὧν δέ, πόσα εἴδη δικαστηρίων· τὸ δὲ πῶς, πότερον κλήρῳ ἢ αἱρέσει. πρῶτον οὖν διαιρείσθω πόσα 2 εἴδη δικαστηρίων. ἔστι δὲ τὸν ἀριθμὸν ὀκτώ, ἓν μὲν εὐθυντικόν, ἄλλο δὲ εἴ τίς τι τῶν κοινῶν ἀδικεῖ, ἕτερον ὅσα εἰς τὴν πολιτείαν φέρει, τέταρτον καὶ ἄρχουσι καὶ ἰδιώταις ὅσα περὶ ζημιώσεων ἀμφισβητοῦσιν, πέμπτον τὸ περὶ τῶν ἰδίων συναλλαγμάτων καὶ ἐχόντων μέγεθος, καὶ παρὰ ταῦτα τό τε φονικὸν καὶ τὸ ξενικόν. φονικοῦ μὲν οὖν εἴδη, ἄν τ' 3 ἐν τοῖς αὐτοῖς δικασταῖς ἄν τ' ἐν ἄλλοις, περί τε τῶν ἐκ προνοίας καὶ περὶ τῶν ἀκουσίων, καὶ ὅσα ὁμολογεῖται μέν, ἀμφισβητεῖται δὲ περὶ τοῦ δικαίου, τέταρτον δὲ ὅσα τοῖς φεύγουσι φόνου ἐπὶ καθόδῳ ἐπιφέρεται, οἷον Ἀθήνησι λέγεται καὶ τὸ ἐν Φρεαττοῖ δικαστήριον· συμβαίνει δὲ τὸ τοιαῦτα ἐν τῷ παντὶ χρόνῳ ὀλίγα καὶ ἐν ταῖς μεγάλαις

The judicial power.

ἅμα ταῖς δυνάμεσι] in VII. (VI.) 8, this point is treated.

ἄλλο γὰρ εἶδος] 'For there is quite another kind of power, say in the office of general and in that to which is entrusted the management of the common market transactions.'

XVI. 1 τούτων] As if he had written τὰ δικαστήρια.

2 ὅσα εἰς τὴν πολιτείαν φέρει] 'all constitutional questions.'

περὶ ζημιώσεων] 'appeals against the amount of fines.'

καὶ ἐχόντων μέγεθος] 'and on the condition that they are of some importance,' granting that they are not merely trivial.

3 φονικοῦ εἴδη] On this question see Hermann, *Pol. Antiquities* (Eng. Tr.), § 104, p. 203, and the appendices to Müller's *Eumenides*.

ἐπὶ καθόδῳ] Hermann as quoted above. "The homicide was still obliged to quit the country for a season, until he obtained leave of the relations of the deceased to return."

Φρεαττοῖ] Mr Grote, III. 103, note, speaks of this as "obscure."

The judicial power. πόλεσιν. τοῦ δὲ ξενικοῦ ἓν μὲν ξένοις πρὸς ξένους, ἄλλο ξένοις πρὸς ἀστούς. ἔτι δὲ παρὰ πάντα ταῦτα περὶ τῶν μικρῶν συναλλαγμάτων, ὅσα δραχμιαῖα καὶ πεντάδραχμα καὶ μικρῷ πλείονος· δεῖ μὲν γὰρ καὶ περὶ τούτων γίνεσθαι κρίσιν, οὐκ ἐμπίπτει δὲ εἰς δικαστῶν πλῆθος. Ἀλλὰ περὶ μὲν τούτων ἀφείσθω καὶ τῶν φονικῶν καὶ τῶν ξενικῶν, περὶ δὲ τῶν πολιτικῶν λέγωμεν, περὶ ὧν μὴ γινομένων καλῶς διαστάσεις γίνονται καὶ τῶν πολιτειῶν αἱ κινήσεις. ἀνάγκη δ' ἤτοι πάντας περὶ πάντων κρίνειν τῶν διῃρημένων αἱρέσει
1301 ἢ κλήρῳ, ἢ πάντας περὶ πάντων τὰ μὲν κλήρῳ τὰ δ' αἱρέσει, ἢ περὶ ἐνίων τῶν αὐτῶν τοὺς μὲν κλήρῳ τοὺς δ' αἱρετούς. οὗτοι μὲν οὖν οἱ τρόποι τέτταρες τὸν ἀριθμόν, τοσοῦτοι δ' ἕτεροι καὶ οἱ κατὰ μέρος· πάλιν γὰρ ἐκ τινῶν καὶ οἱ δικάζοντες περὶ πάντων αἱρέσει, ἢ ἐκ τινῶν περὶ πάντων κλήρῳ, ἢ τὰ μὲν κλήρῳ τὰ δὲ αἱρέσει, ἢ ἔνια δικαστήρια περὶ τῶν αὐτῶν ἐκ κληρωτῶν καὶ αἱρετῶν. οὗτοι μὲν οὖν, ὥσπερ ἐλέχθησαν, οἱ τρόποι τοῖς εἰρημένοις. ἔτι δὲ τὰ αὐτὰ συνδυαζόμενα, λέγω δ' οἷον τὰ μὲν ἐκ πάντων τὰ δ' ἐκ τινῶν τὰ δ' ἐξ ἀμφοῖν, οἷον εἰ τοῦ αὐτοῦ δικαστηρίου εἶεν οἱ μὲν ἐκ πάντων οἱ δ' ἐκ τινῶν, καὶ ἢ κλήρῳ ἢ αἱρέσει ἢ ἀμφοῖν. ὅσους μὲν οὖν ἐνδέχεται τρόπους εἶναι τὰ δικαστήρια, εἴρηται· τούτων δὲ τὰ μὲν πρῶτα δημοτικά, ὅσα ἐκ πάντων ἢ περὶ πάντων, τὰ δὲ δεύτερα ὀλιγαρχικά, ὅσα ἐκ τινῶν περὶ πάντων, τὰ δὲ τρίτα ἀριστοκρατικὰ καὶ πολιτικά, ὅσα τὰ μὲν ἐκ πάντων τὰ δ' ἐκ τινῶν.

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4 *παρὰ πάντα ταῦτα*] 'cases of summary jurisdiction, questions which do not require a number of judges.'

5 *τῶν διῃρημένων*] 'The points distinguished.'

The combinations here are not defective as they were in Ch. XV., and consequently the text does not want re-arranging, as Nickes has done in the case of that other passage. But these minute details of arrangement, however necessary for the completeness of Aristotle's work, and for its practical utility as bearing on the nice complications of the Greek constitutions, are of no value for the modern student. It would be a mere useless burdening of the memory to attempt to master them.

SUMMARY. BOOK VII. (VI.)

THERE is no break between this book and the last, and its contents have been stated generally in the summary given of the last. Its particular object is to investigate the method of constituting first democratical, then oligarchical, governments (Ch. I.)

What are the ideas at the root of democracy? what are the characteristic principles it admits? what the character it requires or tolerates in its citizens? (II.) How can the element of fairness and equality on which it prides itself be introduced, and so introduced, as that the constitution formed shall not, by its exclusiveness and adaptation to the democratical standard, entirely alienate and drive into violent opposition the other parts of the state? (III.)

The various forms of democracy differ in point of excellence in proportion to the varying merit of the people which is predominant in each. A clear judgment must then be formed on the point, which democracy is best, and then the measures necessary for securing it must be adopted. If a democracy of free proprietors of land is the best, the state must see that its citizens, all of them, have land, and so on, as the scale descends, for the various intervening forms. The latest in order of time and most prevalent welcomes all alike, and aims only at strengthening its numbers, and breaking up the organisation of the party opposed to it. It tolerates no powerful classes, no union, no distinctions. It has much that is tyrannical in it (Ch. IV.)

To form a constitution is one thing, to keep it, when formed, in health, is another. And this is the harder task of the legislator. In his laws and constitutions he must aim at this. He must not seek the immediate and exclusive triumph of his principle at the expense of its permanence. On the contrary, he must, as far as is possible, guard against that exclusive triumph, above all things, guard against excessive irritation of his opponents, and so he must, if possible, preclude excessive poverty in the people, an end in which the party who are inferior should zealously co-operate with him. It is the common interest of all (Ch. V.)

So far for democracies. If the method of their formation is rightly understood, it involves the right understanding of their opposites, the formation of oligarchies. And the cautions in the two cases are analogous. The safety of a democracy lies in large numbers, they seem to make opposition hopeless. The safety of an oligarchy lies in the moderate use of their power by the oligarchs (VI.) This is their real safety. To secure their power, whether moderately used or strained to excess, they must carefully consider their armed force. And if they aim at a moderate and just use of it, then there are certain 'temperamenta imperii,' modifications which may make such wise exercise of it something in which all acquiesce (VI.)

There remains a point which was not fully treated in the last book, relating to the various magistracies which the state requires, whether democratical or oligarchical. These are enumerated at considerable length.

ΠΟΛΙΤΙΚΩΝ Η. (Ζ.)

Different combinations of the elements of democracy, oligarchy, &c.

ΠΟΣΑΙ μὲν οὖν διαφοραὶ καὶ τίνες τοῦ τε βουλευτικοῦ καὶ κυρίου τῆς πολιτείας καὶ τῆς περὶ τὰς ἀρχὰς τάξεως, καὶ περὶ δικαστηρίων, καὶ ποῖα πρὸς ποίαν συντέτακται πολιτείαν,[a] εἴρηται πρότερον. ἐπεὶ δὲ τετύχηκεν εἴδη πλείω δημοκρατίας ὄντα καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ὁμοίως πολιτειῶν, ἅμα τε περὶ ἐκείνων εἴ τι λοιπόν, οὐ χεῖρον ἐπισκέψασθαι, καὶ τὸν οἰκεῖον καὶ τὸν συμφέροντα τρόπον ἀποδοῦναι πρὸς
ἑκάστην. ἔτι δὲ καὶ τὰς συναγωγὰς αὐτῶν τῶν εἰρημένων 3 1317
ἐπισκεπτέον πάντων τῶν τρόπων· ταῦτα γὰρ συνδυαζόμενα ποιεῖ τὰς πολιτείας ἐπαλλάττειν, ὥστε ἀριστοκρατίας τε ὀλιγαρχικὰς εἶναι καὶ πολιτείας δημοκρατικωτέρας. λέγω 4
δὲ τοὺς συνδυασμούς, οὓς δεῖ μὲν ἐπισκοπεῖν, οὐκ ἐσκεμμένοι δ' εἰσὶ νῦν, οἷον ἂν τὸ μὲν βουλευόμενον καὶ τὸ περὶ τὰς ἀρχαιρεσίας ὀλιγαρχικῶς ᾖ συντεταγμένον, τὰ δὲ περὶ τὰ

[a] ἔτι δὲ περὶ φθορᾶς τε καὶ σωτηρίας τῶν πολιτειῶν ἐκ ποίων τε γίνεται καὶ διὰ τίνας αἰτίας Bekker.

I. 1 In this first section I omit the clause relating to the revolutions of states, the subject of Book VIII.

2 *ἐπεὶ δέ, κ.τ.λ.*] 'Since we find that there is more than one kind of democracy, more than one kind also of the other constitutions, it will be as well to consider them, and at the same time if we have left anything unsaid on the former points, to consider that also, and to give the proper and suitable mode of establishing each constitution.' So I translate the passage, keeping Bekker's text strictly. Nickes wishes to substitute *ἄλλα* for *ἅμα*. By *ἐκείνων* I understand the *βουλευτικόν, δικαστικόν, ἀρχαιρετικόν* of the last Book.

3 *τὰς συναγωγάς*] *συναγωγή* is a bringing together, uniting. Here 'the combinations.'

ἐπαλλάττειν] Here the word is very simple, 'to run into one another, to interchange.'

4 *ἐσκεμμένοι εἰσί*] The verb seems to be used in a passive sense.

τὸ μὲν βουλευόμενον] Spengel would read *περὶ τό* after *μέν*, as he would also substitute *τὸ δέ* for *τὰ δέ*. No doubt both changes would be improvements, but they are not very important ones.

ὀλιγαρχικῶς ᾖ συντεταγμένον] 'be arranged on oligarchical principles.'

Advice as to the organisation of the deliberative power.

ἐπαναγέσθω πάλιν ἐπὶ τοὺς ἄρχοντας. ἐν γὰρ ταῖς πολιτείαις ἀντεστραμμένως ποιοῦσιν· οἱ γὰρ ὀλίγοι ἀποψηφισάμενοι μὲν κύριοι, καταψηφισάμενοι δὲ οὐ κύριοι, ἀλλ' ἐπανάγεται εἰς τοὺς πλείστους αἰεί. Περὶ μὲν οὖν τοῦ
1299 16 βουλευομένου καὶ τοῦ κυρίου δὴ τῆς πολιτείας τοῦτον διωρίσθω τὸν τρόπον.

15 Ἐχομένη δὲ τούτων ἐστὶν ἡ περὶ τὰς ἀρχὰς διαίρεσις·

The executive.

ἔχει γὰρ καὶ τοῦτο τὸ μόριον τῆς πολιτείας πολλὰς διαφοράς, πόσαι τε ἀρχαί, καὶ κύριαι τίνων, καὶ περὶ χρόνου, πόσος ἑκάστης ἀρχῆς (οἱ μὲν γὰρ ἑξαμήνους, οἱ δὲ δι' ἐλάττονος, οἱ δ' ἐνιαυσίας, οἱ δὲ πολυχρονιωτέρας ποιοῦσι τὰς ἀρχάς), καὶ πότερον εἶναι δεῖ τὰς ἀρχὰς ἀϊδίους, ἢ πολυχρονίους ἢ μηδέτερον ἀλλὰ πλεονάκις τοὺς αὐτούς, ἢ μὴ τὸν αὐτὸν δὶς ἀλλ' ἅπαξ μόνον· ἔτι δὲ περὶ τὴν κατάστασιν τῶν ἀρχῶν, ἐκ τίνων δεῖ γίνεσθαι καὶ ὑπὸ τίνων καὶ πῶς.
2 περὶ πάντων γὰρ τούτων δεῖ δύνασθαι διελεῖν κατὰ πόσους ἐνδέχεται γενέσθαι τρόπους, κἄπειτα προσαρμόσαι, ποίαις ποῖαι πολιτεῖαι συμφέρουσιν. ἔστι δὲ οὐδὲ τοῦτο διορίσαι ῥᾴδιον, ποίας δεῖ καλεῖν ἀρχάς· πολλῶν γὰρ ἐπιστατῶν ἡ πολιτικὴ κοινωνία δεῖται, διόπερ πάντας οὔτε τοὺς αἱρετοὺς οὔτε τοὺς κληρωτοὺς ἄρχοντας θετέον, οἷον τοὺς ἱερεῖς πρῶτον· τοῦτο γὰρ ἕτερόν τι παρὰ τὰς πολιτικὰς ἀρχὰς
3 θετέον. ἔτι δὲ χορηγοὶ καὶ κήρυκες· αἱροῦνται δὲ καὶ πρεσβευτάς.[a] εἰσὶ δὲ αἱ μὲν πολιτικαὶ τῶν ἐπιμελειῶν, ἢ πάντων τῶν πολιτῶν πρός τινα πρᾶξιν, οἷον στρατηγὸς στρατευομένων, ἢ κατὰ μέρος, οἷον ὁ γυναικονόμος ἢ παιδονόμος· αἱ δ' οἰκονομικαί (πολλάκις γὰρ αἱροῦνται σιτομέτρας),

[a] πρεσβευταί Bekker.

great majority is to be allowed, its assent not to be final.'

16 τοῦ κυρίου δή] 'and that which consequently is sovereign.'

XV. 1 τῆς πολιτείας] 'of the political system.

ἀϊδίους] 'for life,' as elsewhere.

2 προσαρμόσαι] 'to adapt them.'

ποίας δεῖ καλεῖν ἀρχάς] 'What are the functions to which we may give this name ἀρχάς.'

3 πρεσβευταί] If this reading is kept, αἱροῦνται must be passive. I should prefer using it in its usual sense, and reading πρεσβευτάς.

σιτομέτρας] The question submitted to these officials would, in Aristotle's

αἱ δ' ὑπηρετικαί, πρὸς ἅς, ἂν εὐπορῶσι, τάττουσι δούλους. μάλιστα δ' ὡς ἁπλῶς εἰπεῖν ἀρχὰς λεκτέον ταύτας, ὅσαις ἀποδέδοται βουλεύσασθαί τε περὶ τινῶν καὶ κρῖναι καὶ ἐπι- 4 τάξαι, καὶ μάλιστα τοῦτο· τὸ γὰρ ἐπιτάττειν ἀρχικώτερόν ἐστιν. ἀλλὰ ταῦτα διαφέρει πρὸς μὲν τὰς χρήσεις οὐθὲν ὡς εἰπεῖν· οὐ γάρ πω κρίσις γέγονεν ἀμφισβητούντων περὶ τοῦ ὀνόματος· ἔχει δέ τιν' ἄλλην διανοητικὴν πραγματείαν.

The executive power.

5 ποῖαι δ' ἀρχαὶ καὶ πόσαι ἀναγκαῖαι εἰ ἔσται πόλις, καὶ ποῖαι ἀναγκαῖαι μὲν οὔ, χρήσιμοι δὲ πρὸς σπουδαίαν πολιτείαν, μᾶλλον ἄν τις ἀπορήσειε πρὸς ἅπασάν τε δὴ πολιτείαν καὶ δὴ καὶ τὰς μικρὰς πόλεις. 6 ἐν μὲν γὰρ δὴ ταῖς μεγάλαις ἐνδέχεταί τε καὶ δεῖ μίαν τετάχθαι πρὸς ἓν ἔργον· πολλούς τε γὰρ εἰς τὰ ἀρχεῖα ἐνδέχεται βαδίζειν διὰ τὸ πολλοὺς εἶναι τοὺς πολίτας, ὥστε τὰς μὲν διαλείπειν πολὺν χρόνον τὰς δ' ἅπαξ ἄρχειν, καὶ βέλτιον ἕκαστον ἔργον τυγχάνει τῆς ἐπιμελείας μονοπραγματούσης ἢ πολυπραγματούσης. 7 1299 B ἐν δὲ ταῖς μικραῖς ἀνάγκη συνάγειν εἰς ὀλίγους πολλὰς ἀρχάς· διὰ γὰρ ὀλιγανθρωπίαν οὐ ῥᾴδιόν ἐστι πολλοὺς ἐν ταῖς ἀρχαῖς εἶναι· τίνες γὰρ οἱ τούτους ἔσονται διαδεξόμενοι πάλιν; δέονται δ' ἐνίοτε τῶν αὐτῶν ἀρχῶν καὶ νόμων αἱ μικραὶ ταῖς μεγάλαις· πλὴν αἱ μὲν δέονται πολλάκις τῶν αὐτῶν, ταῖς δ' ἐν πολλῷ χρόνῳ

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view, more properly concern the interests of the citizens as fathers of families and possessed of property, than as citizens proper. Hence he considers their functions as economical in a sense quite in accordance with his use of the term in the first book.

ἂν εὐπορῶσι] Compare I. VII. 5, *ὅσοις ἐξουσία μὴ αὐτοὺς κακοπαθεῖν*.

4 **τὸ γὰρ ἐπιτάττειν ἀρχικώτερόν ἐστιν**] 'is more strictly the characteristic of a magistrate,' the highest form of the citizen, to whom the highest political virtue belongs properly, *ἄρχοντος ἴδιος ἀρετὴ μόνη φρόνησις* (III. IV. 17), and *φρόνησις* is, by *Eth.* VI. xi. 2, p. 1143, 8, *ἐπιτακτική*.

οὐ γάρ πω κρίσις, κ.τ.λ.] 'For there has as yet no question arisen for decision in consequence of a dispute about the name; still such points have their interest for thought.' Such I take to be the sense, and I believe Stahr agrees with this rendering.

6 **τὰς μὲν διαλείπειν**] 'so that in holding some, they leave long intervals;' or, in other words, 'they hold some only at long intervals.'

τῆς ἐπιμελείας, κ.τ.λ.] 'If the attention is engaged on one point only, than if it is distracted by being bent on many.'

The executive power.

ταύτῃ χρήσονται. ὥσπερ οὐθὲν κωλύει. πολλὰς ἐπιμελείας ἅμα προστάττειν· οὐ γὰρ ἐμποδιοῦσιν ἀλλήλαις, καὶ πρὸς τὴν ὀλιγανθρωπίαν ἀναγκαῖον τὰ ἀρχεῖα οἷον ὀβελισκολύχνια ποιεῖν. ἐὰν οὖν ἔχωμεν λέγειν πόσας ἀναγκαῖον ὑπάρχειν πάσῃ πόλει, καὶ πόσας οὐκ ἀναγκαῖον μὲν δεῖ δ' ὑπάρχειν, ῥᾷον ἄν τις εἰδὼς ταῦτα συνάγοι ποίας ἁρμόττει συνάγειν ἀρχὰς εἰς μίαν ἀρχήν. ἁρμόττει δὲ καὶ τοῦτο μὴ λεληθέναι, ποίων δεῖ κατὰ τόπον ἀρχεῖα πολλῶν ἐπιμελεῖσθαι καὶ ποίων πανταχοῦ μίαν ἀρχὴν εἶναι κυρίαν, οἷον εὐκοσμίας πότερον ἐν ἀγορᾷ μὲν ἀγορανόμον, ἄλλον δὲ κατ' ἄλλον τόπον, ἢ πανταχοῦ τὸν αὐτόν. καὶ πότερον κατὰ τὸ πρᾶγμα δεῖ διαιρεῖν ἢ κατὰ τοὺς ἀνθρώπους, λέγω δ' οἷον ἕνα τῆς εὐκοσμίας, ἢ παίδων ἄλλον καὶ γυναικῶν. καὶ κατὰ τὰς πολιτείας δέ, πότερον διαφέρει καθ' ἑκάστην καὶ τὸ τῶν ἀρχῶν γένος ἢ οὐθέν, οἷον ἐν δημοκρατίᾳ καὶ ὀλιγαρχίᾳ καὶ ἀριστοκρατίᾳ καὶ μοναρχίᾳ πότερον αἱ αὐταὶ μέν εἰσιν ἀρχαὶ κύριαι, οὐκ ἐξ ἴσων δ' οὐδ' ἐξ ὁμοίων, ἀλλ' ἕτεραι ἐν ἑτέραις, οἷον ἐν μὲν ταῖς ἀριστοκρατίαις ἐκ πεπαιδευμένων, ἐν δὲ ταῖς ὀλιγαρχίαις ἐκ τῶν πλουσίων, ἐν δὲ ταῖς δημοκρατίαις ἐκ τῶν ἐλευθέρων, ἢ τυγχάνουσι μέν τινες οὖσαι καὶ κατ' αὐτὰς τὰς διαφορὰς τῶν ἀρχῶν, ἔστι δ' ὅπου συμφέρουσιν αἱ αὐταὶ καὶ ὅπου διαφέρουσιν· ἔνθα μὲν γὰρ ἁρμόττ-

8 πολλὰς ἐπιμελείας, κ.τ.λ.] 'To assign many branches of administration at the same time to the same person.'

ὀβελισκολύχνια] 'spits for roasting, used as candlesticks.' The general meaning is the same as in the case of the Δελφικὴ μάχαιρα of I. II. 3.

συνάγοι] 'might infer,' 'collect.'

ἢ κατὰ τόπον] "Bei örtlicher Beschränkung," Stahr; 'from considerations of space and distance,' or is it simply 'local,' as opposed to 'general'?

κατὰ τὸ πρᾶγμα] 'by the subject.'

ἢ κατὰ τοὺς ἀνθρώπους] 'or with reference to the persons.'

πεπαιδευμένων] Rhet. I. 8, p. 1366. 5. ἀριστοκρατίας τέλος τὰ πρὸς παιδείαν καὶ τὰ νόμιμα.

κατ' αὐτὰς τὰς διαφορὰς τῶν ἀρχῶν] If this is genuine it is a very concise expression. κατ' αὐτὰς τὰς διαφορὰς διαφοραὶ τῶν ἀρχῶν, or κατὰ ταύτας τὰς διαφορὰς διαφοραὶ τῶν ἀρχῶν: either of these forms would express what I conceive to be the meaning of the passage better than the one which Bekker has and Stahr keeps, though his translation is in favour of a change. 'Corresponding to the differences we observe in the constitutions are these differences in the magistracies required.'

διαφέρουσιν] This seems to mean 'where different ones are required.'

τει μεγάλας, ἔνθα δ' εἶναι μικρὰς τὰς αὐτάς. οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ καὶ ἴδιαί τινές εἰσιν, οἷον ἡ τῶν προβούλων· αὕτη γὰρ οὐ δημοκρατική, βουλὴ δὲ δημοτικόν. δεῖ μὲν γὰρ εἶναί τι τοιοῦτον ᾧ ἐπιμελὲς ἔσται τοῦ δήμου προβουλεύειν, ὅπως ἀσχολῶν ἔσται· τοῦτο δ', ἐὰν ὀλίγοι τὸν ἀριθμὸν ὦσιν, ὀλιγαρχικόν· τοὺς δὲ προβούλους ὀλίγους ἀναγκαῖον εἶναι τὸ πλῆθος, ὥστ' ὀλιγαρχικόν. ἀλλ' ὅπου ἄμφω αὗται αἱ ἀρχαί, οἱ πρόβουλοι καθεστᾶσιν ἐπὶ τοῖς βουλευταῖς· ὁ μὲν γὰρ βουλευτὴς δημοτικόν, ὁ δὲ πρόβουλος ὀλιγαρχικόν. καταλύεται δὲ καὶ τῆς βουλῆς ἡ δύναμις ἐν ταῖς τοιαύταις δημοκρατίαις ἐν αἷς αὐτὸς συνιὼν ὁ δῆμος χρηματίζει περὶ πάντων. τοῦτο δὲ συμβαίνειν εἴωθεν, ὅταν εὐπορία τις ᾖ ἢ μισθὸς τοῖς ἐκκλησιάζουσιν· σχολάζοντες γὰρ συλλέγονταί τε πολλάκις καὶ ἅπαντα αὐτοὶ κρίνουσιν. παιδονόμος δὲ καὶ γυναικονόμος, καὶ εἴ τις ἄλλος ἄρχων κύριός ἐστι τοιαύτης ἐπιμελείας, ἀριστοκρατικόν, δημοκρατικὸν δ' οὔ· πῶς γὰρ οἷόν τε κωλύειν ἐξιέναι τὰς τῶν ἀπόρων; οὐδ' ὀλιγαρχικόν· τρυφῶσι γὰρ αἱ τῶν ὀλιγαρχούντων. ἀλλὰ περὶ μὲν τούτων ἐπὶ τοσοῦτον εἰρήσθω νῦν, περὶ δὲ τὰς τῶν ἀρχῶν καταστάσεις πειρατέον ἐξ ἀρχῆς διελθεῖν. εἰσὶ δ' αἱ διαφοραὶ ἐν τρισὶν ὅροις, ὧν συντιθεμένων ἀναγκαῖον πάντας εἰλῆφθαι τοὺς τρόπους. ἔστι δὲ τῶν τριῶν τούτων ἓν μὲν τίνες οἱ καθιστάντες τὰς ἀρχάς, δεύτερον δ' ἐκ τίνων, λοιπὸν δὲ τίνα τρόπον. ἑκάστου δὲ τῶν τριῶν τούτων διαφοραὶ τρεῖς εἰσίν· ἢ γὰρ πάντες οἱ πολῖται καθιστᾶσιν ἢ τινές, καὶ ἢ

Margin notes: The executive power. — 11 (beside "δημοκρατική, βουλὴ δὲ δημοτικόν"); 12 (beside "πλῆθος, ὥστ' ὀλιγαρχικόν"); 1300 (beside "δημοκρατίαις ἐν αἷς"); 13 (beside "πάντων. τοῦτο δὲ"); 14 (beside "τρυφῶσι γὰρ"); 15 (beside "τίνα τρόπον").

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11 ὅπως ἀσχολῶν ἔσται] 'how it shall be kept engaged.'

12 καθεστᾶσιν ἐπὶ τοῖς βουλευταῖς] 'are established as a check upon the members of the senate.' This was the case at Athens at the time above mentioned, when Probuli were appointed.

13 εὐπορία τις ᾖ ἢ μισθός] Spengel, p. 40, wishes to read μισθοῦ, relying on VII. (VI.) II. 6, μισθοῦ εὐπορία. But there is no absolute necessity for the change, for we may conceive the ἢ μισθός introduced to make more precise the meaning of εὐπορία, and the second passage written at first with greater accuracy.

ἐξιέναι τὰς τῶν ἀπόρων] Comp. VII. (VI.) VIII. 23, διὰ τὴν ἀδουλίαν. There is no possibility of subjecting them to regulations as the simplest necessity of their state of poverty would set any such aside.

14 ἐν τρισὶν ὅροις] 'under three heads,' 'in three points.'

The executive power.

ἐκ πάντων ἢ ἐκ τινῶν ἀφωρισμένων, οἷον ἢ τιμήματι ἢ γένει
ἢ ἀρετῇ ἢ τινι τοιούτῳ ἄλλῳ, ὥσπερ ἐν Μεγάροις ἐκ τῶν
συγκατελθόντων καὶ συμμαχεσαμένων πρὸς τὸν δῆμον, καὶ
16 ταῦτα ἢ αἱρέσει ἢ κλήρῳ. πάλιν ταῦτα συνδυαζόμενα, λέγω
δὲ τὰς μὲν τινὲς τὰς δὲ πάντες, καὶ τὰς μὲν ἐκ πάντων τὰς
δ' ἐκ τινῶν, καὶ τὰς μὲν αἱρέσει τὰς δὲ κλήρῳ. τούτων δ'
17 ἑκάστης ἔσονται τῆς διαφορᾶς τρόποι τέσσαρες. ἢ γὰρ
πάντες ἐκ πάντων αἱρέσει, ἢ πάντες ἐκ πάντων κλήρῳ, καὶ ἢ
ἐξ ἁπάντων ἢ ὡς ἀνὰ μέρος, οἷον κατὰ φυλὰς καὶ δήμους καὶ
φρατρίας, ἕως ἂν διέλθῃ διὰ πάντων τῶν πολιτῶν, ἢ ἀεὶ ἐξ
18 ἁπάντων, καὶ τὰ μὲν οὕτω τὰ δὲ ἐκείνως. πάλιν εἰ τινὲς
οἱ καθιστάντες, ἢ ἐκ πάντων αἱρέσει ἢ ἐκ πάντων κλήρῳ,
ἢ ἐκ τινῶν αἱρέσει ἢ ἐκ τινῶν κλήρῳ, ἢ τὰ μὲν οὕτω τὰ δ'
ἐκείνως, λέγω δὲ τὰ μὲν ἐκ πάντων αἱρέσει τὰ δὲ κλήρῳ.
ὥστε δώδεκα οἱ τρόποι γίνονται χωρὶς τῶν δύο συνδυασμῶν.
19 τούτων δ' αἱ μὲν δύο καταστάσεις δημοτικαί, τὸ πάντας ἐκ
πάντων αἱρέσει ἢ κλήρῳ γίνεσθαι ἢ ἀμφοῖν, τὰς μὲν κλήρῳ
τὰς δ' αἱρέσει τῶν ἀρχῶν· τὸ δὲ μὴ πάντας ἅμα μὲν καθι-
στάναι, ἐξ ἁπάντων δ' ἢ ἐκ τινῶν, ἢ κλήρῳ ἢ αἱρέσει ἢ
ἀμφοῖν, ἢ τὰς μὲν ἐκ πάντων τὰς δ' ἐκ τινῶν ἀμφοῖν (τὸ
δὲ ἀμφοῖν λέγω τὰς μὲν κλήρῳ τὰς δ' αἱρέσει), πολιτικόν.
20 Καὶ τὸ τινὰς ἐκ πάντων τὰς μὲν αἱρέσει καθιστάναι τὰς δὲ
κλήρῳ ἢ ἀμφοῖν, τὰς μὲν κλήρῳ τὰς δ' αἱρέσει, ὀλιγαρ-
χικόν· ὀλιγαρχικώτερον δὲ καὶ τὸ ἐξ ἀμφοῖν. τὸ δὲ τὰς
1300 B μὲν ἐκ πάντων τὰς δ' ἐκ τινῶν πολιτικὸν ἀριστοκρατικῶς, ἢ
21 τὰς μὲν αἱρέσει τὰς δὲ κλήρῳ. τὸ δὲ τινὰς ἐκ τινῶν ὀλι-
γαρχικόν, καὶ τὸ τινὰς ἐκ τινῶν κλήρῳ [μὴ γενόμενον δ'
ὁμοίως], καὶ τὸ τινὰς ἐκ τινῶν ἀμφοῖν, τὸ δὲ τινὰς ἐξ ἁπάν-
22 των. τὸ δὲ ἐκ τινῶν αἱρέσει πάντας ἀριστοκρατικόν. οἱ
μὲν οὖν τρόποι τῶν περὶ τὰς ἀρχὰς τοσοῦτοι τὸν ἀριθμόν

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15 *ἐν Μεγάροις*] Mr Grote, III. 60, in reference to this allusion speaks of its being of no historical value, for dates and details escape us.

16 *τούτων δ' ἑκάστης, κ.τ.λ.*] On this passage see Nickes, Excursus, VIII. p. 145. He practically re-writes it. But, allowing that he does this successfully, and I think he does, the question occurs, is it worth while? I prefer leaving the text as it stands.

εἰσι, καὶ διῄρηνται κατὰ τὰς πολιτείας οὕτως· τίνα δὲ τίσι συμφέρει καὶ πῶς δεῖ γίνεσθαι τὰς καταστάσεις, ἅμα ταῖς δυνάμεσι τῶν ἀρχῶν, καὶ τίνες εἰσίν, ἔσται φανερόν. λέγω δὲ δύναμιν ἀρχῆς, οἷον τὴν κυρίαν τῶν προσόδων καὶ τὴν κυρίαν τῆς φυλακῆς· ἄλλο γὰρ εἶδος δυνάμεως οἷον στρατηγίας καὶ τῆς τῶν περὶ τὴν ἀγορὰν συμβολαίων κυρίας.

The executive power.

Λοιπὸν δὲ τῶν τριῶν τὸ δικαστικὸν εἰπεῖν. ληπτέον δὲ 16
καὶ τούτων τοὺς τρόπους κατὰ τὴν αὐτὴν ὑπόθεσιν. ἔστι δὲ διαφορὰ τῶν δικαστηρίων ἐν τρισὶν ὅροις, ἐξ ὧν τε καὶ περὶ ὧν καὶ πῶς. λέγω δὲ ἐξ ὧν μέν, πότερον ἐκ πάντων ἢ ἐκ τινῶν· περὶ ὧν δέ, πόσα εἴδη δικαστηρίων· τὸ δὲ πῶς, πότερον κλήρῳ ἢ αἱρέσει. πρῶτον οὖν διαιρείσθω πόσα 2
εἴδη δικαστηρίων. ἔστι δὲ τὸν ἀριθμὸν ὀκτώ, ἓν μὲν εὐθυντικόν, ἄλλο δὲ εἴ τίς τι τῶν κοινῶν ἀδικεῖ, ἕτερον ὅσα εἰς τὴν πολιτείαν φέρει, τέταρτον καὶ ἄρχουσι καὶ ἰδιώταις ὅσα περὶ ζημιώσεων ἀμφισβητοῦσιν, πέμπτον τὸ περὶ τῶν ἰδίων συναλλαγμάτων καὶ ἐχόντων μέγεθος, καὶ παρὰ ταῦτα τό τε φονικὸν καὶ τὸ ξενικόν. φονικοῦ μὲν οὖν εἴδη, ἄν τ' 3
ἐν τοῖς αὐτοῖς δικασταῖς ἄν τ' ἐν ἄλλοις, περί τε τῶν ἐκ προνοίας καὶ περὶ τῶν ἀκουσίων, καὶ ὅσα ὁμολογεῖται μέν, ἀμφισβητεῖται δὲ περὶ τοῦ δικαίου, τέταρτον δὲ ὅσα τοῖς φεύγουσι φόνου ἐπὶ καθόδῳ ἐπιφέρεται, οἷον Ἀθήνησι λέγεται καὶ τὸ ἐν Φρεαττοῖ δικαστήριον· συμβαίνει δὲ τὸ τοιαῦτα ἐν τῷ παντὶ χρόνῳ ὀλίγα καὶ ἐν ταῖς μεγάλαις

The judicial power.

ἅμα ταῖς δυνάμεσι] in VII. (VI.) 8, this point is treated.

ἄλλο γὰρ εἶδος] 'For there is quite another kind of power, say in the office of general and in that to which is entrusted the management of the common market transactions.'

XVI. 1 τούτων] As if he had written τὰ δικαστήρια.

2 ὅσα εἰς τὴν πολιτείαν φέρει] 'all constitutional questions.'

περὶ ζημιώσεων] 'appeals against the amount of fines.'

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The judicial power

πόλεσιν. τοῦ δὲ ξενικοῦ ἓν μὲν ξένοις πρὸς ξένους, ἄλλο ξένοις πρὸς ἀστούς. ἔτι δὲ παρὰ πάντα ταῦτα περὶ τῶν
4 μικρῶν συναλλαγμάτων, ὅσα δραχμιαῖα καὶ πεντάδραχμα καὶ μικρῷ πλείονος· δεῖ μὲν γὰρ καὶ περὶ τούτων γίνεσθαι
5 κρίσιν, οὐκ ἐμπίπτει δὲ εἰς δικαστῶν πλῆθος. Ἀλλὰ περὶ μὲν τούτων ἀφείσθω καὶ τῶν φονικῶν καὶ τῶν ξενικῶν, περὶ δὲ τῶν πολιτικῶν λέγωμεν, περὶ ὧν μὴ γινομένων καλῶς διαστάσεις γίνονται καὶ τῶν πολιτειῶν αἱ κινήσεις. ἀνάγκη δ' ἤτοι πάντας περὶ πάντων κρίνειν τῶν διῃρημένων αἱρέσει
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6 σει, ἢ περὶ ἐνίων τῶν αὐτῶν τοὺς μὲν κλήρῳ τοὺς δ' αἱρετούς. οὗτοι μὲν οὖν οἱ τρόποι τέτταρες τὸν ἀριθμόν, τοσοῦτοι δ' ἕτεροι καὶ οἱ κατὰ μέρος· πάλιν γὰρ ἐκ τινῶν καὶ οἱ δικάζοντες περὶ πάντων αἱρέσει, ἢ ἐκ τινῶν περὶ πάντων κλήρῳ, ἢ τὰ μὲν κλήρῳ τὰ δὲ αἱρέσει, ἢ ἔνια δικαστήρια
7 περὶ τῶν αὐτῶν ἐκ κληρωτῶν καὶ αἱρετῶν. οὗτοι μὲν οὖν, ὥσπερ ἐλέχθησαν, οἱ τρόποι τοῖς εἰρημένοις. ἔτι δὲ τὰ αὐτὰ συνδυαζόμενα, λέγω δ' οἷον τὰ μὲν ἐκ πάντων τὰ δ' ἐκ τινῶν τὰ δ' ἐξ ἀμφοῖν, οἷον εἰ τοῦ αὐτοῦ δικαστηρίου εἶεν
8 οἱ μὲν ἐκ πάντων οἱ δ' ἐκ τινῶν, καὶ ἢ κλήρῳ ἢ αἱρέσει ἢ ἀμφοῖν. ὅσους μὲν οὖν ἐνδέχεται τρόπους εἶναι τὰ δικαστήρια, εἴρηται· τούτων δὲ τὰ μὲν πρῶτα δημοτικά, ὅσα ἐκ πάντων ἢ περὶ πάντων, τὰ δὲ δεύτερα ὀλιγαρχικά, ὅσα ἐκ τινῶν περὶ πάντων, τὰ δὲ τρίτα ἀριστοκρατικὰ καὶ πολιτικά, ὅσα τὰ μὲν ἐκ πάντων τὰ δ' ἐκ τινῶν.

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4 παρὰ παντὰ ταῦτα] 'cases of summary jurisdiction, questions which do not require a number of judges.'

5 τῶν διῃρημένων] 'The points distinguished.'

The combinations here are not defective as they were in Ch. XV., and consequently the text does not want re-arranging, as Nickes has done in the case of that other passage. But these minute details of arrangement, however necessary for the completeness of Aristotle's work, and for its practical utility as bearing on the nice complications of the Greek constitutions, are of no value for the modern student. It would be a mere useless burdening of the memory to attempt to master them.

SUMMARY. BOOK VII. (VI.)

THERE is no break between this book and the last, and its contents have been stated generally in the summary given of the last. Its particular object is to investigate the method of constituting first democratical, then oligarchical, governments (Ch. I.)

What are the ideas at the root of democracy? what are the characteristic principles it admits? what the character it requires or tolerates in its citizens? (II.) How can the element of fairness and equality on which it prides itself be introduced, and so introduced, as that the constitution formed shall not, by its exclusiveness and adaptation to the democratical standard, entirely alienate and drive into violent opposition the other parts of the state? (III.)

The various forms of democracy differ in point of excellence in proportion to the varying merit of the people which is predominant in each. A clear judgment must then be formed on the point, which democracy is best, and then the measures necessary for securing it must be adopted. If a democracy of free proprietors of land is the best, the state must see that its citizens, all of them, have land, and so on, as the scale descends, for the various intervening forms. The latest in order of time and most prevalent welcomes all alike, and aims only at strengthening its numbers, and breaking up the organisation of the party opposed to it. It tolerates no powerful classes, no union, no distinctions. It has much that is tyrannical in it (Ch. IV.)

To form a constitution is one thing, to keep it, when formed, in health, is another. And this is the harder task of the legislator. In his laws and constitutions he must aim at this. He must not seek the immediate and exclusive triumph of his principle at the expense of its permanence. On the contrary, he must, as far as is possible, guard against that exclusive triumph, above all things, guard against excessive irritation of his opponents, and so he must, if possible, preclude excessive poverty in the people, an end in which the party who are inferior should zealously co-operate with him. It is the common interest of all (Ch. V.)

The executive power.

ἐκ πάντων ἢ ἐκ τινῶν ἀφωρισμένων, οἷον ἢ τιμήματι ἢ γένει
ἢ ἀρετῇ ἤ τινι τοιούτῳ ἄλλῳ, ὥσπερ ἐν Μεγάροις ἐκ τῶν
συγκατελθόντων καὶ συμμαχεσαμένων πρὸς τὸν δῆμον, καὶ
16 ταῦτα ἢ αἱρέσει ἢ κλήρῳ. πάλιν ταῦτα συνδυαζόμενα, λέγω
δὲ τὰς μὲν τινὲς τὰς δὲ πάντες, καὶ τὰς μὲν ἐκ πάντων τὰς
δ' ἐκ τινῶν, καὶ τὰς μὲν αἱρέσει τὰς δὲ κλήρῳ. τούτων δ'
17 ἑκάστης ἔσονται τῆς διαφορᾶς τρόποι τέσσαρες. ἢ γὰρ
πάντες ἐκ πάντων αἱρέσει, ἢ πάντες ἐκ πάντων κλήρῳ, καὶ ἢ
ἐξ ἁπάντων ἢ ὡς ἀνὰ μέρος, οἷον κατὰ φυλὰς καὶ δήμους καὶ
φρατρίας, ἕως ἂν διέλθῃ διὰ πάντων τῶν πολιτῶν, ἢ ἀεὶ ἐξ
18 ἁπάντων, καὶ τὰ μὲν οὕτω τὰ δὲ ἐκείνως. πάλιν εἰ τινὲς
οἱ καθιστάντες, ἢ ἐκ πάντων αἱρέσει ἢ ἐκ πάντων κλήρῳ,
ἢ ἐκ τινῶν αἱρέσει ἢ ἐκ τινῶν κλήρῳ, ἢ τὰ μὲν οὕτω τὰ δ'
ἐκείνως, λέγω δὲ τὰ μὲν ἐκ πάντων αἱρέσει τὰ δὲ κλήρῳ.
ὥστε δώδεκα οἱ τρόποι γίνονται χωρὶς τῶν δύο συνδυασμῶν.
19 τούτων δ' αἱ μὲν δύο καταστάσεις δημοτικαί, τὸ πάντας ἐκ
πάντων αἱρέσει ἢ κλήρῳ γίνεσθαι ἢ ἀμφοῖν, τὰς μὲν κλήρῳ
τὰς δ' αἱρέσει τῶν ἀρχῶν· τὸ δὲ μὴ πάντας ἅμα μὲν καθι-
στάναι, ἐξ ἁπάντων δ' ἢ ἐκ τινῶν, ἢ κλήρῳ ἢ αἱρέσει ἢ
ἀμφοῖν, ἢ τὰς μὲν ἐκ πάντων τὰς δ' ἐκ τινῶν ἀμφοῖν (τὸ
δὲ ἀμφοῖν λέγω τὰς μὲν κλήρῳ τὰς δ' αἱρέσει), πολιτικόν.
20 Καὶ τὸ τινὰς ἐκ πάντων τὰς μὲν αἱρέσει καθιστάναι τὰς δὲ
κλήρῳ ἢ ἀμφοῖν, τὰς μὲν κλήρῳ τὰς δ' αἱρέσει, ὀλιγαρ-
χικόν· ὀλιγαρχικώτερον δὲ καὶ τὸ ἐξ ἀμφοῖν. τὸ δὲ τὰς
1300 B μὲν ἐκ πάντων τὰς δ' ἐκ τινῶν πολιτικὸν ἀριστοκρατικῶς, ἢ
21 τὰς μὲν αἱρέσει τὰς δὲ κλήρῳ. τὸ δὲ τινὰς ἐκ τινῶν ὀλι-
γαρχικόν, καὶ τὸ τινὰς ἐκ τινῶν κλήρῳ [μὴ γενόμενον δ'
ὁμοίως], καὶ τὸ τινὰς ἐκ τινῶν ἀμφοῖν, τὸ δὲ τινὰς ἐξ ἁπάν-
22 των. τὸ δὲ ἐκ τινῶν αἱρέσει πάντας ἀριστοκρατικόν. οἱ
μὲν οὖν τρόποι τῶν περὶ τὰς ἀρχὰς τοσοῦτοι τὸν ἀριθμόν

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15 *ἐν Μεγάροις*] Mr Grote, III. 60, in reference to this allusion speaks of its being of no historical value, for dates and details escape us.

16 *τούτων δ' ἑκάστης, κ.τ.λ.*] On this passage see Nickes, Excursus, VIII. p. 145. He practically re-writes it. But, allowing that he does this successfully, and I think he does, the question occurs, is it worth while? I prefer leaving the text as it stands.

εἰσι, καὶ διῄρηνται κατὰ τὰς πολιτείας οὕτως· τίνα δὲ τίσι συμφέρει καὶ πῶς δεῖ γίνεσθαι τὰς καταστάσεις, ἅμα ταῖς δυνάμεσι τῶν ἀρχῶν, καὶ τίνες εἰσίν, ἔσται φανερόν. λέγω δὲ δύναμιν ἀρχῆς, οἷον τὴν κυρίαν τῶν προσόδων καὶ τὴν κυρίαν τῆς φυλακῆς· ἄλλο γὰρ εἶδος δυνάμεως οἷον στρατηγίας καὶ τῆς τῶν περὶ τὴν ἀγορὰν συμβολαίων κυρίας. The executive power.

Λοιπὸν δὲ τῶν τριῶν τὸ δικαστικὸν εἰπεῖν. ληπτέον δὲ 16
καὶ τούτων τοὺς τρόπους κατὰ τὴν αὐτὴν ὑπόθεσιν. ἔστι The judicial power.
δὲ διαφορὰ τῶν δικαστηρίων ἐν τρισὶν ὅροις, ἐξ ὧν τε καὶ περὶ ὧν καὶ πῶς. λέγω δὲ ἐξ ὧν μέν, πότερον ἐκ πάντων ἢ ἐκ τινῶν· περὶ ὧν δέ, πόσα εἴδη δικαστηρίων· τὸ δὲ πῶς,
πότερον κλήρῳ ἢ αἱρέσει. πρῶτον οὖν διαιρείσθω πόσα 2
εἴδη δικαστηρίων. ἔστι δὲ τὸν ἀριθμὸν ὀκτώ, ἓν μὲν εὐθυντικόν, ἄλλο δὲ εἴ τίς τι τῶν κοινῶν ἀδικεῖ, ἕτερον ὅσα εἰς τὴν πολιτείαν φέρει, τέταρτον καὶ ἄρχουσι καὶ ἰδιώταις ὅσα περὶ ζημιώσεων ἀμφισβητοῦσιν, πέμπτον τὸ περὶ τῶν ἰδίων συναλλαγμάτων καὶ ἐχόντων μέγεθος, καὶ παρὰ ταῦτα τό
τε φονικὸν καὶ τὸ ξενικόν. φονικοῦ μὲν οὖν εἴδη, ἄν τ' 3
ἐν τοῖς αὐτοῖς δικασταῖς ἄν τ' ἐν ἄλλοις, περί τε τῶν ἐκ προνοίας καὶ περὶ τῶν ἀκουσίων, καὶ ὅσα ὁμολογεῖται μέν, ἀμφισβητεῖται δὲ περὶ τοῦ δικαίου, τέταρτον δὲ ὅσα τοῖς φεύγουσι φόνου ἐπὶ καθόδῳ ἐπιφέρεται, οἷον Ἀθήνησι λέγεται καὶ τὸ ἐν Φρεαττοῖ δικαστήριον· συμβαίνει δὲ τὸ τοιαῦτα ἐν τῷ παντὶ χρόνῳ ὀλίγα καὶ ἐν ταῖς μεγάλαις

ἅμα ταῖς δυνάμεσι] in VII. (VI.) 8, this point is treated.

ἄλλο γὰρ εἶδος] 'For there is quite another kind of power, say in the office of general and in that to which is entrusted the management of the common market transactions.'

XVI. 1 τούτων] As if he had written τὰ δικαστήρια.

2 ὅσα εἰς τὴν πολιτείαν φέρει] 'all constitutional questions.'

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So far for democracies. If the method of their formation is rightly understood, it involves the right understanding of their opposites, the formation of oligarchies. And the cautions in the two cases are analogous. The safety of a democracy lies in large numbers, they seem to make opposition hopeless. The safety of an oligarchy lies in the moderate use of their power by the oligarchs (VI.) This is their real safety. To secure their power, whether moderately used or strained to excess, they must carefully consider their armed force. And if they aim at a moderate and just use of it, then there are certain 'temperamenta imperii,' modifications which may make such wise exercise of it something in which all acquiesce (VI.)

There remains a point which was not fully treated in the last book, relating to the various magistracies which the state requires, whether democratical or oligarchical. These are enumerated at considerable length.

ΠΟΛΙΤΙΚΩΝ Η. (Ζ.)

Different combinations of the elements of democracy, oligarchy, &c.

ΠΟΣΑΙ μὲν οὖν διαφοραὶ καὶ τίνες τοῦ τε βουλευτι-
κοῦ καὶ κυρίου τῆς πολιτείας καὶ τῆς περὶ τὰς ἀρχὰς
τάξεως, καὶ περὶ δικαστηρίων, καὶ ποῖα πρὸς ποίαν συντέ-
τακται πολιτείαν,[a] εἴρηται πρότερον. ἐπεὶ δὲ τετύχηκεν εἴδη
πλείω δημοκρατίας ὄντα καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ὁμοίως πολιτειῶν,
ἅμα τε περὶ ἐκείνων εἴ τι λοιπόν, οὐ χεῖρον ἐπισκέψασθαι,
καὶ τὸν οἰκεῖον καὶ τὸν συμφέροντα τρόπον ἀποδοῦναι πρὸς
ἑκάστην. ἔτι δὲ καὶ τὰς συναγωγὰς αὐτῶν τῶν εἰρημένων 3 1317
ἐπισκεπτέον πάντων τῶν τρόπων· ταῦτα γὰρ συνδυαζόμενα
ποιεῖ τὰς πολιτείας ἐπαλλάττειν, ὥστε ἀριστοκρατίας τε
ὀλιγαρχικὰς εἶναι καὶ πολιτείας δημοκρατικωτέρας. λέγω 4
δὲ τοὺς συνδυασμούς, οὓς δεῖ μὲν ἐπισκοπεῖν, οὐκ ἐσκεμμένοι
δ' εἰσὶ νῦν, οἷον ἂν τὸ μὲν βουλευόμενον καὶ τὸ περὶ τὰς
ἀρχαιρεσίας ὀλιγαρχικῶς ᾖ συντεταγμένον, τὰ δὲ περὶ τὰ

[a] *ἔτι δὲ περὶ φθορᾶς τε καὶ σωτηρίας τῶν πολιτειῶν ἐκ ποίων τε γίνεται καὶ διὰ τίνας αἰτίας* Bekker.

I. 1 In this first section I omit the clause relating to the revolutions of states, the subject of Book VIII.

2 *ἐπεὶ δέ, κ.τ.λ.*] 'Since we find that there is more than one kind of democracy, more than one kind also of the other constitutions, it will be as well to consider them, and at the same time if we have left anything unsaid on the former points, to consider that also, and to give the proper and suitable mode of establishing each constitution.' So I translate the passage, keeping Bekker's text strictly. Nickes wishes to substitute *ἄλλα* for *ἅμα*. By *ἐκείνων* I understand the *βουλευτικόν, δικαστικόν, ἀρχαιρετικόν* of the last Book.

3 *τὰς συναγωγάς*] *συναγωγή* is a bringing together, uniting. Here 'the combinations.'

ἐπαλλάττειν] Here the word is very simple, 'to run into one another, to interchange.'

4 *ἐσκεμμένοι εἰσί*] The verb seems to be used in a passive sense.

τὸ μὲν βουλευόμενον] Spengel would read *περὶ τό* after *μέν*, as he would also substitute *τὸ δέ* for *τὰ δέ*. No doubt both changes would be improvements, but they are not very important ones.

ὀλιγαρχικῶς ᾖ συντεταγμένον] 'be arranged on oligarchical principles.'

δικαστήρια ἀριστοκρατικῶς, ἢ ταῦτα μὲν καὶ τὸ περὶ τὸ βουλευόμενον ὀλιγαρχικῶς, ἀριστοκρατικῶς δὲ τὸ περὶ τὰς ἀρχαιρεσίας, ἢ κατ' ἄλλον τινὰ τρόπον μὴ πάντα συντεθῇ τὰ τῆς πολιτείας οἰκεῖα. Ποία μὲν οὖν δημοκρατία πρὸς ποίαν ἁρμόττει πόλιν, ὁμοίως δὲ καὶ ποία τῶν ὀλιγαρχιῶν ποίῳ πλήθει, καὶ τῶν λοιπῶν δὲ πολιτειῶν τίς συμφέρει τίσιν, εἴρηται πρότερον. ὅμως δὲ δεῖ γενέσθαι δῆλον μὴ μόνον ποία τούτων τῶν πολιτειῶν ἀρίστη ταῖς πόλεσιν, ἀλλὰ καὶ πῶς δεῖ κατασκευάζειν καὶ ταύτας καὶ τὰς ἄλλας ἐπέλθωμεν συντόμως. καὶ πρῶτον περὶ δημοκρατίας εἴπωμεν· ἅμα γὰρ καὶ περὶ τῆς ἀντικειμένης πολιτείας φανερόν, αὕτη δ' ἐστὶν ἣν καλοῦσί τινες ὀλιγαρχίαν. ληπτέον δὲ πρὸς ταύτην τὴν μέθοδον πάντα τὰ δημοτικὰ καὶ τὰ δοκοῦντα ταῖς δημοκρατίαις ἀκολουθεῖν· ἐκ γὰρ τούτων συντιθεμένων τὰ τῆς δημοκρατίας εἴδη γίνεσθαι συμβαίνει, καὶ πλείους δημοκρατίας μιᾶς εἶναι καὶ διαφόρους. δύο γάρ εἰσιν αἰτίαι δι' ἅσπερ αἱ δημοκρατίαι πλείους εἰσί, πρῶτον μὲν ἡ λεχθεῖσα πρότερον, ὅτι διάφοροι οἱ δῆμοι· γίνεται γὰρ τὸ μὲν γεωργικὸν πλῆθος, τὸ δὲ βάναυσον καὶ θητικόν· ὧν τοῦ πρώτου τῷ δευτέρῳ προσλαμβανομένου, καὶ τοῦ τρίτου πάλιν τοῖς ἀμφοτέροις, οὐ μόνον διαφέρει τῷ βελτίω

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5 μὴ πάντα συντεθῇ, κ.τ.λ.] 'The combination be not in all points that of elements akin to the constitution.' "Sed sumpta è diversis et dissimilibus" is part of the comment of Victorius on the passage.

6 ἀρίστη ταῖς πόλεσιν] Spengel would read αἱρετὴ ποίαις (p. 34, note 31), but the present reading may be defended as virtually the equivalent of the one proposed. 'But for each of the states under their circumstances,' or 'for what kind of state each constitution is eligible.' It does not much matter which of those two is adopted.

καὶ ταύτας καὶ τὰς ἄλλας ἐπέλθωμεν συντόμως] Does this last verb govern the two accusatives, or do they depend on κατασκευάζειν? Perhaps the best way is to make them depend on κατασκευάζειν, and then let ἐπέλθωμεν συντόμως, and not δῆλον, precede the interrogative, 'but also let us briefly discuss the point how both these and the other forms are to be established.'

7 μιᾶς] is not absolutely necessary. It seems put in to draw great attention to the statement, and to illustrate Aristotle's dislike to any attempt at reducing all the various forms too much under one head.

8 τὸ δὲ βάναυσον καὶ θητικόν] In (IV.) III. 2, the words are ἀγοραῖον καὶ βάναυσον.

καὶ χείρω γίνεσθαι τὴν δημοκρατίαν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῷ μὴ τὴν αὐτήν. δευτέρα δὲ περὶ ἧς νῦν λέγομεν· τὰ γὰρ ταῖς δημοκρατίαις ἀκολουθοῦντα καὶ δοκοῦντα εἶναι τῆς πολιτείας 9 οἰκεῖα ταύτης ποιεῖ συντιθέμενα τὰς δημοκρατίας ἑτέρας· τῇ μὲν γὰρ ἐλάττω, τῇ δ' ἀκολουθήσει πλείονα, τῇ δ' ἅπαντα ταῦτα. χρήσιμον δ' ἕκαστον αὐτῶν γνωρίζειν πρός τε τὸ κατασκευάζειν ἣν ἄν τις αὐτῶν τύχῃ βουλόμενος, καὶ πρὸς τὰς διορθώσεις. ζητοῦσι μὲν γὰρ οἱ τὰς 10 πολιτείας καθιστάντες ἅπαντα τὰ οἰκεῖα συναγαγεῖν πρὸς τὴν ὑπόθεσιν, ἁμαρτάνουσι δὲ τοῦτο ποιοῦντες.[a] νυνὶ δὲ τὰ ἀξιώματα καὶ τὰ ἤθη καὶ ὧν ἐφίενται λέγωμεν.

Democratical combinations.

Ὑπόθεσις μὲν οὖν τῆς δημοκρατικῆς πολιτείας ἐλευθερία· 2 τοῦτο γὰρ λέγειν εἰώθασιν, ὡς ἐν μόνῃ τῇ πολιτείᾳ ταύτῃ μετέχοντας ἐλευθερίας· τούτου γὰρ στοχάζεσθαί φασι πᾶ- 1317 B

Characteristics of democracy.

[a] καθάπερ ἐν τοῖς περὶ τὰς φθορὰς καὶ τὰς σωτηρίας τῶν πολιτειῶν εἴρηται πρότερον Bekker.

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9 πρὸς τὰς διορθώσεις] 'For the reform of existing constitutions.'

10 πρὸς τὴν ὑπόθεσιν] depends on οἰκεῖα, 'all without exception of those points which their assumption implies,' which are akin, that is, to the democratical or oligarchical principle. I prefer this way to St. Hilaire's "grouper autour de leur principe."

As to the words καθάπερ, κ.τ.λ., which I have omitted from the text consistently with § 1, Spengel would retain them, reading ἐροῦμεν ὕστερον for εἴρηται πρότερον. It seems quite the easier plan to get rid of them at once, though this leaves, it must be confessed, the passage very abrupt.

τὰ ἀξιώματα] 'The primary assumptions,' 'the fundamental principles,' in this sense, "les bases sur lesquelles," St. Hil.

τὰ ἤθη] Compare V. (VIII.) 1, 2, τὸ γὰρ ἦθος τῆς πολιτείας ἑκάστης. The different character required by each in its citizens to adapt them for being good members of the whole, depends on the character which is impressed on that whole. The plural τὰ ἤθη simply expresses the fact that as there are several constitutions, there will be several characters. The amplest discussion of the character of democracy in particular, is that given by M. De Tocqueville in his *Démocratie en Amérique.*

II. 1 ὑπόθεσις] I do not think any distinction need be drawn between this word and τὰ ἀξιώματα of the last chapter for any practical result. Ὑπόθεσις is not the 'Idea' in Coleridge's sense of the word, but 'the primary assumption on which the given constitution is based.'

τοῦτο γάρ, κ.τ.λ.] 'For this is the constant language of men, as though this were the only form in which liberty was to be enjoyed.'

Characteristics of democracy. τοῦ δημοκρατικοῦ. ἐλευθερίας δὲ ἓν μὲν τὸ ἐν μέρει ἄρχεσθαι καὶ ἄρχειν. Καὶ γὰρ τὸ δίκαιον τὸ δημοτικὸν τὸ
2 ἴσον ἔχειν ἐστὶ κατ' ἀριθμὸν ἀλλὰ μὴ κατ' ἀξίαν, τούτου δ' ὄντος τοῦ δικαίου τὸ πλῆθος ἀναγκαῖον εἶναι κύριον, καὶ ὅ τι ἂν δόξῃ τοῖς πλείοσι, τοῦτ' εἶναι καὶ τέλος καὶ τοῦτ' εἶναι τὸ δίκαιον· φασὶ γὰρ δεῖν ἴσον ἔχειν ἕκαστον τῶν πολιτῶν· ὥστε ἐν ταῖς δημοκρατίαις συμβαίνει κυριωτέρους εἶναι τοὺς ἀπόρους τῶν εὐπόρων· πλείους γάρ εἰσι, κύριον δὲ τὸ τοῖς
3 πλείοσι δόξαν. ἓν μὲν οὖν τῆς ἐλευθερίας σημεῖον τοῦτο, ὃν τίθενται πάντες οἱ δημοτικοὶ τῆς πολιτείας ὅρον, ἓν δὲ τὸ ζῆν ὡς βούλεταί τις· τοῦτο γὰρ τῆς ἐλευθερίας ἔργον εἶναί
4 φασιν, εἴπερ τοῦ δουλεύοντος τὸ ζῆν μὴ ὡς βούλεται. τῆς μὲν οὖν δημοκρατίας ὅρος οὗτος δεύτερος· ἐντεῦθεν δ' ἐλήλυθε τὸ μὴ ἄρχεσθαι, μάλιστα μὲν ὑπὸ μηθενός, εἰ δὲ μή, κατὰ μέρος. καὶ συμβάλλεται ταύτῃ πρὸς τὴν ἐλευθερίαν τὴν
5 κατὰ τὸ ἴσον. Τούτων δ' ὑποκειμένων καὶ τοιαύτης οὔσης τῆς ἀρχῆς τὰ τοιαῦτα δημοτικά, τὸ αἱρεῖσθαι τὰς ἀρχὰς πάντας ἐκ πάντων, τὸ ἄρχειν πάντας μὲν ἑκάστου, ἕκαστον δ' ἐν μέρει πάντων, τὸ κληρωτὰς εἶναι τὰς ἀρχὰς ἢ πάσας ἢ ὅσαι μὴ ἐμπειρίας δέονται καὶ τέχνης, τὸ μὴ ἀπὸ τιμήματος μηθενὸς εἶναι τὰς ἀρχὰς ἢ ὅτι μικροτάτου, τὸ μὴ δὶς τὸν

ἓν μέν] 'one characteristic,' 'one point.'

2 τὸ δίκαιον τὸ δημοτικόν] 'Justice in the democratical sense.'

τοῖς πλείοσι] 'To the greater number.'

τοῦτ' εἶναι καὶ τέλος] Is this: 'this should hold good, and be final'? If the καὶ is kept, I do not well see what else to make of it.

3 τῆς πολιτείας ὅρον] 'the proper limit or characteristic.'

ἔργον] "le propre," 'the true object.'

4 δεύτερος] I place a colon after δεύτερος, and take away the full stop after μέρος. 'From this last characteristic of democracy comes the feeling of the citizens in such a state against every exercise of authority over them; if they cannot secure this, then they accept as the next best theory, an authority which they exercise and submit to in turns, and herein this second characteristic conspires to forward the other, the liberty based in equality.'

5 ὑποκειμένων] Sc. these ὑποθέσεις.

τῆς ἀρχῆς] Is this 'the principle from which we start?' or may the word not have quite a different meaning, 'such being the character of the power exercised in a democratical government?' I incline to this latter sense.

Characteristics of democracy.

αὐτὸν ἄρχειν μηδεμίαν ἢ ὀλιγάκις ἢ ὀλίγας ἔξω τῶν κατὰ
πόλεμον, τὸ ὀλιγοχρονίους τὰς ἀρχὰς ἢ πάσας ἢ ὅσας ἐνδέ-
χεται, τὸ δικάζειν πάντας καὶ ἐκ πάντων καὶ περὶ πάντων ἢ
περὶ τῶν πλείστων[a] καὶ τῶν κυριωτάτων, οἷον περὶ εὐθυνῶν
καὶ πολιτείας καὶ τῶν ἰδίων συναλλαγμάτων, τὸ τὴν ἐκκλη-
σίαν κυρίαν εἶναι πάντων[b] ἢ τῶν μεγίστων ἀρχὴν δὲ μηδε-
μίαν μηθενὸς ἢ ὅτι ὀλιγίστων κυρίαν. τῶν δ' ἀρχῶν δημο- 6
τικώτατον βουλή, ὅπου μὴ μισθοῦ εὐπορία πᾶσιν· ἐνταῦθα
γὰρ ἀφαιροῦνται καὶ ταύτης τῆς ἀρχῆς τὴν δύναμιν· εἰς
αὑτὸν γὰρ ἀνάγει τὰς κρίσεις πάσας ὁ δῆμος εὐπορῶν
μισθοῦ, καθάπερ εἴρηται πρότερον ἐν τῇ μεθόδῳ τῇ πρὸ
ταύτης. ἔπειτα τὸ μισθοφορεῖν, μάλιστα μὲν πάντας, 7
ἐκκλησίαν δικαστήρια ἀρχάς, εἰ δὲ μή, τὰς ἀρχὰς καὶ τὰ
δικαστήρια καὶ τὴν βουλὴν καὶ τὰς ἐκκλησίας τὰς κυρίας, ἢ
τῶν ἀρχῶν ἃς ἀνάγκη συσσιτεῖν μετ' ἀλλήλων. ἔτι ἐπειδὴ
ὀλιγαρχία καὶ γένει καὶ πλούτῳ καὶ παιδείᾳ ὁρίζεται, τὰ
δημοτικὰ δοκεῖ τἀναντία τούτων εἶναι, ἀγένεια πενία βαναυ-
σία. ἔτι[c] δὲ τῶν ἀρχῶν τὸ μηδεμίαν ἀΐδιον εἶναι· ἐὰν δέ 8 1318

[a] καὶ τῶν μεγίστων Bekker.

[b] Bekker's order places ἢ τῶν μεγίστων after ὅτι ὀλιγίστων.

[c] ἐπί Bekker.

δικάζειν πάντας καὶ ἐκ πάντων] It would seem that we ought to substitute ἢ for καὶ before ἐκ πάντων.

καὶ τῶν μεγίστων] This is superfluous.

τὸ τὴν ἐκκλησίαν, κ.τ.λ.] The order in the text seems to me better than that retained by Bekker, and given at the foot.

6 μισθοῦ εὐπορία] Compare VI. (IV.) xv. 13, note.

ἐνταῦθα γάρ] 'Where there is.'

τῇ μεθόδῳ τῇ πρὸ ταύτης] The reference is to VI. (IV.) xv., but no inference could well be founded on it as to the order of Books VII. VIII. (VI. V.).

7 παιδείᾳ] Is not, strictly speaking, a characteristic of ὀλιγαρχία, but of ἀριστοκρατία, compare VI. (IV.) VIII. ix. 3. It is the last-quoted section that explains his language here, διὰ τὸ μᾶλλον ἀκολουθεῖν παιδείαν τοῖς εὐπορωτέροις.

βαναυσία] The πενία in the one case, as the wealth in the other, determines the question of education. The wealthy have, the poor have not, leisure for cultivation, and though the former may neglect their opportunities, and not educate themselves, whilst the latter may secure this in spite of their disadvantages, still, on the average, it is assumed that the favourable or unfavourable outward circumstances will determine the result.

8 ἔτι] ἐπί may stand, but ἔτι is far better, I think.

Characteristics of democracy. τις καταλειφθῇ ἐξ ἀρχαίας μεταβολῆς, τότε περιαιρεῖσθαι τὴν δύναμιν αὐτῆς καὶ ἐξ αἱρετῶν κληρωτοὺς ποιεῖν. τὰ μὲν οὖν κοινὰ ταῖς δημοκρατίαις ταῦτ' ἐστί, συμβαίνει δ' ἐκ τοῦ
9 δικαίου τοῦ ὁμολογουμένου εἶναι δημοκρατικοῦ (τοῦτο δ' ἐστὶ τὸ ἴσον ἔχειν ἅπαντας κατ' ἀριθμόν) ἡ μάλιστ' εἶναι δοκοῦσα δημοκρατία καὶ δῆμος· ἴσον γὰρ τὸ μηθὲν μᾶλλον ἄρχειν τοὺς ἀπόρους ἢ τοὺς εὐπόρους, μηδὲ κυρίους εἶναι μόνους ἀλλὰ πάντας ἐξ ἴσου κατ' ἀριθμόν· οὕτω γὰρ ἂν ὑπάρχειν νομίζοιεν τήν τ' ἰσότητα τῇ πολιτείᾳ καὶ τὴν ἐλευθερίαν.

3 Democratical equality. Τὸ δὲ μετὰ τοῦτο ἀπορεῖται πῶς ἕξουσι τὸ ἴσον, πότερον δεῖ τὰ τιμήματα διελεῖν χιλίοις τὰ τῶν πεντακοσίων καὶ τοὺς χιλίους ἴσον δύνασθαι τοῖς πεντακοσίοις, ἢ οὐχ οὕτω δεῖ τιθέναι τὴν κατὰ τοῦτο ἰσότητα, ἀλλὰ διελεῖν μὲν οὕτως, ἔπειτα ἐκ τῶν πεντακοσίων ἴσους λαβόντα καὶ ἐκ τῶν χιλίων, τούτους κυρίους εἶναι τῶν ἀρχαιρεσιῶν[a] καὶ τῶν δικαστηρίων.

[a] διαιρέσεων Bekker.

περιαιρεῖσθαι] 'To strip it of its power.' The language almost seems an allusion to the case of the Areopagus and its treatment by Ephialtes and Pericles.

9 συμβαίνει] 'there results.'

τὸ μηθὲν μᾶλλον] This is the passage quoted in the note on VI. (IV.) IV. 22, to which it is sufficient to refer the reader.

III. 1 τὸ μετὰ τοῦτο] 'The next point after this presents a difficulty.'

πότερον δεῖ] Shall there be a property element? 'Ought the properties of 500 rich to be taken and set over against those of 1000 poor, and the thousand to have equal weight with the five hundred, or is this not the way in which you ought to establish equality in this respect, but rather, adopting the division given above, to take an equal number out of both bodies, the five hundred and the thousand, and place in the hands of the body so formed the elections and the courts of justice.' Such seems to me the sense of the passage, but I do not feel clear as to the exact meaning of the expression διελεῖν χιλίοις τὰ τῶν πεντακοσίων, "répartir de manière que," St. Hil.

διαιρέσεων] This word again is difficult. Stahr makes no change, but, with Sepulveda, looking more to the sense than the word, he translates it "consultationem," and so he gets the two great functions of the citizen given in III. XI. 8. Victorius reads αἱρέσεων in the sense of elections. I prefer ἀρχαιρεσιῶν, the reading adopted by St. Hilaire and Lambinus. τῶν τε αἱρέσεων would make a very good reading. Of course, if διαιρέσεων can mean 'decisions on points of policy,' then it would be the best reading of all, and I should think it might bear this meaning rather than that of 'deliberation.'

πότερον οὖν αὕτη ἡ πολιτεία δικαιοτάτη κατὰ τὸ δημοτικὸν
δίκαιον, ἢ μᾶλλον ἡ κατὰ τὸ πλῆθος; Φασὶ γὰρ οἱ δημο-
τικοὶ τοῦτο δίκαιον ὅ τι ἂν δόξῃ τοῖς πλείοσιν, οἱ δ᾽ ὀλι- 2
γαρχικοὶ ὅ τι ἂν δόξῃ τῇ πλείονι οὐσίᾳ· κατὰ πλῆθος γὰρ
οὐσίας φασὶ κρίνεσθαι δεῖν. ἔχει δ᾽ ἀμφότερα ἀνισότητα 3
καὶ ἀδικίαν· εἰ μὲν γὰρ ὅ τι ἂν οἱ ὀλίγοι, τυραννίς (καὶ γὰρ
ἐὰν εἷς ἔχῃ πλείω τῶν ἄλλων εὐπόρων, κατὰ τὸ ὀλιγαρχικὸν
δίκαιον ἄρχειν δίκαιος μόνος), εἰ δ᾽ ὅ τι ἂν οἱ πλείους κατ᾽
ἀριθμόν, ἀδικήσουσι δημεύοντες τὰ τῶν πλουσίων καὶ ἐλατ-
τόνων, καθάπερ εἴρηται πρότερον. τίς ἂν οὖν εἴη ἰσότης ἣν 4
ὁμολογήσουσιν ἀμφότεροι, σκεπτέον ἐξ ὧν ὁρίζονται δι-
καίων ἀμφότεροι. λέγουσι γὰρ ὡς ὅ τι ἂν δόξῃ τοῖς πλείοσι
τῶν πολιτῶν, τοῦτ᾽ εἶναι δεῖ κύριον. ἔστω δὴ τοῦτο, μὴ
μέντοι πάντως, ἀλλ᾽ ἐπειδὴ δύο μέρη τετύχηκεν ἐξ ὧν ἡ πό-
λις, πλούσιοι καὶ πένητες, ὅ τι ἂν ἀμφοτέροις δόξῃ ἢ τοῖς
πλείοσι, τοῦτο κύριον ἔστω, ἐὰν δὲ τἀναντία δόξῃ, ὅ τι ἂν
οἱ πλείους καὶ ὧν τὸ τίμημα πλεῖον. οἷον οἱ μὲν δέκα οἱ 5
δ᾽ εἴκοσιν, ἔδοξε δὲ τῶν μὲν πλουσίων τοῖς ἕξ, τῶν δ᾽ ἀπο-
ρωτέρων τοῖς πεντεκαίδεκα· προσγεγένηνται τοῖς μὲν πένησι
τέτταρες τῶν πλουσίων, τοῖς δὲ πλουσίοις πέντε τῶν πενή-

Democratical equality.

2 ἡ κατὰ τὸ πλῆθος] 'That which looks to number exclusively.'

κρίνεσθαι] 'Amount of property, they say, must be taken as the standard.'

3 ἀδικίαν] 'unfairness.'

τυραννίς] It is in principle a tyranny. This point is discussed at greater length, III. XIII. 7.

δημεύοντες] Compare III. X. I.

4 ὁμολογήσουσιν] 'which both alike will acquiesce in, and this must be gathered by looking at the definitions which both alike give of justice,' or 'the definition of justice in which both alike agree.'

ἔστω δὴ τοῦτο, κ.τ.λ.] 'Be it so then, only let us limit the mode in which it is to be.'

ὅ τι ἂν ἀμφοτέροις] The stress is, as before, on ἀμφοτέροις, 'what both together shall determine, or the majority of both.'

οἱ πλείους, κ.τ.λ.] 'The side on which you find number and larger property combined.' Compare Nieb. *Rom. Hist.* I. 434, note 1017.

5 οἷον, κ.τ.λ.] I take the following explanation in substance from Sir G. Cornewall Lewis, *On Opinion*, 232. There are ten rich and twenty poor. Six rich vote on one side, fifteen poor on the other. Five poor vote with the six rich. Four rich with the fifteen poor. Then if the valuations of each are added on both sides, that side is to prevail whose aggregate valuation is highest.

Different combinations of the elements of democracy, oligarchy, &c.

δικαστήρια ἀριστοκρατικῶς, ἢ ταῦτα μὲν καὶ τὸ περὶ τὸ βουλευόμενον ὀλιγαρχικῶς, ἀριστοκρατικῶς δὲ τὸ περὶ τὰς ἀρχαιρεσίας, ἢ κατ' ἄλλον τινὰ τρόπον μὴ πάντα συντεθῇ τὰ τῆς πολιτείας οἰκεῖα. Ποία μὲν οὖν δημοκρατία πρὸς ποίαν ἁρμόττει πόλιν, ὡσαύτως δὲ καὶ ποία τῶν ὀλιγαρχιῶν ποίῳ πλήθει, καὶ τῶν λοιπῶν δὲ πολιτειῶν τίς συμφέρει
6 τίσιν, εἴρηται πρότερον. ὅμως δὲ δεῖ γενέσθαι δῆλον μὴ μόνον ποία τούτων τῶν πολιτειῶν ἀρίστη ταῖς πόλεσιν, ἀλλὰ καὶ πῶς δεῖ κατασκευάζειν καὶ ταύτας καὶ τὰς ἄλλας ἐπέλθωμεν συντόμως. καὶ πρῶτον περὶ δημοκρατίας εἴπωμεν· ἅμα γὰρ καὶ περὶ τῆς ἀντικειμένης πολιτείας φανερόν,
7 αὕτη δ' ἐστὶν ἣν καλοῦσί τινες ὀλιγαρχίαν. ληπτέον δὲ πρὸς ταύτην τὴν μέθοδον πάντα τὰ δημοτικὰ καὶ τὰ δοκοῦντα ταῖς δημοκρατίαις ἀκολουθεῖν· ἐκ γὰρ τούτων συντιθεμένων τὰ τῆς δημοκρατίας εἴδη γίνεσθαι συμβαίνει, καὶ
8 πλείους δημοκρατίας μιᾶς εἶναι καὶ διαφόρους. δύο γάρ εἰσιν αἰτίαι δι' ἅσπερ αἱ δημοκρατίαι πλείους εἰσί, πρῶτον μὲν ἡ λεχθεῖσα πρότερον, ὅτι διάφοροι οἱ δῆμοι· γίνεται γὰρ τὸ μὲν γεωργικὸν πλῆθος, τὸ δὲ βάναυσον καὶ θητικόν· ὧν τοῦ πρώτου τῷ δευτέρῳ προσλαμβανομένου, καὶ τοῦ τρίτου πάλιν τοῖς ἀμφοτέροις, οὐ μόνον διαφέρει τῷ βελτίω

Democratical combinations.

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5 μὴ πάντα συντεθῇ, κ.τ.λ.] 'The combination be not in all points that of elements akin to the constitution.' "Sed sumpta è diversis et dissimilibus" is part of the comment of Victorius on the passage.

6 ἀρίστη ταῖς πόλεσιν] Spengel would read αἱρετὴ ποίαις (p. 34, note 31), but the present reading may be defended as virtually the equivalent of the one proposed. 'But for each of the states under their circumstances,' or 'for what kind of state each constitution is eligible.' It does not much matter which of these two is adopted.

καὶ ταύτας καὶ τὰς ἄλλας ἐπέλθωμεν συντόμως] Does this last verb govern the two accusatives, or do they depend on κατασκευάζειν? Perhaps the best way is to make them depend on κατασκευάζειν, and then let ἐπέλθωμεν συντόμως, and not δῆλον, precede the interrogative, 'but also let us briefly discuss the point how both these and the other forms are to be established.'

7 μιᾶς] is not absolutely necessary. It seems put in to draw great attention to the statement, and to illustrate Aristotle's dislike to any attempt at reducing all the various forms too much under one head.

8 τὸ δὲ βάναυσον καὶ θητικόν] In (IV.) III. 2, the words are ἀγοραῖον καὶ βάναυσον.

Democratical combinations.

καὶ χείρω γίνεσθαι τὴν δημοκρατίαν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῷ μὴ τὴν
αὐτήν. δευτέρα δὲ περὶ ἧς νῦν λέγομεν· τὰ γὰρ ταῖς δη-
μοκρατίαις ἀκολουθοῦντα καὶ δοκοῦντα εἶναι τῆς πολιτείας 9
οἰκεῖα ταύτης ποιεῖ συντιθέμενα τὰς δημοκρατίας ἑτέρας·
τῇ μὲν γὰρ ἐλάττω, τῇ δ' ἀκολουθήσει πλείονα, τῇ δ'
ἅπαντα ταῦτα. χρήσιμον δ' ἕκαστον αὐτῶν γνωρίζειν
πρός τε τὸ κατασκευάζειν ἣν ἄν τις αὐτῶν τύχῃ βουλό-
μενος, καὶ πρὸς τὰς διορθώσεις. ζητοῦσι μὲν γὰρ οἱ τὰς 10
πολιτείας καθιστάντες ἅπαντα τὰ οἰκεῖα συναγαγεῖν πρὸς
τὴν ὑπόθεσιν, ἁμαρτάνουσι δὲ τοῦτο ποιοῦντες.* νυνὶ δὲ
τὰ ἀξιώματα καὶ τὰ ἤθη καὶ ὧν ἐφίενται λέγωμεν.

Characteristics of democracy.

Ὑπόθεσις μὲν οὖν τῆς δημοκρατικῆς πολιτείας ἐλευθερία· 2
τοῦτο γὰρ λέγειν εἰώθασιν, ὡς ἐν μόνῃ τῇ πολιτείᾳ ταύτῃ
μετέχοντας ἐλευθερίας· τούτου γὰρ στοχάζεσθαί φασι πᾶ- 1317 B

* καθάπερ ἐν τοῖς περὶ τὰς φθορὰς καὶ τὰς σωτηρίας τῶν πολιτειῶν εἴρηται πρότερον Bekker.

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9 πρὸς τὰς διορθώσεις] 'For the reform of existing constitutions.'

10 πρὸς τὴν ὑπόθεσιν] depends on οἰκεῖα, 'all without exception of those points which their assumption implies,' which are akin, that is, to the democratical or oligarchical principle. I prefer this way to St. Hilaire's "grouper autour de leur principe."

As to the words καθάπερ κ.τ.λ., which I have omitted from the text consistently with § 1, Spengel would retain them, reading ἐροῦμεν ὕστερον for εἴρηται πρότερον. It seems quite the easier plan to get rid of them at once, though this leaves, it must be confessed, the passage very abrupt.

τὰ ἀξιώματα] 'The primary assumptions,' 'the fundamental principles,' in this sense, "les bases sur lesquelles," St. Hil.

τὰ ἤθη] Compare V. (VIII.) 1, 2, τὸ γὰρ ἦθος τῆς πολιτείας ἑκάστης. The different character required by each in its citizens to adapt them for being good members of the whole, depends on the character which is impressed on that whole. The plural τὰ ἤθη simply expresses the fact that as there are several constitutions, there will be several characters. The amplest discussion of the character of democracy in particular, is that given by M. De Tocqueville in his *Démocratie en Amérique*.

II. 1 ὑπόθεσις] I do not think any distinction need be drawn between this word and τὰ ἀξιώματα of the last chapter for any practical result. Ὑπόθεσις is not the 'Idea' in Coleridge's sense of the word, but 'the primary assumption on which the given constitution is based.'

τοῦτο γάρ, κ.τ.λ.] 'For this is the constant language of men, as though this were the only form in which liberty was to be enjoyed.'

Characteristics of democracy.

σαν δημοκρατίαν. ἐλευθερίας δὲ ἓν μὲν τὸ ἐν μέρει ἄρχεσθαι καὶ ἄρχειν. Καὶ γὰρ τὸ δίκαιον τὸ δημοτικὸν τὸ
2 ἴσον ἔχειν ἐστὶ κατ' ἀριθμὸν ἀλλὰ μὴ κατ' ἀξίαν, τούτου δ' ὄντος τοῦ δικαίου τὸ πλῆθος ἀναγκαῖον εἶναι κύριον, καὶ ὅ τι ἂν δόξῃ τοῖς πλείοσι, τοῦτ' εἶναι καὶ τέλος καὶ τοῦτ' εἶναι τὸ δίκαιον· φασὶ γὰρ δεῖν ἴσον ἔχειν ἕκαστον τῶν πολιτῶν· ὥστε ἐν ταῖς δημοκρατίαις συμβαίνει κυριωτέρους εἶναι τοὺς ἀπόρους τῶν εὐπόρων· πλείους γάρ εἰσι, κύριον δὲ τὸ τοῖς
3 πλείοσι δόξαν. ἓν μὲν οὖν τῆς ἐλευθερίας σημεῖον τοῦτο, ὃν τίθενται πάντες οἱ δημοτικοὶ τῆς πολιτείας ὅρον, ἓν δὲ τὸ ζῆν ὡς βούλεταί τις· τοῦτο γὰρ τῆς ἐλευθερίας ἔργον εἶναί
4 φασιν, εἴπερ τοῦ δούλου ὄντος τὸ ζῆν μὴ ὡς βούλεται. τῆς μὲν οὖν δημοκρατίας ὅρος οὗτος δεύτερος· ἐντεῦθεν δ' ἐλήλυθε τὸ μὴ ἄρχεσθαι, μάλιστα μὲν ὑπὸ μηθενός, εἰ δὲ μή, κατὰ μέρος. καὶ συμβάλλεται ταύτῃ πρὸς τὴν ἐλευθερίαν τὴν
5 κατὰ τὸ ἴσον. Τούτων δ' ὑποκειμένων καὶ τοιαύτης οὔσης τῆς ἀρχῆς τὰ τοιαῦτα δημοτικά, τὸ αἱρεῖσθαι τὰς ἀρχὰς πάντας ἐκ πάντων, τὸ ἄρχειν πάντας μὲν ἑκάστου, ἕκαστον δ' ἐν μέρει πάντων, τὸ κληρωτὰς εἶναι τὰς ἀρχὰς ἢ πάσας ἢ ὅσαι μὴ ἐμπειρίας δέονται καὶ τέχνης, τὸ μὴ ἀπὸ τιμήματος μηθενὸς εἶναι τὰς ἀρχὰς ἢ ὅτι μικροτάτου, τὸ μὴ δὶς τὸν

ἓν μέν] 'one characteristic,' 'one point.'

2 τὸ δίκαιον τὸ δημοτικόν] 'Justice in the democratical sense.'

τοῖς πλείοσι] 'To the greater number.'

τοῦτ' εἶναι καὶ τέλος] Is this: 'this should hold good, and be final'? If the καί is kept, I do not well see what else to make of it.

3 τῆς πολιτείας ὅρον] 'the proper limit or characteristic.'

ἔργον] "le propre," 'the true object.'

4 δεύτερος] I place a colon after δεύτερος, and take away the full stop aft[illegible] 'From this last characteristic of democracy comes the feeling of the citizens in such a state against every exercise of authority over them; if they cannot secure this, then they accept as the next best theory, an authority which they exercise and submit to in turns, and herein this second characteristic conspires to forward the other, the liberty based in equality.'

5 ὑποκειμένων] Sc. these ὑποθέσεις.

τῆς ἀρχῆς] Is this 'the principle from which we start?' or may the word not have quite a different meaning, 'such being the character of the power exercised in a democratical government?' I incline to this latter sense.

Characteristics of democracy.

αὐτὸν ἄρχειν μηδεμίαν ἢ ὀλιγάκις ἢ ὀλίγας ἔξω τῶν κατὰ
πόλεμον, τὸ ὀλιγοχρονίους τὰς ἀρχὰς ἢ πάσας ἢ ὅσας ἐνδέ-
χεται, τὸ δικάζειν πάντας καὶ ἐκ πάντων καὶ περὶ πάντων ἢ
περὶ τῶν πλείστων[a] καὶ τῶν κυριωτάτων, οἷον περὶ εὐθυνῶν
καὶ πολιτείας καὶ τῶν ἰδίων συναλλαγμάτων, τὸ τὴν ἐκκλη-
σίαν κυρίαν εἶναι πάντων[b] ἢ τῶν μεγίστων ἀρχὴν δὲ μηδε-
μίαν μηθενὸς ἢ ὅτι ὀλιγίστων κυρίαν. τῶν δ' ἀρχῶν δημο- 6
τικώτατον βουλή, ὅπου μὴ μισθοῦ εὐπορία πᾶσιν· ἐνταῦθα
γὰρ ἀφαιροῦνται καὶ ταύτης τῆς ἀρχῆς τὴν δύναμιν· εἰς
αὑτὸν γὰρ ἀνάγει τὰς κρίσεις πάσας ὁ δῆμος εὐπορῶν
μισθοῦ, καθάπερ εἴρηται πρότερον ἐν τῇ μεθόδῳ τῇ πρὸ
ταύτης. ἔπειτα τὸ μισθοφορεῖν, μάλιστα μὲν πάντας, 7
ἐκκλησίαν δικαστήρια ἀρχάς, εἰ δὲ μή, τὰς ἀρχὰς καὶ τὰ
δικαστήρια καὶ τὴν βουλὴν καὶ τὰς ἐκκλησίας τὰς κυρίας, ἢ
τῶν ἀρχῶν ἃς ἀνάγκη συσσιτεῖν μετ' ἀλλήλων. ἔτι ἐπειδὴ
ὀλιγαρχία καὶ γένει καὶ πλούτῳ καὶ παιδείᾳ ὁρίζεται, τὰ
δημοτικὰ δοκεῖ τἀναντία τούτων εἶναι, ἀγένεια πενία βαναυ-
σία. ἔτι[c] δὲ τῶν ἀρχῶν τὸ μηδεμίαν ἀΐδιον εἶναι· ἐὰν δέ 8 1318

[a] καὶ τῶν μεγίστων Bekker.

[b] Bekker's order places ἢ τῶν μεγίστων after ὅτι ὀλιγίστων.

[c] ἐπί Bekker.

δικάζειν πάντας καὶ ἐκ πάντων] It would seem that we ought to substitute ἢ for καὶ before ἐκ πάντων.

καὶ τῶν μεγίστων] This is superfluous.

τὸ τὴν ἐκκλησίαν, κ.τ.λ.] The order in the text seems to me better than that retained by Bekker, and given at the foot.

6 μισθοῦ εὐπορία] Compare VI. (IV.) xv. 13, note.

ἐνταῦθα γάρ] 'Where there is.'

τῇ μεθόδῳ τῇ πρὸ ταύτης] The reference is to VI. (IV.) xv., but no inference could well be founded on it as to the order of Books VII. VIII. (VI. V.).

7 παιδείᾳ] Is not, strictly speaking, a characteristic of ὀλιγαρχία, but of ἀριστοκρατία, compare VI. (IV.) VIII. ix. 3. It is the last-quoted section that explains his language here, διὰ τὸ μᾶλλον ἀκολουθεῖν παιδείαν τοῖς εὐπορωτέροις.

βαναυσία] The πενία in the one case, as the wealth in the other, determines the question of education. The wealthy have, the poor have not, leisure for cultivation, and though the former may neglect their opportunities, and not educate themselves, whilst the latter may secure this in spite of their disadvantages, still, on the average, it is assumed that the favourable or unfavourable outward circumstances will determine the result.

8 ἔτι] ἐπί may stand, but ἔτι is far better, I think.

Characteristics of democracy.

τις καταλειφθῇ ἐξ ἀρχαίας μεταβολῆς, τότε περιαιρεῖσθαι τὴν δύναμιν αὐτῆς καὶ ἐξ αἱρετῶν κληρωτοὺς ποιεῖν. τὰ μὲν

9 οὖν κοινὰ ταῖς δημοκρατίαις ταῦτ' ἐστί, συμβαίνει δ' ἐκ τοῦ δικαίου τοῦ ὁμολογουμένου εἶναι δημοκρατικοῦ (τοῦτο δ' ἐστὶ τὸ ἴσον ἔχειν ἅπαντας κατ' ἀριθμόν) ἡ μάλιστ' εἶναι δοκοῦσα δημοκρατία καὶ δῆμος· ἴσον γὰρ τὸ μηθὲν μᾶλλον ἄρχειν τοὺς ἀπόρους ἢ τοὺς εὐπόρους, μηδὲ κυρίους εἶναι μόνους ἀλλὰ πάντας ἐξ ἴσου κατ' ἀριθμόν· οὕτω γὰρ ἂν ὑπάρχειν νομίζοιεν τήν τ' ἰσότητα τῇ πολιτείᾳ καὶ τὴν ἐλευθερίαν.

Democratical equality.

3 Τὸ δὲ μετὰ τοῦτο ἀπορεῖται πῶς ἕξουσι τὸ ἴσον, πότερον δεῖ τὰ τιμήματα διελεῖν χιλίοις τὰ τῶν πεντακοσίων καὶ τοὺς χιλίους ἴσον δύνασθαι τοῖς πεντακοσίοις, ἢ οὐχ οὕτω δεῖ τιθέναι τὴν κατὰ τοῦτο ἰσότητα, ἀλλὰ διελεῖν μὲν οὕτως, ἔπειτα ἐκ τῶν πεντακοσίων ἴσους λαβόντα καὶ ἐκ τῶν χιλίων, τούτους κυρίους εἶναι τῶν ἀρχαιρεσιῶν[a] καὶ τῶν δικαστηρίων.

[a] διαιρέσεων Bekker.

περιαιρεῖσθαι] 'To strip it of its power.' The language almost seems an allusion to the case of the Areopagus and its treatment by Ephialtes and Pericles.

9 συμβαίνει] 'there results.'

τὸ μηθὲν μᾶλλον] This is the passage quoted in the note on VI. (IV.) iv. 22, to which it is sufficient to refer the reader.

III. 1 τὸ μετὰ τοῦτο] 'The next point after this presents a difficulty.'

πότερον δεῖ] Shall there be a property element? 'Ought the properties of 500 rich to be taken and set over against those of 1000 poor, and the thousand to have equal weight with the five hundred, or is this not the way in which you ought to establish equality in this respect, but rather, ... the division given above, to ...ual number out of both ... five hundred and the thousand, and place in the hands of the body so formed the elections and the courts of justice.' Such seems to me the sense of the passage, but I do not feel clear as to the exact meaning of the expression διελεῖν χιλίοις τὰ τῶν πεντακοσίων, "répartir de manière que," St. Hil.

διαιρέσεων] This word again is difficult. Stahr makes no change, but, with Sepulveda, looking more to the sense than the word, he translates it "consultationem," and so he gets the two great functions of the citizen given in III. xi. 8. Victorius reads αἱρέσεων in the sense of elections. I prefer ἀρχαιρεσιῶν, the reading adopted by St. Hilaire and Lambinus. τῶν τε αἱρέσεων would make a very good reading. Of course, if διαιρέσεων can mean 'decisions on points of policy,' then it would be the best reading of all, and I should think it might bear this meaning rather than that of 'deliberation.'

Democratical equality.

πότερον οὖν αὕτη ἡ πολιτεία δικαιοτάτη κατὰ τὸ δημοτικὸν δίκαιον, ἢ μᾶλλον ἡ κατὰ τὸ πλῆθος; Φασὶ γὰρ οἱ δημοτικοὶ τοῦτο δίκαιον ὅ τι ἂν δόξῃ τοῖς πλείοσιν, οἱ δ' ὀλι- 2
γαρχικοὶ ὅ τι ἂν δόξῃ τῇ πλείονι οὐσίᾳ· κατὰ πλῆθος γὰρ οὐσίας φασὶ κρίνεσθαι δεῖν. ἔχει δ' ἀμφότερα ἀνισότητα 3
καὶ ἀδικίαν· εἰ μὲν γὰρ ὅ τι ἂν οἱ ὀλίγοι, τυραννίς (καὶ γὰρ ἐὰν εἷς ἔχῃ πλείω τῶν ἄλλων εὐπόρων, κατὰ τὸ ὀλιγαρχικὸν δίκαιον ἄρχειν δίκαιος μόνος), εἰ δ' ὅ τι ἂν οἱ πλείους κατ' ἀριθμόν, ἀδικήσουσι δημεύοντες τὰ τῶν πλουσίων καὶ ἐλαττόνων, καθάπερ εἴρηται πρότερον. τίς ἂν οὖν εἴη ἰσότης ἣν 4
ὁμολογήσουσιν ἀμφότεροι, σκεπτέον ἐξ ὧν ὁρίζονται δικαίων ἀμφότεροι. λέγουσι γὰρ ὡς ὅ τι ἂν δόξῃ τοῖς πλείοσι τῶν πολιτῶν, τοῦτ' εἶναι δεῖ κύριον. ἔστω δὴ τοῦτο, μὴ μέντοι πάντως, ἀλλ' ἐπειδὴ δύο μέρη τετύχηκεν ἐξ ὧν ἡ πόλις, πλούσιοι καὶ πένητες, ὅ τι ἂν ἀμφοτέροις δόξῃ ἢ τοῖς πλείοσι, τοῦτο κύριον ἔστω, ἐὰν δὲ τἀναντία δόξῃ, ὅ τι ἂν οἱ πλείους καὶ ὧν τὸ τίμημα πλεῖον. οἷον οἱ μὲν δέκα οἱ 5
δ' εἴκοσιν, ἔδοξε δὲ τῶν μὲν πλουσίων τοῖς ἕξ, τῶν δ' ἀπορωτέρων τοῖς πεντεκαίδεκα· προσγεγένηνται τοῖς μὲν πένησι τέτταρες τῶν πλουσίων, τοῖς δὲ πλουσίοις πέντε τῶν πενή-

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2 *ἡ κατὰ τὸ πλῆθος*] 'That which looks to number exclusively.'

κρίνεσθαι] 'Amount of property, they say, must be taken as the standard.'

3 *ἀδικίαν*] 'unfairness.'

τυραννίς] It is in principle a tyranny. This point is discussed at greater length, III. XIII. 7.

δημεύοντες] Compare III. X. 1.

4 *ὁμολογήσουσιν*] 'which both alike will acquiesce in, and this must be gathered by looking at the definitions which both alike give of justice,' or 'the definition of justice in which both alike agree.'

ἔστω δὴ τοῦτο, κ.τ.λ.] 'Be it so then, only let us limit the mode in which it is to be.'

ὅ τι ἂν ἀμφοτέροις] The stress is, as before, on *ἀμφοτέροις*, 'what both together shall determine, or the majority of both.'

οἱ πλείους, κ.τ.λ.] 'The side on which you find number and larger property combined.' Compare Nieb. *Rom. Hist.* I. 434, note 1017.

5 *οἷον, κ.τ.λ.*] I take the following explanation in substance from Sir G. Cornewall Lewis, *On Opinion*, 232. There are ten rich and twenty poor. Six rich vote on one side, fifteen poor on the other. Five poor vote with the six rich. Four rich with the fifteen poor. Then if the valuations of each are added on both sides, that side is to prevail whose aggregate valuation is highest.

Democratical equality.

των. ὁποτέρων οὖν τὸ τίμημα ὑπερτείνει συναριθμουμένων
ἀμφοτέρων ἑκατέροις, τοῦτο κύριον. ἐὰν δὲ ἴσοι συμπέ-
6 σωσι, κοινὴν εἶναι ταύτην νομιστέον ἀπορίαν ὥσπερ νῦν, ἐὰν
1318 B δίχα ἡ ἐκκλησία γένηται ἢ τὸ δικαστήριον· ἢ γὰρ ἀποκλη-
ρωτέον ἢ ἄλλο τι τοιοῦτον ποιητέον. ἀλλὰ περὶ μὲν τοῦ
ἴσου καὶ τοῦ δικαίου, κἂν ᾖ πάνυ χαλεπὸν εὑρεῖν τὴν ἀλή-
θειαν περὶ αὐτῶν, ὅμως ῥᾷον τυχεῖν ἢ συμπεῖσαι τοὺς δυνα-
μένους πλεονεκτεῖν· ἀεὶ γὰρ ζητοῦσι τὸ ἴσον καὶ τὸ δίκαιον
οἱ ἥττους, οἱ δὲ κρατοῦντες οὐδὲν φροντίζουσιν.

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4 Δημοκρατιῶν δ' οὐσῶν τεττάρων βελτίστη μὲν ἡ πρώτη
τάξει, καθάπερ ἐν τοῖς πρὸ τούτων ἐλέχθη λόγοις· ἔστι δὲ
καὶ ἀρχαιοτάτη πασῶν αὕτη. λέγω δὲ πρώτην ὥσπερ ἄν
τις διέλοι τοὺς δήμους· βέλτιστος γὰρ δῆμος ὁ γεωργικός
ἐστιν, ὥστε καὶ ποιεῖν ἐνδέχεται δημοκρατίαν, ὅπου ζῇ τὸ
2 πλῆθος ἀπὸ γεωργίας ἢ νομῆς. διὰ μὲν γὰρ τὸ μὴ πολλὴν
οὐσίαν ἔχειν, ἄσχολος, ὥστε μὴ πολλάκις ἐκκλησιάζειν·
διὰ δὲ τὸ [a] ἔχειν τἀναγκαῖα πρὸς τοῖς ἔργοις διατρίβουσι

[a] μὴ Bekker.

συναριθμουμένων, κ.τ.λ.] 'Both rich and poor being reckoned in on either side respectively.'

6 ἴσοι συμπέσωσι] 'If they chance to come out equal.'

ἀποκληρωτέον] must exclude by lot as in VI. (VI.) xiv. 13.

ἀλλὰ περὶ μὲν τοῦ ἴσου καὶ τοῦ δικαίου] 'It may be difficult, very difficult, to find in theory what is strictly fair and just, but it is a much less difficulty than to induce those who are the stronger to acquiesce in it when found, and abstain from encroachments on their neighbours. It is ever the weaker who seek for justice, whilst the strong wholly neglect it.' Compare Thucy. v. 89–105.

IV. 1 τάξει] 'in position.'

πρὸ τούτων] See II. 6, τῇ μεθόδῳ τῇ πρὸ ταύτης.

ὥσπερ ἄν τις διέλοι τοὺς δήμους] 'adopting the division of the δῆμοι, and making the constitutions in which they are supreme correspond in order with the order established among them.'

βέλτιστος] and as such πρῶτος, and the δημοκρατία in which it is supreme will therefore be βελτίστη and so πρώτη.

ὥστε καὶ ποιεῖν] 'So that you can without difficulty make a democracy,' or 'you can make a democracy which shall be worth something.'

νομῆς] below, § 11.

2 τὸ μὴ ἔχειν] The editors and commentators suffer this μὴ to stand quietly, but it seems to me that it ought to be omitted, in fact that with it the passage is contradictory. In the first clause the people are supposed to have not much property, in the second they are supposed, with the existing reading, not to have the

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καὶ τῶν ἀλλοτρίων οὐκ ἐπιθυμοῦσιν, ἀλλ' ἥδιον τὸ ἐργά-
ζεσθαι τοῦ πολιτεύεσθαι καὶ ἄρχειν, ὅπου ἂν μὴ ᾖ λήμματα
μεγάλα ἀπὸ τῶν ἀρχῶν. οἱ γὰρ πολλοὶ μᾶλλον ὀρέγονται
τοῦ κέρδους ἢ τῆς τιμῆς. σημεῖον δέ· καὶ γὰρ τὰς ἀρ- 3
χαίας τυραννίδας ὑπέμενον καὶ τὰς ὀλιγαρχίας ὑπομένουσιν,
ἐάν τις αὐτοὺς ἐργάζεσθαι μὴ κωλύῃ μηδ' ἀφαιρῆται μηθέν·
ταχέως γὰρ οἱ μὲν πλουτοῦσιν αὐτῶν, οἱ δ' οὐκ ἀποροῦσιν.
ἔτι δὲ τὸ κυρίους εἶναι τοῦ ἑλέσθαι καὶ εὐθύνειν ἀναπληροῖ 4
τὴν ἔνδειαν, εἴ τι φιλοτιμίας ἔχουσιν, ἐπεὶ παρ' ἐνίοις δήμοις,
κἂν μὴ μετέχωσι τῆς αἱρέσεως τῶν ἀρχῶν ἀλλά τινες αἱρετοὶ
κατὰ μέρος ἐκ πάντων, ὥσπερ ἐν Μαντινείᾳ, τοῦ δὲ βουλεύε-
σθαι κύριοι ὦσιν, ἱκανῶς ἔχει τοῖς πολλοῖς. καὶ δεῖ νομί- 5
ζειν καὶ τοῦτ' εἶναι σχῆμά τι δημοκρατίας, ὥσπερ ἐν Μαν-
τινείᾳ ποτ' ἦν. διὸ δὴ καὶ συμφέρον ἐστὶ τῇ πρότερον
ῥηθείσῃ δημοκρατίᾳ καὶ ὑπάρχειν εἴωθεν, αἱρεῖσθαι μὲν τὰς
ἀρχὰς καὶ εὐθύνειν καὶ δικάζειν πάντας, ἄρχειν δὲ τὰς μεγί-
στας αἱρετοὺς καὶ ἀπὸ τιμημάτων, τὰς μείζους ἀπὸ μει-
ζόνων, ἢ καὶ ἀπὸ τιμημάτων μὲν μηδεμίαν, ἀλλὰ τοὺς δυνα-
μένους. ἀνάγκη δὲ πολιτευομένους οὕτω πολιτεύεσθαι κα- 6
λῶς (αἵ τε γὰρ ἀρχαὶ ἀεὶ διὰ τῶν βελτίστων ἔσονται, τοῦ
δήμου βουλομένου καὶ τοῖς ἐπιεικέσιν οὐ φθονοῦντος) καὶ
τοῖς ἐπιεικέσι καὶ γνωρίμοις ἀρκοῦσαν εἶναι ταύτην τὴν

necessaries of life. It makes very good sense if the μὴ is omitted. 'The people has not much property, and therefore it cannot command leisure, but it has the necessaries of life, as a basis to proceed on, and so it spends its time on its business and does not covet its neighbour's property, but finds work pleasanter than mixing in politics and holding office.' It has, in fact, the two great remedies against covetousness and its causes and consequences, οὐσία βραχεῖα = τἀναγκαῖα and ἐργασία. Compare II. VII. 12.

3 ἐάν τις αὐτούς, κ.τ.λ.] Compare for the same idea nearly VI. (IV.) XIII. 8.

4 ἀναπληροῖ, κ.τ.λ.] 'Satisfies their want if they feel some ambition.'

ἐν Μαντινείᾳ] Compare Grote X. 54. Mantinea, "so moderate in its democratical tendencies as to receive a favourable judgment.'

5 τοὺς δυναμένους] The capacity here indicated is supposed by some to be wealth. But it surely is better to take the sense of 'ability,' generally. "Fähigkeit," Stahr. δύναμις τῶν ἔργων τῶν τῆς ἀρχῆς. VIII. (V.) IX. I.

6 διὰ τῶν βελτίστων] 'in the hands of the best.'

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τάξιν· ἄρξονται γὰρ οὐχ ὑπ' ἄλλων χειρόνων, καὶ ἄρξουσι δικαίως διὰ τὸ τῶν εὐθυνῶν εἶναι κυρίους ἑτέρους. τὸ γὰρ
1319 7 ἐπανακρέμασθαι, καὶ μὴ πᾶν ἐξεῖναι ποιεῖν ὅ τι ἂν δόξῃ, συμφέρον ἐστίν· ἡ γὰρ ἐξουσία τοῦ πράττειν ὅ τι ἂν ἐθέλῃ τις οὐ δύναται φυλάττειν τὸ ἐν ἑκάστῳ τῶν ἀνθρώπων φαῦλον. ὥστε ἀναγκαῖον συμβαίνειν ὅπερ ἐστὶν ὠφελιμώτατον ἐν ταῖς πολιτείαις, ἄρχειν τοὺς ἐπιεικεῖς ἀναμαρτήτους
8 ὄντας, μηδὲν ἐλαττουμένου τοῦ πλήθους. Ὅτι μὲν οὖν αὕτη τῶν δημοκρατιῶν ἀρίστη, φανέρον, καὶ διὰ τίν' αἰτίαν, ὅτι διὰ τὸ ποιόν τινα εἶναι τὸν δῆμον· πρὸς δὲ τὸ κατασκευάζειν γεωργὸν τὸν δῆμον τῶν τε νόμων τινὲς τῶν παρὰ τοῖς πολλοῖς κειμένων τὸ ἀρχαῖον χρήσιμοι πάντες, ἢ τὸ ὅλως μὴ ἐξεῖναι κεκτῆσθαι πλείω γῆν μέτρου τινὸς ἢ ἀπό
9 τινος τόπου πρὸς τὸ ἄστυ καὶ τὴν πόλιν. ἦν δὲ τό γε ἀρχαῖον ἐν πολλαῖς πόλεσι νενομοθετημένον μηδὲ πωλεῖν ἐξεῖναι τοὺς πρώτους κλήρους. ἔστι δὲ καὶ ὃν λέγουσιν Ὀξύλου νόμον εἶναι τοιοῦτόν τι δυνάμενος, τὸ μὴ δανείζειν

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7 **ἐπανακρέμασθαι**] 'to be dependent,' 'relever de.' To be under control and to feel responsibility.

φυλάττειν] 'cannot check,' 'compress,' 'guard against,' for the middle sense appears. See Lobeck *ad Phryn.* 363.

μηδὲν ἐλαττουμένου τοῦ πλήθους] "geschmälert," Stahr; "avili et comprimé," St. Hil. 'Without any loss to the greater number,' is the translation I prefer. Or is it more subjective, as the two translations I have quoted seem to make it? 'Without the majority feeling itself unfairly treated and shorn of its full rights,' 'minui in ordinem cogi.'

ἢ τῶν νόμων] the τε of Bekker's text is wholly superfluous with the context. The καὶ in § 9, ἔστι δὲ καὶ ὃν λέγουσιν, does not at all seem to require it, though it may have led to its i-

¹ This is similar to the enactments of the Licinian Laws.

ἀπό τινος τόπου] The Greek is not very easy. The best way, perhaps, is to take it just as it stands. 'It was a law either that in no case at all should it be lawful to possess land beyond a certain quantity, or, if not so stringent as that, not beyond a certain quantity in a given district, that district determined by its position relatively to the city.' Why we have both τὸ ἄστυ καὶ τὴν πόλιν I do not see. I see no ground for any distinction being required by the sense.

9 **μηδὲ πωλεῖν**] Comp. II. vii. 6. 7.

Oxylus. On this law I cannot make out more than what is gained from this passage.

τὸ μὴ δανείζειν] 'That it was not lawful to lend money on some specified portion of the original quantity of land owned by each.' The proprietor might borrow on the security, say, of half his

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εἰς τι μέρος τῆς ὑπαρχούσης ἑκάστῳ γῆς. νῦν δὲ δεῖ διορ-
θοῦν καὶ τῷ Ἀφυταίων νόμῳ· πρὸς γὰρ ὃ λέγομεν ἐστὶ
χρήσιμος. ἐκεῖνοι γάρ, καίπερ ὄντες πολλοὶ κεκτημένοι
δὲ γῆν ὀλίγην, ὅμως πάντες γεωργοῦσιν· τιμῶνται γὰρ οὐχ 10
ὅλας τὰς κτήσεις, ἀλλὰ κατὰ τηλικαῦτα μόρια διαιροῦντες
ὥστ' ἔχειν ὑπερβάλλειν ταῖς τιμήσεσι καὶ τοὺς πένητας.
μετὰ δὲ τὸ γεωργικὸν πλῆθος βέλτιστος δῆμός ἐστιν ὅπου 11
νομεῖς εἰσὶ καὶ ζῶσιν ἀπὸ βοσκημάτων· πολλὰ γὰρ ἔχει τῇ
γεωργίᾳ παραπλησίως, καὶ τὰ πρὸς τὰς πολεμικὰς πράξεις
μάλισθ' οὗτοι γεγυμνασμένοι τὰς ἕξεις καὶ χρήσιμοι τὰ
σώματα καὶ δυνάμενοι θυραυλεῖν. τὰ δ' ἄλλα πλήθη πάντα 12
σχεδόν, ἐξ ὧν αἱ λοιπαὶ δημοκρατίαι συνεστᾶσι, πολλῷ
φαυλότερα τούτων· ὁ γὰρ βίος φαῦλος, καὶ οὐθὲν ἔργον
μετ' ἀρετῆς ὧν μεταχειρίζεται τὸ πλῆθος τό τε τῶν βαναύ-
σων καὶ τὸ τῶν ἀγοραίων ἀνθρώπων καὶ τὸ θητικόν. ἔτι 13
δὲ διὰ τὸ περὶ τὴν ἀγορὰν καὶ τὸ ἄστυ κυλίεσθαι πᾶν τὸ
τοιοῦτον γένος ὡς εἰπεῖν ῥᾳδίως ἐκκλησιάζει· οἱ δὲ γεωρ-
γοῦντες διὰ τὸ διεσπάρθαι κατὰ τὴν χώραν οὔτ' ἀπαντῶσιν
οὔθ' ὁμοίως δέονται τῆς συνόδου ταύτης. ὅπου δὲ καὶ συμ- 14

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land, but the other half must be kept clear of all incumbrance.

Aphytæans. The inhabitants of Aphytis in Pallene.

10 *τιμῶνται γάρ*] 'They do not rate the whole of the property each owns,' small though that whole be, 'but they divide it, and rate such a small part of it that even the poor can meet the demand and pay the amount of their rate.' They are consequently free from the temptation to encumber the rest of their property, and so not liable to the great danger of small proprietors, that of having to sell their land to set themselves clear from their obligations. Such seems the meaning of the passage and the bearing of the law in question. We have not knowledge enough to be very confident on such points.

11 *ἔχει*] sc. *ἡ νομή*.

θυραυλεῖν] 'to bivouac,' and so keep the field. The remarks would apply to the Samnites.

12 *οὐθὲν ἔργον μετ' ἀρετῆς*] "keine der Beschäftigungen," Stahr. 'No one of the occupations on which the mass is engaged involves any moral excellence.' Compare for this strong adverse feeling towards the artisan and commercial class, I. XIII. 13, III. V.

μεταχειρίζεται] Thuc. I. 138, 'have in their hands,' 'handle.'

13 *κυλίεσθαι περὶ τὴν ἀγοράν*] 'rolling,' 'lounging about,' 'circumforanei homines.' Compare Acts, XVII. 5, *ἀγοραῖοι*.

οὔθ' ὁμοίως δέονται] 'Nor do they equally with a town population feel the want of this meeting.' This stronger social tendency of the latter is merely noticed as a fact, not dwelt on as an

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βαίνει τὴν χώραν τὴν θέσιν ἔχειν τοιαύτην ὥστε τὴν χώραν
πολὺ τῆς πόλεως ἀπηρτῆσθαι, ῥᾴδιον καὶ δημοκρατίαν ποιεῖ-
σθαι χρηστὴν καὶ πολιτείαν· ἀναγκάζεται γὰρ τὸ πλῆθος
ἐπὶ τῶν ἀγρῶν ποιεῖσθαι τὰς ἀποικίας, ὥστε δεῖ, κἂν ἀγο-
ραῖος ὄχλος ᾖ, μὴ ποιεῖν ἐν ταῖς δημοκρατίαις ἐκκλησίας
15 ἄνευ τοῦ κατὰ τὴν χώραν πλήθους. Πῶς μὲν οὖν δεῖ κατα-

The other kinds.

σκευάζειν τὴν βελτίστην καὶ πρώτην δημοκρατίαν, εἴρηται·
φανερὸν δὲ καὶ πῶς τὰς ἄλλας· ἑπομένως γὰρ δεῖ παρεκ-
1319 b βαίνειν καὶ τὸ χεῖρον ἀεὶ πλῆθος χωρίζειν. τὴν δὲ τελευ-
ταίαν, διὰ τὸ πάντας κοινωνεῖν, οὔτε πάσης ἐστὶ πόλεως
φέρειν, οὔτε ῥᾴδιον διαμένειν μὴ τοῖς νόμοις καὶ τοῖς ἔθεσιν
16 εὖ συγκειμένην·[a] πρὸς δὲ τὸ καθιστάναι ταύτην τὴν δημο-
κρατίαν, καὶ τὸν δῆμον ποιεῖν ἰσχυρὸν εἰώθασιν οἱ προε-
στῶτες τῷ προσλαμβάνειν ὡς πλείστους καὶ ποιεῖν πολίτας
μὴ μόνον τοὺς γνησίους ἀλλὰ καὶ τοὺς νόθους καὶ τοὺς ἐξ
ὁποτερουοῦν πολίτου, λέγω δὲ οἷον πατρὸς ἢ μητρός· ἅπαν
17 γὰρ οἰκεῖον τοῦτο τῷ τοιούτῳ δήμῳ μᾶλλον. εἰώθασι μὲν

[a] ἃ δὲ φθείρειν συμβαίνει καὶ ταύτην καὶ τὰς ἄλλας πολιτείας, εἴρηται πρότερον τὰ πλεῖστα σχεδόν Bekker.

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advantage. In fact it was not so in Aristotle's eyes.

14 τὴν χώραν πολύ, κ.τ.λ.] 'The country which is cultivated is very distant from, far removed from the city.' ἀπηρτῆσθαι occurs in this sense in Demosthenes.

ποιεῖσθαι τὰς ἀποικίας = ἀποικίζεσθαι] 'to make settlements in the country, as it were.' "Emigrer de la ville," St. Hil.

κἄν] 'even if there be large numbers of town population, not to allow it to meet without the numbers resident in the country.' The later Roman Republic furnishes illustrations of the distinction between the town and the country population, and its important bearing on several of the political decisions.

15 ἑπομένως] "Servato ordine." 'They must deviate from the first and best form in a regular, logical order,' 'with a due regard to logical consequence.' παρεκβαίνειν seems equivalent to παρεκβάσεις γίνεσθαι. Of course the subject changes in the case of χωρίζειν, which is strictly active.

τοῖς νόμοις καὶ τοῖς ἔθεσιν] 'In the laws and habits of the people.'

The concluding clause of this section must be thrown out of the text, as similar ones have been before. There is a greater temptation here than at the end of Ch. I. to adopt Spengel's remedy and change the past into the future tense, keeping the main part of the remark.

16 καὶ τὸν δῆμον] καί is 'both.'

τῷ προσλαμβάνειν] Compare Herod. v. 66, προσεταιρίζεται τὸν δῆμον.

ποιεῖν πολίτας] Compare on this subject III. ii. 3, V. vii. 8.

ἅπαν γάρ, κ.τ.λ.] 'for none of such

The other kinds.

οὖν οἱ δημαγωγοὶ κατασκευάζειν οὕτως, δεῖ μέντοι προσλαμ-
βάνειν μέχρις ἂν ὑπερτείνῃ τὸ πλῆθος τῶν γνωρίμων καὶ
τῶν μέσων, καὶ τούτου μὴ πέρα προβαίνειν· ὑπερβάλλοντες
γὰρ ἀτακτοτέραν τε ποιοῦσι τὴν πολιτείαν, καὶ τοὺς γνω-
ρίμους πρὸς τὸ χαλεπῶς ὑπομένειν τὴν δημοκρατίαν παροξύ-
νουσι μᾶλλον, ὅπερ συνέβη τῆς στάσεως αἴτιον γενέσθαι
περὶ Κυρήνην· ὀλίγον μὲν γὰρ πονηρὸν παροραται, πολὺ δὲ
γινόμενον ἐν ὀφθαλμοῖς μᾶλλόν ἐστιν. ἔτι δὲ καὶ τὰ τοι- 18

Democratical institutions.

αῦτα κατασκευάσματα χρήσιμα πρὸς τὴν δημοκρατίαν τὴν
τοιαύτην, οἷς Κλεισθένης τε Ἀθήνησιν ἐχρήσατο βουλό-
μενος αὐξῆσαι τὴν δημοκρατίαν, καὶ περὶ Κυρήνην οἱ τὸν
δῆμον καθιστάντες. φυλαί τε γὰρ ἕτεραι ποιητέαι πλείους 19
καὶ φρατρίαι, καὶ τὰ τῶν ἰδίων ἱερῶν συνακτέον εἰς ὀλίγα
καὶ κοινά, καὶ πάντα σοφιστέον ὅπως ἂν ὅτι μάλιστα ἀνα-
μιχθῶσι πάντες ἀλλήλοις, αἱ δὲ συνήθειαι διαζευχθῶσιν αἱ
πρότερον. ἔτι δὲ καὶ τὰ τυραννικὰ κατασκευάσματα δημο 20
τικὰ δοκεῖ πάντα, λέγω δ' οἷον ἀναρχία τε δούλων (αὕτη δ'
ἂν εἴη μέχρι του συμφέρουσα) καὶ γυναικῶν καὶ παίδων, καὶ
τὸ ζῆν ὅπως τις βούλεται παροραν. πολὺ γὰρ ἔσται τὸ
τῇ τοιαύτῃ πολιτείᾳ βοηθοῦν· ἥδιον γὰρ τοῖς πολλοῖς τὸ
ζῆν ἀτάκτως ἢ τὸ σωφρόνως.

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classes are quite alien to a democracy of this kind.'

17 **δεῖ μέντοι, κ.τ.λ.**] 'The right thing, however, is to associate such elements with the existing citizens only up to the point at which the people become stronger than the upper and middle classes combined, and not to advance beyond this point.'

Κυρήνην] Herod. IV. 159, 162, &c.

πονηρόν] 'in the political sense,' the 'canaille.' 'For in small doses the mob element is overlooked, if admitted largely it forces itself more on the eye.'

18 **αὐξῆσαι**] So the Latin 'augere,' 'to increase the power of.'

19 **τὰ τῶν ἰδίων ἱερῶν**] Break up 'the family religious rites,' or 'the religious rites peculiar to certain families, such, for instance, as the rites peculiar to the gentes of the Potitii and Pinarii at Rome.' Or compare the case of Isagoras.

πάντα σοφιστέον] 'by every possible contrivance mingle all classes one with the other, and break up all the old associations.' It expresses admirably the policy of the great revolution effected at Athens by Cleisthenes, Grote, IV. 173–7. Such a change as that in France, in the early part of her revolution, when the provincial distinctions were abolished, and the departmental system introduced, is an instance of the same policy.

20 **παροραν**] 'to connive at.' If Book VIII. (V.) really preceded this

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5 Ἔστι δ' ἔργον τοῦ νομοθέτου καὶ τῶν βουλομένων συνιστάναι τινὰ τοιαύτην πολιτείαν οὐ τὸ καταστῆσαι μέγιστον ἔργον οὐδὲ μόνον, ἀλλ' ὅπως σώζηται μᾶλλον· μίαν γὰρ ἢ δύο ἢ τρεῖς ἡμέρας οὐ χαλεπὸν μεῖναι πολιτευομένους
2 ὁπωσοῦν. διὸ δεῖ, περὶ ὧν τεθεωρήσεται ὕστερον,[a] τίνες σωτηρίαι καὶ φθοραὶ τῶν πολιτειῶν, ἐκ τούτων πειρᾶσθαι κατασκευάζειν τὴν ἀσφάλειαν, εὐλαβουμένους μὲν τὰ φθείροντα, τιθεμένους δὲ τοιούτους νόμους καὶ τοὺς ἀγράφους καὶ τοὺς γεγραμμένους οἳ περιλήψονται μάλιστα τὰ σώζοντα τὰς πολιτείας, καὶ μὴ νομίζειν τοῦτ' εἶναι δημοτικὸν μηδ' ὀλιγαρχικὸν ὃ ποιήσει τὴν πόλιν ὅτι μάλιστα δημοκρατεῖσθαι
3 ἢ ὀλιγαρχεῖσθαι, ἀλλ' ὃ πλεῖστον χρόνον. οἱ δὲ νῦν δημαγωγοὶ χαριζόμενοι τοῖς δήμοις πολλὰ δημεύουσι διὰ τῶν δικαστηρίων. διὸ δεῖ πρὸς ταῦτα ἀντιπράττειν τοὺς κηδομένους τῆς πολιτείας, νομοθετοῦντας μηδὲν εἶναι δημόσιον τῶν καταδικαζομένων καὶ φερόντων πρὸς τὸ κοινόν, ἀλλ' ἱερόν· οἱ μὲν γὰρ ἀδικοῦντες οὐδὲν ἧττον εὐλαβεῖς ἔσονται (ζημιώσονται γὰρ ὁμοίως), ὁ δ' ὄχλος ἧττον καταψηφιεῖ-
4 ται τῶν κρινομένων, λήψεσθαι μηδὲν μέλλων. ἔτι δὲ τὰς

[a] τεθεώρηται πρότερον Bekker.

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tion, a reference might have been expected here to his remarks on the policy of the tyrant.

V. 1 ἔργον] One of these two 'ἔργον' is superfluous, but the general writing of the book is not sufficiently careful to warrant us in rejecting either. Spengel (p. 40) would reject one.

2 περὶ ὧν, κ.τ.λ.] Another of the passages in favour of the usual order of arrangement. It is one which it is not possible to get rid of, and, therefore, with Nickes and Spengel, I here read τεθεωρήσεται ὕστερον, assuming that a change took place to suit the order, which must be reversed when that order is reversed. It is remarked that there is no mention in any one of the previous places of μεταβολαί.

καὶ τοὺς ἀγράφους καὶ τοὺς γεγραμμένους] I suspect this very strongly of being the addition of some one who wished to complete, as he thought, the passage. Can the language be properly used τίθεσθαι ἀγράφους νόμους? Still I leave the words.

οἳ περιλήψονται μάλιστα] 'which shall embrace as much as possible what tends to the safety of constitutions.'

μὴ νομίζειν] The caution is to the same effect as that in Ch. I. x.

3 τοῖς δήμοις] 'their respective peoples.'

τοὺς κηδομένους] 'The well-wishers to the constitution.'

φερόντων πρὸς τὸ κοινόν] This is far from easy. Is it best to construe it quite literally 'of the property of those who are condemned, and who concern

Means of preserving democracy.

γινομένας δημοσίας δίκας ὡς ὀλιγίστας δεῖ[a] ποιεῖν, μεγά-
λοις ἐπιτιμίοις τοὺς εἰκῇ γραφομένους κωλύοντας· οὐ γὰρ
τοὺς δημοτικοὺς ἀλλὰ τοὺς γνωρίμους εἰώθασιν εἰσάγειν, δεῖ
δὲ καὶ τῇ πολιτείᾳ πάντας μάλιστα μὲν εὔνους εἶναι τοὺς
πολίτας, εἰ δὲ μή, μή τοί γε ὡς πολεμίους νομίζειν τοὺς
κυρίους. ἐπεὶ δ' αἱ τελευταῖαι δημοκρατίαι πολυάνθρωποί 5
τέ εἰσι καὶ χαλεπὸν ἐκκλησιάζειν ἀμίσθους, τοῦτο δ' ὅπου
πρόσοδοι μὴ τυγχάνουσιν οὖσαι πολέμιον τοῖς γνωρίμοις
(ἀπό τε γὰρ εἰσφορᾶς καὶ δημεύσεως ἀναγκαῖον γίνεσθαι
καὶ δικαστηρίων φαύλων, ἃ πολλὰς ἤδη δημοκρατίας ἀνέτρε-
ψεν), ὅπου μὲν οὖν πρόσοδοι μὴ τυγχάνουσιν οὖσαι, δεῖ
ποιεῖν ὀλίγας ἐκκλησίας, καὶ δικαστήρια πολλῶν μὲν ὀλί-
γας δ' ἡμέρας. τοῦτο γὰρ φέρει μὲν καὶ πρὸς τὸ μὴ φο- 6
βεῖσθαι τοὺς πλουσίους τὰς δαπάνας, ἐὰν οἱ μὲν εὔποροι μὴ
λαμβάνωσι δικαστικόν, οἱ δ' ἄποροι, φέρει δὲ καὶ πρὸς
τὸ κρίνεσθαι τὰς δίκας πολὺ βέλτιον· οἱ γὰρ εὔποροι πολ-
λὰς μὲν ἡμέρας οὐκ ἐθέλουσιν ἀπὸ τῶν ἰδίων ἀπεῖναι, βραχὺν
δὲ χρόνον ἐθέλουσιν. ὅπου δ' εἰσὶ πρόσοδοι, μὴ ποιεῖν ὃ 7
νῦν οἱ δημαγωγοὶ ποιοῦσιν· τὰ γὰρ περιόντα νέμουσιν. Λαμ-

[a] ἀεὶ Bekker.

the state?' The meaning, if so, would be, the property of those who are condemned for offences which are offences against the state, in whose case, therefore, it would be natural to bring their property by fine or confiscation into the public treasury. It should, says Aristotle, be looked on as sacred to the Gods.

4 ἀεί] Have we not here the opposite error in the text to that pointed out, VI. (IV.) XI. 21. There δεῖ had crept in for ἀεί; here ἀεὶ has been substituted for δεῖ. I venture to restore δεῖ.

εἰκῇ] 'temere,' 'without good or sufficient grounds,' *Rhet.* I. 1, 2, p. 1354, 6.

μή τοί γε, κ.τ.λ.] 'at any rate, not to look on the government as hostile to them;' τοὺς κυρίους is the object of νομίζειν.

5 τοῦτο] sc. τὸ μισθοφορεῖν, or τὸ διδόναι μισθόν. It does not seem to matter which of these two is adopted.

πολέμιον] 'is adverse to,' or more strongly 'involves hostility to the upper classes.'

εἰσφορᾶς] 'The property and income-tax.' It was a direct tax, in no sense a voluntary contribution to meet the wants of the state. Compare Smith, *Dict. Ant.*

6 φέρει πρός] 'tends to.'

7 τὰ περιόντα νέμουσιν] 'They divide the surplus.'

Means of preserving democracy.

βάνουσι δὲ ἅμα, καὶ πάλιν δέονται τῶν αὐτῶν· ὁ τετρημέ-
νος γάρ ἐστι πίθος ἡ τοιαύτη βοήθεια τοῖς ἀπόροις. ἀλλὰ
δεῖ τὸν ἀληθινῶς δημοτικὸν ὁρᾶν ὅπως τὸ πλῆθος μὴ λίαν
ἄπορον ᾖ· τοῦτο γὰρ αἴτιον τοῦ μοχθηρὰν εἶναι τὴν δημο-
8 κρατίαν. τεχναστέον οὖν ὅπως ἂν εὐπορία γένοιτο χρόνιος.
ἐπεὶ δὲ συμφέρει τοῦτο καὶ τοῖς εὐπόροις, τὰ μὲν ἀπὸ τῶν
προσόδων γινόμενα συναθροίζοντας ἀθρόα χρὴ διανέμειν
τοῖς ἀπόροις, μάλιστα μὲν εἴ τις δύναται τοσοῦτον ἀθροίζων
ὅσον εἰς γηδίου κτῆσιν, εἰ δὲ μή, πρὸς ἀφορμὴν ἐμπορίας
1320 B 9 καὶ γεωργίας. καὶ εἰ μὴ πᾶσι δυνατόν, ἀλλὰ κατὰ φυλὰς
ἤ τι μέρος ἕτερον ἐν μέρει διανέμειν· ἐν δὲ τούτῳ πρὸς τὰς
ἀναγκαίας συνόδους τοὺς εὐπόρους εἰσφέρειν τὸν μισθόν,
ἀφειμένους[a] τῶν ματαίων λειτουργιῶν. τοιοῦτον δέ τινα
τρόπον Καρχηδόνιοι πολιτευόμενοι φίλον κέκτηνται τὸν δῆ-
μον· ἀεὶ γάρ τινας ἐκπέμποντες τοῦ δήμου πρὸς τὰς περιοι-
10 κίδας ποιοῦσιν εὐπόρους. χαριέντων δ' ἐστὶ καὶ νοῦν ἐχόν-

[a] ἀφιεμένους Bekker.

ὁ τετρημένος πίθος] is like the sieve of the Danaidæ, see L. and S.

τὸν ἀληθινῶς δημοτικόν] 'The democratical statesman who is worthy of the name.'

8 τεχναστέον] 'Systematic measures must be adopted to secure a permanent prosperity, as this is no less for the interest of the rich,' &c. J. B. Say, *Catéchisme d'Economie Politique*, p. 295.

γηδίου κτῆσιν] 'The acquisition of a small plot of land,' the seven jugera, for instance, of the Roman plebeian.

ἐμπορίας] Some of the MSS. read εὐπορίας, and certainly ἐμπορίας is scarcely in accordance with his theory in favour of agriculture, and so alien to all trade. Either in itself is very good sense, but I rather lean to the reading εὐπορίας. On the other hand, Stahr and St. Hilaire both translate the reading Bekker retains.

9 κατὰ φυλάς, κ.τ.λ.] 'by tribes or some other division dealing it to them in turns.'

ἐν τούτῳ] 'meanwhile,' that is, till on this system you have gone through the whole of the poor, and all have been admitted to a share in the distribution.

τὸν μισθόν] 'The pay' required to enable the poor to attend these indispensable meetings.

ἀφειμένους] So I read with Schneider and Coray for Bekker's ἀφιεμένους. Compare III. v. 3.

πρὸς τὰς περιοικίδας] 'To the dependent towns in the neighbourhood.' The expression throws light on the parallel passage, ἐπὶ τὰς πόλεις, II. xi. 16.

10 χαριέντων] For the word in this sense, compare VI. (IV.) xiii. 9.

των γνωρίμων καὶ διαλαμβάνοντας τοὺς ἀπόρους, ἀφορμὰς [μὲν] διδόντας τρέπειν ἐπ' ἐργασίας. καλῶς δ' ἔχει μιμεῖσθαι καὶ τὰ Ταραντίνων· ἐκεῖνοι γὰρ κοινὰ ποιοῦντες τὰ κτήματα τοῖς ἀπόροις ἐπὶ τὴν χρῆσιν εὔνουν παρασκευάζουσι τὸ πλῆθος. ἔτι δὲ τὰς ἀρχὰς πάσας ἐποίησαν διττάς, 11 τὰς μὲν αἱρετὰς τὰς δὲ κληρωτάς, τὰς μὲν κληρωτὰς ὅπως ὁ δῆμος αὐτῶν μετέχῃ, τὰς δ' αἱρετὰς ἵνα πολιτεύωνται βέλτιον. ἔστι δὲ τοῦτο ποιῆσαι καὶ τῆς ἀρχῆς αὐτῆς μερίζοντας, τοὺς μὲν κληρωτοὺς τοὺς δ' αἱρετούς. Πῶς μὲν οὖν δεῖ τὰς δημοκρατίας κατασκευάζειν, εἴρηται.

Means of preserving democracy.

Σχεδὸν δὲ καὶ περὶ τὰς ὀλιγαρχίας πῶς δεῖ, φανερὸν 6 ἐκ τούτων. ἐκ τῶν ἐναντίων γὰρ δεῖ συνάγειν ἑκάστην ὀλιγαρχίαν πρὸς τὴν ἐναντίαν δημοκρατίαν ἀναλογιζόμενον, τὴν μὲν εὔκρατον μάλιστα τῶν ὀλιγαρχιῶν καὶ πρώτην— αὕτη δ' ἐστὶν ἡ σύνεγγυς τῇ καλουμένῃ πολιτείᾳ, ᾗ δεῖ τὰ 2 τιμήματα διαιρεῖν, τὰ μὲν ἐλάττω τὰ δὲ μείζω ποιοῦντας, ἐλάττω μὲν ἀφ' ὧν τῶν ἀναγκαίων μεθέξουσιν ἀρχῶν, μείζω δ' ἀφ' ὧν τῶν κυριωτέρων· τῷ τε κτωμένῳ τὸ τίμημα μετέχειν ἐξεῖναι τῆς πολιτείας, τοσοῦτον εἰσαγομένου τοῦ δήμου πλῆθος διὰ τοῦ τιμήματος, μεθ' οὗ κρείττονες ἔσον-

Oligarchies. Their formation and preservation.

καί] 'also.' The same conjunction seems required before *ἀφορμὰς διδόντας.*

διαλαμβάνοντας] 'taking them amongst them as individuals.' It is opposed to *συναθροίζοντας ἀθρόα χρὴ διανέμειν*, ib. § 8. Compare II. x. 14, and note.

Ταραντίνων] *Grote* v. 320. Müller, *Dorians* II. 9, 185. I cannot see that on either point Müller's statements are justified, that either *τὰ κτήματα* means public property, or that *διττάς* involves the doubling of the magistracies.

κοινὰ ἐπὶ τὴν χρῆσιν] 'Common for their use.' I consider the meaning to be that expressed II. v. 6—8, and again IV. (VII.) x. 9. The policy is that said to have been adopted by Cimon.

11 *διττάς*] 'twofold,' 'constructed on two principles.'

ἔστι δέ, κ.τ.λ.] 'the result may be secured by a division in each office itself,' see VIII. (V.) v. 1, for *μερίζοντας.*

VI. 1 *ἐκ τῶν ἐναντίων γάρ, κ.τ.λ.*] 'For you must draw your conclusions from the contrary premises, and consider each oligarchy with reference to the particular democracy to which it is opposed.'

2 *ᾗ*] 'and in this.'

διαιρεῖν τὰ τιμήματα here is simply 'to distinguish,' 'make two classes of valuations.' Compare Ch. III. 1., where *διελεῖν τὰ τιμήματα* is used apparently in quite a different sense.

τοσοῦτον εἰσαγομένου τοῦ δήμου, κ.τ.λ.] 'The people being introduced,

Oligarchies. Their formation and preservation.

ται τῶν μὴ μετεχόντων. ἀεὶ δὲ δεῖ παραλαμβάνειν ἐκ τοῦ
βελτίονος δήμου τοὺς κοινωνούς. ὁμοίως δὲ καὶ τὴν ἐχομέ-
νην ὀλιγαρχίαν ἐπιτείνοντας δεῖ μικρὸν κατασκευάζειν. τῇ
δ' ἀντικειμένῃ τῇ τελευταίᾳ δημοκρατίᾳ, τῇ δυναστικωτάτῃ
3 καὶ τυραννικωτάτῃ τῶν ὀλιγαρχιῶν, ὅσῳ περ χειρίστη, το-
4 σούτῳ δεῖ πλείονος φυλακῆς. ὥσπερ γὰρ τὰ μὲν σώματα
εὖ διακείμενα πρὸς ὑγίειαν καὶ πλοῖα τὰ πρὸς ναυτιλίαν
καλῶς ἔχοντα τοῖς πλωτῆρσιν ἐπιδέχεται πλείους ἁμαρτίας
ὥστε μὴ φθείρεσθαι δι' αὐτάς, τὰ δὲ νοσερῶς ἔχοντα τῶν
σωμάτων καὶ τὰ τῶν πλοίων ἐκλελυμένα καὶ πλωτήρων
τετυχηκότα φαύλων οὐδὲ τὰς μικρὰς δύναται φέρειν ἁμαρ-
τίας, οὕτω καὶ τῶν πολιτειῶν αἱ χείρισται πλείστης δέονται
1321 5 φυλακῆς. τὰς μὲν οὖν δημοκρατίας ὅλως ἡ πολυανθρωπία
σώζει· τοῦτο γὰρ ἀντίκειται πρὸς τὸ δίκαιον τὸ κατὰ τὴν
ἀξίαν· τὴν δ' ὀλιγαρχίαν δῆλον ὅτι τοὐναντίον, ὑπὸ τῆς
εὐταξίας, δεῖ τυγχάνειν τῆς σωτηρίας.

The four kinds of military force.

7 Ἐπεὶ δὲ τέτταρα μέν ἐστι μέρη μάλιστα τοῦ πλή-
θους, γεωργικὸν βάναυσον ἀγοραῖον θητικόν, τέτταρα δὲ τὰ
χρήσιμα πρὸς πόλεμον, ἱππικὸν ὁπλιτικὸν ψιλὸν ναυτικόν,
ὅπου μὲν συμβέβηκε τὴν χώραν εἶναι ἱππάσιμον, ἐνταῦθα
μὲν εὐφυῶς ἔχει κατασκευάζειν τὴν ὀλιγαρχίαν ἰσχυράν (ἡ

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by means of the standard of qualification required, only in such number as that, with the number introduced, the whole body of active citizens may be stronger than the body of those excluded from the government.'

3 ἐπιτείνοντας μικρόν] 'slightly tightening it.'

4 καλῶς ἔχοντα τοῖς πλωτῆρσιν] This is the construction Victorius adopts, "bene instructæ nautis," 'well-manned.' It might be ἐπιδέχεται τοῖς πλωτῆρσιν, 'admit in their crew,' 'allow their crew.' The first translation has in its favour the subsequent expression, πλωτήρων τετυχηκότα φαύλων.

φυλακῆς πλείστης] 'greatest precautions.'

5 ἀντικείται] 'meets and controls,' 'balances.' The large numbers constitute a claim to power which is seen to be in some degree a valid one, and tends to quiet the oligarchical objections.

εὐταξίας] 'Right conduct in the oligarchs.' Stahr is right, I think, in affixing this definite sense to the word.

VII. 1 χώραν ἱππάσιμον] 'fit for the action of cavalry,' compare Herod. v. 63. ἱππάσιμον ποιήσαντες τὸν χῶρον.

εὐφυῶς ἔχει] 'it is naturally easy.'

The four kinds of military force.

γὰρ σωτηρία τοῖς οἰκοῦσι διὰ ταύτης ἐστὶ τῆς δυνάμεως, αἱ δ' ἱπποτροφίαι τῶν μακρὰς οὐσίας κεκτημένων εἰσίν), ὅπου δ' ὁπλίτην, τὴν ἐχομένην ὀλιγαρχίαν· τὸ γὰρ ὁπλιτικὸν τῶν εὐπόρων ἐστὶ μᾶλλον ἢ τῶν ἀπόρων. ἡ δὲ ψιλὴ 2
δύναμις καὶ ναυτικὴ δημοκρατικὴ πάμπαν. Νῦν μὲν οὖν ὅπου τοιοῦτον πολὺ πλῆθός ἐστιν, ὅταν διαστῶσι, πολλάκις ἀγωνίζονται χεῖρον· δεῖ δὲ πρὸς τοῦτο φάρμακον παρὰ τῶν πολεμικῶν λαμβάνειν στρατηγῶν, οἳ συνδυάζουσι πρὸς τὴν ἱππικὴν δύναμιν καὶ τὴν ὁπλιτικὴν τὴν ἁρμόττουσαν τῶν ψιλῶν. ταύτῃ δ' ἐπικρατοῦσιν ἐν ταῖς διαστάσεσιν 3
οἱ δῆμοι τῶν εὐπόρων· ψιλοὶ γὰρ ὄντες πρὸς ἱππικὴν καὶ ὁπλιτικὴν ἀγωνίζονται ῥᾳδίως. τὸ μὲν οὖν ἐκ τούτων καθιστάναι ταύτην τὴν δύναμιν ἐφ' ἑαυτούς ἐστι καθιστάναι, δεῖ δὲ διῃρημένης τῆς ἡλικίας, καὶ τῶν μὲν ὄντων πρεσβυτέρων τῶν δὲ νέων, ἔτι μὲν ὄντας νέους τοὺς αὐτῶν υἱεῖς διδάσκεσθαι τὰς κούφας καὶ τὰς ψιλὰς ἐργασίας, ἐκκεκριμένους δὲ ἐκ παίδων ἀθλητὰς εἶναι αὐτοὺς τῶν ἔργων. Τὴν 4
δὲ μετάδοσιν γίνεσθαι τῷ πλήθει τοῦ πολιτεύματος ἤτοι

τοῖς οἰκοῦσι] sc. *χώραν ταύτην*.

αἱ ἱπποτροφίαι] Compare VI. (IV.) III. 2, 3.

ὁπλίτην] I should make this an adjective in sense quite as much as *ἱππάσιμον*, 'fit for regular infantry.' Compare the adjectival use of the word *Ἕλλην*. L. and S.

2 *τοιοῦτον*] sc. *ψιλὸν καὶ ναυτικόν*.

ὅταν διαστῶσι, κ.τ.λ.] 'When the two parties quarrel and range themselves one against the other, it not unfrequently happens that the oligarchs get the worst in the struggle.' The cavalry and heavy armed are not found a match for the lighter forces. In the street fighting of antiquity, the advantage lay with the less disciplined but more available forces. The experience of the last few years since 1848 has shown that this is no longer so; the artillery makes the struggle of the people with the soldiery a hopeless one, granting, of course, any proportion between the two forces. The reduction of an insurgent population is as mere a question of calculation as that of an ordinary fortress.

3 *τούτων*] sc. *τῶν δήμων*.

διῃρημένης] 'resting on the distinction of age that exists.'

ἔτι μέν, κ.τ.λ.] 'whilst their sons are yet young, to have them taught.'

ἐκκεκριμένους δὲ ἐκ παίδων] "Sobald sie aus dem Knabenalter getreten sind," Stahr. The *δέ* answering to the *μὲν* in *ἔτι μὲν νέους ὄντας* seems to determine that these words apply to the sons. But allowing this, it is not easy to fix their meaning.

4 *τὴν μετάδοσιν*] The previous remarks have been directed to the means of securing in case of quarrels the power to the oligarchy. The re-

Precautions tending to the safety of oligarchies.

καθάπερ εἴρηται πρότερον, τοῖς τὸ τίμημα κτωμένοις, ἢ
καθάπερ Θηβαίοις, ἀποσχομένοις χρόνον τινὰ τῶν βαναύ-
σων ἔργων, ἢ καθάπερ ἐν Μασσαλίᾳ, κρίσιν ποιουμένους
5 τῶν ἀξίων τῶν ἐν τῷ πολιτεύματι καὶ τῶν ἔξωθεν. ἔτι δὲ
καὶ ταῖς ἀρχαῖς ταῖς κυριωτάταις, ἃς δεῖ τοὺς ἐν τῇ πολιτείᾳ
κατέχειν, δεῖ προσκεῖσθαι λειτουργίας, ἵν' ἑκὼν ὁ δῆμος μὴ
μετέχῃ καὶ συγγνώμην ἔχῃ τοῖς ἄρχουσιν ὡς μισθὸν πολὺν
6 διδοῦσι τῆς ἀρχῆς. ἁρμόττει δὲ θυσίας τε εἰσιόντας ποι-
εῖσθαι μεγαλοπρεπεῖς καὶ κατασκευάζειν τι τῶν κοινῶν, ἵνα
τῶν περὶ τὰς ἑστιάσεις μετέχων ὁ δῆμος καὶ τὴν πόλιν
ὁρῶν κοσμουμένην τὰ μὲν ἀναθήμασι τὰ δὲ οἰκοδομήμασιν
ἄσμενος ὁρᾷ μένουσαν τὴν πολιτείαν· συμβήσεται δὲ καὶ
7 τοῖς γνωρίμοις εἶναι μνημεῖα τῆς δαπάνης. ἀλλὰ τοῦτο
νῦν οἱ περὶ τὰς ὀλιγαρχίας οὐ ποιοῦσιν, ἀλλὰ τοὐναντίον·
τὰ λήμματα γὰρ ζητοῦσιν οὐχ ἧττον ἢ τὴν τιμήν, διόπερ

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mainder of the chapter touches on the question of preserving the oligarchical constitution by milder means, without coming to any open rupture. The first of these is the admission of fresh members into the government. This may be done in three ways: either the acquisition of a certain property may secure it, or the abstinence during a given period from all disqualifying occupations; or, thirdly, it may be done by a selection made by the governing body from the rest.

πρότερον] Ch. VI. II.

Θηβαίοις] III. v. 7. *δέκα ἐτῶν* is the *χρόνον τινά*.

Μασσαλίᾳ] Grote III. 532.

ἐν τῷ πολιτεύματι] must here mean not the 'government,' but those 'within the pale of citizenship,' the *πολῖται* hitherto excluded from the government. *τῶν ἔξωθεν* would mean probably any body of resident foreigners. Or in the absence of any details, can the words *ἐν τῷ πολιτεύματι* keep their natural meaning, and the *κρίσιν ποιουμένους* imply a revision of the whole body, such as that of the Roman censors, admitting new members on the ground of their worthiness, excluding others hitherto members for the reverse?

5 *ἃς δεῖ τοὺς ἐν τῇ πολιτείᾳ κατέχειν*] 'Which members of the governing body must hold.' This seems the meaning of *πολιτείᾳ* here, the body of really active citizens, the governing body in the largest sense, as distinct from the executive magistrates.

κατέχειν] 'obtinere,' 'hold,' perhaps even more, 'hold firmly.'

λειτουργίας] The munera ædilitia at Rome are an instance of this.

6 *κατασκευάζειν τι τῶν κοινῶν*] "construire quelques monuments publics." St. Hil. *κατασκευάζειν* has the sense of some permanent construction, not sacrifices or games, but temples or aqueducts, for instance.

7 *τὰ λήμματα, κ.τ.λ.*] On this compare his language, *οὐ γὰρ ἔστιν ἅμα χρηματίζεσθαι ἐκ τῶν κοινῶν καὶ τιμᾶσθαι*, *Eth.* VIII. xvi. 3. p. 1163, b. 8.

εὖ ἔχει λέγειν ταύτας εἶναι δημοκρατίας μικράς. Πῶς μὲν 1321 B
οὖν χρὴ καθιστάναι τὰς δημοκρατίας καὶ τὰς ὀλιγαρχίας,
διωρίσθω τὸν τρόπον τοῦτον.

Ἀκόλουθον δὲ τοῖς εἰρημένοις ἐστὶ τὸ διῃρῆσθαι καλῶς 8
τὰ περὶ τὰς ἀρχάς, πόσαι καὶ τίνες καὶ τίνων, καθάπερ Magistracies.
εἴρηται καὶ πρότερον· τῶν μὲν γὰρ ἀναγκαίων ἀρχῶν χωρὶς
ἀδύνατον εἶναι πόλιν, τῶν δὲ πρὸς εὐταξίαν καὶ κόσμον
ἀδύνατον οἰκεῖσθαι καλῶς. ἔτι δ' ἀναγκαῖον ἐν μὲν ταῖς 2
μικραῖς ἐλάττους εἶναι τὰς ἀρχάς, ἐν δὲ ταῖς μεγάλαις
πλείους, ὥσπερ τυγχάνει πρότερον εἰρημένον· ποίας οὖν
ἁρμόττει συνάγειν καὶ ποίας χωρίζειν, δεῖ μὴ λανθάνειν.
Πρῶτον μὲν οὖν ἐπιμέλεια τῶν ἀναγκαίων ἡ περὶ τὴν ἀγο- 3
ράν, ἐφ' ᾗ δεῖ τινὰ ἀρχὴν εἶναι τὴν ἐφορῶσαν περί τε τὰ
συμβόλαια καὶ τὴν εὐκοσμίαν· σχεδὸν γὰρ ἀναγκαῖον πά-
σαις ταῖς πόλεσι τὰ μὲν ὠνεῖσθαι τὰ δὲ πωλεῖν πρὸς τὴν
ἀλλήλων ἀναγκαίαν χρείαν, καὶ τοῦτ' ἐστὶν ὑπογυιότατον
πρὸς αὐτάρκειαν, δι' ἣν δοκοῦσιν εἰς μίαν πολιτείαν συνελ-

δημοκρατίας μικράς] 'close democracies.' They combine all the faults of both.

At the end of this chapter, some editors think that in the existing work there is a gap. Nickes quotes Conring, Schneider, Schlosser, Coray. There is no need of supposing anything lost at this particular place. Others, with more reason, think that there is a gap at the end of the next chapter, that the book, in fact, has been curtailed. Spengel quoted by Nickes 125, note 1. In pp. 126, 127, Nickes seems uncertain as to a larger loss.

VIII. 1 **ἀκόλουθον δέ**] Compare I. 1. **ἅμα δὲ περὶ ἐκείνων εἴ τι λοιπόν**, with which this passage connects.

τίνων] On what does this depend? It is simplest, looking at VI. (IV.) xv. 1, to supply **κύριαι. πόσαι τε ἀρχαί, καὶ κύριαι τίνων.**

2 **συνάγειν**] 'to combine.'

χωρίζειν] 'to keep distinct.'

3 **πρῶτον**] **πρώτη**, as Coray suggests, would, I think, be an improvement.

τὴν ἐφορῶσαν] 'whose province it is to watch over the transactions that take place, and also to see that order be kept.'

σχεδόν] This reluctant admission of the necessity of exchange, in the shape of sales and purchases, which are exchanges through the medium of money, is very curious.

ὑπογυιότατον] "the readiest means," Liddell and Scott, "das unmittelbar nächste," Stahr.

δι' ἣν δοκοῦσιν] 'And it is this, this satisfying of the primary wants of our nature, that is thought to have been the origin of the union in a state.' This translation throws the relative back for its antecedent not upon

The formation of the best kind of democracy.

βαίνει τὴν χώραν τὴν θέσιν ἔχειν τοιαύτην ὥστε τὴν χώραν πολὺ τῆς πόλεως ἀπηρτῆσθαι, ῥᾴδιον καὶ δημοκρατίαν ποιεῖσθαι χρηστὴν καὶ πολιτείαν· ἀναγκάζεται γὰρ τὸ πλῆθος ἐπὶ τῶν ἀγρῶν ποιεῖσθαι τὰς ἀποικίας, ὥστε δεῖ, κἂν ἀγοραῖος ὄχλος ᾖ, μὴ ποιεῖν ἐν ταῖς δημοκρατίαις ἐκκλησίας
15 ἄνευ τοῦ κατὰ τὴν χώραν πλήθους. Πῶς μὲν οὖν δεῖ κατα-

The other kinds.

σκευάζειν τὴν βελτίστην καὶ πρώτην δημοκρατίαν, εἴρηται· φανερὸν δὲ καὶ πῶς τὰς ἄλλας· ἑπομένως γὰρ δεῖ παρεκ-
1319 B βαίνειν καὶ τὸ χεῖρον ἀεὶ πλῆθος χωρίζειν. τὴν δὲ τελευταίαν, διὰ τὸ πάντας κοινωνεῖν, οὔτε πάσης ἐστὶ πόλεως φέρειν, οὔτε ῥᾴδιον διαμένειν μὴ τοῖς νόμοις καὶ τοῖς ἔθεσιν
16 εὖ συγκειμένην·[a] πρὸς δὲ τὸ καθιστάναι ταύτην τὴν δημοκρατίαν, καὶ τὸν δῆμον ποιεῖν ἰσχυρὸν εἰώθασιν οἱ προεστῶτες τῷ προσλαμβάνειν ὡς πλείστους καὶ ποιεῖν πολίτας μὴ μόνον τοὺς γνησίους ἀλλὰ καὶ τοὺς νόθους καὶ τοὺς ἐξ ὁποτερουοῦν πολίτου, λέγω δὲ οἷον πατρὸς ἢ μητρός· ἅπαν
17 γὰρ οἰκεῖον τοῦτο τῷ τοιούτῳ δήμῳ μᾶλλον. εἰώθασι μὲν

[a] ἃ δὲ φθείρειν συμβαίνει καὶ ταύτην καὶ τὰς ἄλλας πολιτείας, εἴρηται πρότερον τὰ πλεῖστα σχεδόν Bekker.

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advantage. In fact it was not so in Aristotle's eyes.

14 *τὴν χώραν πολύ, κ.τ.λ.*] 'The country which is cultivated is very distant from, far removed from the city.' *ἀπηρτῆσθαι* occurs in this sense in Demosthenes.

ποιεῖσθαι τὰς ἀποίκιας = ἀποικίζεσθαι] 'to make settlements in the country, as it were.' "Emigrer de la ville," St. Hil.

κἄν] 'even if there be large numbers of town population, not to allow it to meet without the numbers resident in the country.' The later Roman Republic furnishes illustrations of the distinction between the town and the country population, and its important bearing on several of the political decisions.

15 *ἑπομένως*] "Servato ordine." 'They must deviate from the first and best form in a regular, logical order,' 'with a due regard to logical consequence.' *παρεκβαίνειν* seems equivalent to *παρεκβάσεις γίνεσθαι*. Of course the subject changes in the case of *χωρίζειν*, which is strictly active.

τοῖς νόμοις καὶ τοῖς ἔθεσιν] 'In the laws and habits of the people.'

The concluding clause of this section must be thrown out of the text, as similar ones have been before. There is a greater temptation here than at the end of Ch. I. to adopt Spengel's remedy and change the past into the future tense, keeping the main part of the remark.

16 *καὶ τὸν δῆμον*] *καί* is 'both.'

τῷ προσλαμβάνειν] Compare Herod. v. 66, *προσεταιρίζεται τὸν δῆμον*.

ποιεῖν πολίτας] Compare on this subject III. II. 3, V. VII. 8.

ἅπαν γάρ, κ.τ.λ.] 'for none of such

The other kinds.

οὖν οἱ δημαγωγοὶ κατασκευάζειν οὕτως, δεῖ μέντοι προσλαμ-
βάνειν μέχρις ἂν ὑπερτείνῃ τὸ πλῆθος τῶν γνωρίμων καὶ
τῶν μέσων, καὶ τούτου μὴ πέρα προβαίνειν· ὑπερβάλλοντες
γὰρ ἀτακτοτέραν τε ποιοῦσι τὴν πολιτείαν, καὶ τοὺς γνω-
ρίμους πρὸς τὸ χαλεπῶς ὑπομένειν τὴν δημοκρατίαν παροξύ-
νουσι μᾶλλον, ὅπερ συνέβη τῆς στάσεως αἴτιον γενέσθαι
περὶ Κυρήνην· ὀλίγον μὲν γὰρ πονηρὸν παροραται, πολὺ δὲ
γινόμενον ἐν ὀφθαλμοῖς μᾶλλόν ἐστιν. ἔτι δὲ καὶ τὰ τοι- 18
αῦτα κατασκευάσματα χρήσιμα πρὸς τὴν δημοκρατίαν τὴν
τοιαύτην, οἷς Κλεισθένης τε Ἀθήνησιν ἐχρήσατο βουλό-
μενος αὐξῆσαι τὴν δημοκρατίαν, καὶ περὶ Κυρήνην οἱ τὸν
δῆμον καθιστάντες. φυλαί τε γὰρ ἕτεραι ποιητέαι πλείους 19
καὶ φρατρίαι, καὶ τὰ τῶν ἰδίων ἱερῶν συνακτέον εἰς ὀλίγα
καὶ κοινά, καὶ πάντα σοφιστέον ὅπως ἂν ὅτι μάλιστα ἀνα-
μιχθῶσι πάντες ἀλλήλοις, αἱ δὲ συνήθειαι διαζευχθῶσιν αἱ
πρότερον. ἔτι δὲ καὶ τὰ τυραννικὰ κατασκευάσματα δημο- 20
τικὰ δοκεῖ πάντα, λέγω δ' οἷον ἀναρχία τε δούλων (αὕτη δ'
ἂν εἴη μέχρι του συμφέρουσα) καὶ γυναικῶν καὶ παίδων, καὶ
τὸ ζῆν ὅπως τις βούλεται παρορᾶν. πολὺ γὰρ ἔσται τὸ
τῇ τοιαύτῃ πολιτείᾳ βοηθοῦν· ἥδιον γὰρ τοῖς πολλοῖς τὸ
ζῆν ἀτάκτως ἢ τὸ σωφρόνως.

Democratical institutions.

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classes are quite alien to a democracy of this kind.'

17 **δεῖ μέντοι, κ.τ.λ.**] 'The right thing, however, is to associate such elements with the existing citizens only up to the point at which the people become stronger than the upper and middle classes combined, and not to advance beyond this point.'

Κυρήνην] Herod. IV. 159, 162, &c.

πονηρόν] 'in the political sense,' the 'canaille.' 'For in small doses the mob element is overlooked, if admitted largely it forces itself more on the eye.'

18 **αὐξῆσαι**] So the Latin 'augere,' 'to increase the power of.'

19 **τὰ τῶν ἰδίων ἱερῶν**] Break up 'the family religious rites,' or 'the religious rites peculiar to certain families, such, for instance, as the rites peculiar to the gentes of the Potitii and Pinarii at Rome.' Or compare the case of Isagoras.

πάντα σοφιστέον] 'by every possible contrivance mingle all classes one with the other, and break up all the old associations.' It expresses admirably the policy of the great revolution effected at Athens by Cleisthenes, Grote, IV. 173–7. Such a change as that in France, in the early part of her revolution, when the provincial distinctions were abolished, and the departmental system introduced, is an instance of the same policy.

20 **παρορᾶν**] 'to connive at.' If Book VIII. (V.) really preceded this

5 Ἔστι δ' ἔργον τοῦ νομοθέτου καὶ τῶν βουλομένων συνιστάναι τινὰ τοιαύτην πολιτείαν οὐ τὸ καταστῆσαι μέγιστον ἔργον οὐδὲ μόνον, ἀλλ' ὅπως σώζηται μᾶλλον· μίαν γὰρ ἢ δύο ἢ τρεῖς ἡμέρας οὐ χαλεπὸν μεῖναι πολιτευομένους

Means of preserving democracy.

2 ὁπωσοῦν. διὸ δεῖ, περὶ ὧν θεωρήσομεν ὕστερον,* τίνες σωτηρίαι καὶ φθοραὶ τῶν πολιτειῶν, ἐκ τούτων πειρᾶσθαι κατασκευάζειν τὴν ἀσφάλειαν, εὐλαβουμένους μὲν τὰ φθείροντα, τιθεμένους δὲ τοιούτους νόμους καὶ τοὺς ἀγράφους καὶ τοὺς

1320 γεγραμμένους οἳ περιλήψονται μάλιστα τὰ σώζοντα τὰς πολιτείας, καὶ μὴ νομίζειν τοῦτ' εἶναι δημοτικὸν μηδ' ὀλιγαρχικὸν ὃ ποιήσει τὴν πόλιν ὅτι μάλιστα δημοκρατεῖσθαι

3 ἢ ὀλιγαρχεῖσθαι, ἀλλ' ὃ πλεῖστον χρόνον. οἱ δὲ νῦν δημαγωγοὶ χαριζόμενοι τοῖς δήμοις πολλὰ δημεύουσι διὰ τῶν δικαστηρίων. διὸ δεῖ πρὸς ταῦτα ἀντιπράττειν τοὺς κηδομένους τῆς πολιτείας, νομοθετοῦντας μηδὲν εἶναι δημόσιον τῶν καταδικαζομένων καὶ φερόντων πρὸς τὸ κοινόν, ἀλλ' ἱερόν· οἱ μὲν γὰρ ἀδικοῦντες οὐδὲν ἧττον εὐλαβεῖς ἔσονται (ζημιώσονται γὰρ ὁμοίως), ὁ δ' ὄχλος ἧττον καταψηφιεῖ-

4 ται τῶν κρινομένων, λήψεσθαι μηδὲν μέλλων. ἔτι δὲ τὰς

* τεθεώρηται πρότερον Bekker.

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one, a reference might have been expected here to his remarks on the policy of the tyrant.

V. 1 ἔργον] One of these two 'ἔργον' is superfluous, but the general writing of the book is not sufficiently careful to warrant us in rejecting either. Spengel (p. 39) would reject one.

2 περὶ ὧν, κ.τ.λ.] Another of the passages in favour of the usual order of arrangement. It is one which it is not possible to get rid of, and, therefore, with Nickes and Spengel, I here read θεωρήσομεν ὕστερον, assuming that a change took place to suit the order, which must be reversed when that order is reversed. It is remarked that there is no mention in any one of the suspicious places of μεταβολῶν.

καὶ τοὺς ἀγράφους καὶ τοὺς γεγραμμένους] I suspect this very strongly of being the addition of some one who wished to complete, as he thought, the passage. Can the language be properly used τίθεσθαι ἀγράφους νόμους? Still I leave the words.

οἳ περιλήψονται μάλιστα] 'which shall embrace as much as possible what tends to the safety of constitutions.'

μὴ νομίζειν] The caution is to the same effect as that in Ch. I. x.

3 τοῖς δήμοις] 'their respective peoples.'

τοὺς κηδομένους] 'The well-wishers to the constitution.'

φερόντων πρὸς τὸ κοινόν] This is far from easy. Is it best to construe it quite literally 'of the property of those who are condemned, and who concern

Means of preserving democracy.

γινομένας δημοσίας δίκας ὡς ὀλιγίστας δεῖ[a] ποιεῖν, μεγά-
λοις ἐπιτιμίοις τοὺς εἰκῇ γραφομένους κωλύοντας· οὐ γὰρ
τοὺς δημοτικοὺς ἀλλὰ τοὺς γνωρίμους εἰώθασιν εἰσάγειν, δεῖ
δὲ καὶ τῇ πολιτείᾳ πάντας μάλιστα μὲν εὔνους εἶναι τοὺς
πολίτας, εἰ δὲ μή, μὴ τοί γε ὡς πολεμίους νομίζειν τοὺς
κυρίους. ἐπεὶ δ' αἱ τελευταῖαι δημοκρατίαι πολυάνθρωποί 5
τέ εἰσι καὶ χαλεπὸν ἐκκλησιάζειν ἀμίσθους, τοῦτο δ' ὅπου
πρόσοδοι μὴ τυγχάνουσιν οὖσαι πολέμιον τοῖς γνωρίμοις
(ἀπό τε γὰρ εἰσφορᾶς καὶ δημεύσεως ἀναγκαῖον γίνεσθαι
καὶ δικαστηρίων φαύλων, ἃ πολλὰς ἤδη δημοκρατίας ἀνέτρε-
ψεν), ὅπου μὲν οὖν πρόσοδοι μὴ τυγχάνουσιν οὖσαι, δεῖ
ποιεῖν ὀλίγας ἐκκλησίας, καὶ δικαστήρια πολλῶν μὲν ὀλί-
γας δ' ἡμέρας. τοῦτο γὰρ φέρει μὲν καὶ πρὸς τὸ μὴ φο- 6
βεῖσθαι τοὺς πλουσίους τὰς δαπάνας, ἐὰν οἱ μὲν εὔποροι μὴ
λαμβάνωσι δικαστικόν, οἱ δ' ἄποροι, φέρει δὲ καὶ πρὸς
τὸ κρίνεσθαι τὰς δίκας πολὺ βέλτιον· οἱ γὰρ εὔποροι πολ-
λὰς μὲν ἡμέρας οὐκ ἐθέλουσιν ἀπὸ τῶν ἰδίων ἀπεῖναι, βραχὺν
δὲ χρόνον ἐθέλουσιν. ὅπου δ' εἰσὶ πρόσοδοι, μὴ ποιεῖν ὃ 7
νῦν οἱ δημαγωγοὶ ποιοῦσιν· τὰ γὰρ περιόντα νέμουσιν. Λαμ-

[a] ἀεὶ Bekker.

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the state?' The meaning, if so, would be, the property of those who are condemned for offences which are offences against the state, in whose case, therefore, it would be natural to bring their property by fine or confiscation into the public treasury. It should, says Aristotle, be looked on as sacred to the Gods.

4 ἀεί] Have we not here the opposite error in the text to that pointed out, VI. (IV.) XI. 21. There δεῖ had crept in for ἀεί; here ἀεὶ has been substituted for δεῖ. I venture to restore δεῖ.

εἰκῇ] 'temere,' 'without good or sufficient grounds,' *Rhet.* I. 1, 2, p. 1354, 6.

μὴ τοί γε, κ.τ.λ.] 'at any rate, not to look on the government as hostile to them;' τοὺς κυρίους is the object of νομίζειν.

5 τοῦτο] sc. τὸ μισθοφορεῖν, or τὸ διδόναι μισθόν. It does not seem to matter which of these two is adopted.

πολέμιον] 'is adverse to,' or more strongly 'involves hostility to the upper classes.'

εἰσφορᾶς] 'The property and income-tax.' It was a direct tax, in no sense a voluntary contribution to meet the wants of the state. Compare Smith, *Dict. Ant.*

6 φέρει πρός] 'tends to.'

7 τὰ περιόντα νέμουσιν] 'They divide the surplus.'

Means of preserving democracy.

βάνουσι δὲ ἅμα, καὶ πάλιν δέονται τῶν αὐτῶν· ὁ τετρημέ-
νος γάρ ἐστι πίθος ἡ τοιαύτη βοήθεια τοῖς ἀπόροις. ἀλλὰ
δεῖ τὸν ἀληθινῶς δημοτικὸν ὁρᾶν ὅπως τὸ πλῆθος μὴ λίαν
ἄπορον ᾖ· τοῦτο γὰρ αἴτιον τοῦ μοχθηρὰν εἶναι τὴν δημο-
8 κρατίαν. τεχναστέον οὖν ὅπως ἂν εὐπορία γένοιτο χρόνιος.
ἐπεὶ δὲ συμφέρει τοῦτο καὶ τοῖς εὐπόροις, τὰ μὲν ἀπὸ τῶν
προσόδων γινόμενα συναθροίζοντας ἀθρόα χρὴ διανέμειν
τοῖς ἀπόροις, μάλιστα μὲν εἴ τις δύναται τοσοῦτον ἀθροίζων
ὅσον εἰς γηδίου κτῆσιν, εἰ δὲ μή, πρὸς ἀφορμὴν ἐμπορίας
1320 B 9 καὶ γεωργίας. καὶ εἰ μὴ πᾶσι δυνατόν, ἀλλὰ κατὰ φυλὰς
ἤ τι μέρος ἕτερον ἐν μέρει διανέμειν· ἐν δὲ τούτῳ πρὸς τὰς
ἀναγκαίας συνόδους τοὺς εὐπόρους εἰσφέρειν τὸν μισθόν,
ἀφειμένους[a] τῶν ματαίων λειτουργιῶν. τοιοῦτον δέ τινα
τρόπον Καρχηδόνιοι πολιτευόμενοι φίλον κέκτηνται τὸν δῆ-
μον· ἀεὶ γάρ τινας ἐκπέμποντες τοῦ δήμου πρὸς τὰς περιοι-
10 κίδας ποιοῦσιν εὐπόρους. χαριέντων δ' ἐστὶ καὶ νοῦν ἐχόν-

[a] ἀφιεμένους Bekker.

ὁ τετρημένος πίθος] is like the sieve of the Danaidæ, see L. and S.

τὸν ἀληθινῶς δημοτικόν] 'The democratical statesman who is worthy of the name.'

8 τεχναστέον] 'Systematic measures must be adopted to secure a permanent prosperity, as this is no less for the interest of the rich,' &c. J. B. Say, *Catéchisme d'Economie Politique*, p. 295.

γηδίου κτῆσιν] 'The acquisition of a small plot of land,' the seven jugera, for instance, of the Roman plebeian.

ἐμπορίας] Some of the MSS. read εὐπορίας, and certainly ἐμπορίας is scarcely in accordance with his theory in favour of agriculture, and so alien to all trade. Either in itself is very good sense, but I rather lean to the reading εὐπορίας. On the other hand, Stahr and St. Hilaire both translate the reading Bekker retains.

9 κατὰ φυλάς, κ.τ.λ.] 'by tribes or some other division dealing it to them in turns.'

ἐν τούτῳ] 'meanwhile,' that is, till on this system you have gone through the whole of the poor, and all have been admitted to a share in the distribution.

τὸν μισθόν] 'The pay' required to enable the poor to attend these indispensable meetings.

ἀφειμένους] So I read with Schneider and Coray for Bekker's ἀφιεμένους. Compare III. v. 3.

πρὸς τὰς περιοικίδας] 'To the dependent towns in the neighbourhood.' The expression throws light on the parallel passage, ἐπὶ τὰς πόλεις, II. xi. 16.

10 χαριέντων] For the word in this sense, compare VI. (IV.) xiii. 9.

των γνωρίμων καὶ διαλαμβάνοντας τοὺς ἀπόρους, ἀφορμὰς [μὲν] διδόντας τρέπειν ἐπ' ἐργασίας. καλῶς δ' ἔχει μιμεῖσθαι καὶ τὰ Ταραντίνων· ἐκεῖνοι γὰρ κοινὰ ποιοῦντες τὰ κτήματα τοῖς ἀπόροις ἐπὶ τὴν χρῆσιν εὔνουν παρασκευάζουσι τὸ πλῆθος. ἔτι δὲ τὰς ἀρχὰς πάσας ἐποίησαν διττάς, 11 τὰς μὲν αἱρετὰς τὰς δὲ κληρωτάς, τὰς μὲν κληρωτὰς ὅπως ὁ δῆμος αὐτῶν μετέχῃ, τὰς δ' αἱρετὰς ἵνα πολιτεύωνται βέλτιον. ἔστι δὲ τοῦτο ποιῆσαι καὶ τῆς ἀρχῆς αὐτῆς μερίζοντας, τοὺς μὲν κληρωτοὺς τοὺς δ' αἱρετούς. Πῶς μὲν οὖν δεῖ τὰς δημοκρατίας κατασκευάζειν, εἴρηται.

Means of preserving democracy.

Σχεδὸν δὲ καὶ περὶ τὰς ὀλιγαρχίας πῶς δεῖ, φανερὸν 6 ἐκ τούτων. ἐκ τῶν ἐναντίων γὰρ δεῖ συνάγειν ἑκάστην ὀλιγαρχίαν πρὸς τὴν ἐναντίαν δημοκρατίαν ἀναλογιζόμενον, τὴν μὲν εὔκρατον μάλιστα τῶν ὀλιγαρχιῶν καὶ πρώτην— αὕτη δ' ἐστὶν ἡ σύνεγγυς τῇ καλουμένῃ πολιτείᾳ, ᾗ δεῖ τὰ 2 τιμήματα διαιρεῖν, τὰ μὲν ἐλάττω τὰ δὲ μείζω ποιοῦντας, ἐλάττω μὲν ἀφ' ὧν τῶν ἀναγκαίων μεθέξουσιν ἀρχῶν, μείζω δ' ἀφ' ὧν τῶν κυριωτέρων· τῷ τε κτωμένῳ τὸ τίμημα μετέχειν ἐξεῖναι τῆς πολιτείας, τοσοῦτον εἰσαγομένου τοῦ δήμου πλῆθος διὰ τοῦ τιμήματος, μεθ' οὗ κρείττονες ἔσον-

Oligarchies. Their formation and preservation.

καί] 'also.' The same conjunction seems required before ἀφορμὰς διδόντας.

διαλαμβάνοντας] 'taking them amongst them as individuals.' It is opposed to συναθροίζοντας ἀθρόα χρὴ διανέμειν, ib. § 8. Compare II. x. 14, and note.

Ταραντίνων] *Grote* v. 320. Müller, *Dorians* II. 9, 185. I cannot see that on either point Müller's statements are justified, that either τὰ κτήματα means public property, or that διττάς involves the doubling of the magistracies.

κοινὰ ἐπὶ τὴν χρῆσιν] 'Common for their use.' I consider the meaning to be that expressed II. v. 6—8, and again IV. (VII.) x. 9. The policy is that said to have been adopted by Cimon.

11 διττάς] 'twofold,' 'constructed on two principles.'

ἔστι δέ, κ.τ.λ.] 'the result may be secured by a division in each office itself,' see VIII. (V.) v. 1, for μερίζοντας.

VI. 1 ἐκ τῶν ἐναντίων γάρ, κ.τ.λ.] 'For you must draw your conclusions from the contrary premises, and consider each oligarchy with reference to the particular democracy to which it is opposed.'

2 ᾗ] 'and in this.'

διαιρεῖν τὰ τιμήματα here is simply 'to distinguish,' 'make two classes of valuations.' Compare Ch. III. 1., where διελεῖν τὰ τιμήματα is used apparently in quite a different sense.

τοσοῦτον εἰσαγομένου τοῦ δήμου, κ.τ.λ.] 'The people being introduced,

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ται τῶν μὴ μετεχόντων. ἀεὶ δὲ δεῖ παραλαμβάνειν ἐκ τοῦ βελτίονος δήμου τοὺς κοινωνούς. ὁμοίως δὲ καὶ τὴν ἐχομένην ὀλιγαρχίαν ἐπιτείνοντας δεῖ μικρὸν κατασκευάζειν. τῇ δ' ἀντικειμένῃ τῇ τελευταίᾳ δημοκρατίᾳ, τῇ δυναστικωτάτῃ
3 καὶ τυραννικωτάτῃ τῶν ὀλιγαρχιῶν, ὅσῳ περ χειρίστη, το-
4 σούτῳ δεῖ πλείονος φυλακῆς. ὥσπερ γὰρ τὰ μὲν σώματα εὖ διακείμενα πρὸς ὑγίειαν καὶ πλοῖα τὰ πρὸς ναυτιλίαν καλῶς ἔχοντα τοῖς πλωτῆρσιν ἐπιδέχεται πλείους ἁμαρτίας ὥστε μὴ φθείρεσθαι δι' αὐτάς, τὰ δὲ νοσερῶς ἔχοντα τῶν σωμάτων καὶ τὰ τῶν πλοίων ἐκλελυμένα καὶ πλωτήρων τετυχηκότα φαύλων οὐδὲ τὰς μικρὰς δύναται φέρειν ἁμαρτίας, οὕτω καὶ τῶν πολιτειῶν αἱ χείρισται πλείστης δέονται
1321 5 φυλακῆς. τὰς μὲν οὖν δημοκρατίας ὅλως ἡ πολυανθρωπία σώζει· τοῦτο γὰρ ἀντίκειται πρὸς τὸ δίκαιον τὸ κατὰ τὴν ἀξίαν· τὴν δ' ὀλιγαρχίαν δῆλον ὅτι τοὐναντίον, ὑπὸ τῆς εὐταξίας, δεῖ τυγχάνειν τῆς σωτηρίας.

The four kinds of military force.

7 Ἐπεὶ δὲ τέτταρα μέν ἐστι μέρη μάλιστα τοῦ πλήθους, γεωργικὸν βάναυσον ἀγοραῖον θητικόν, τέτταρα δὲ τὰ χρήσιμα πρὸς πόλεμον, ἱππικὸν ὁπλιτικὸν ψιλὸν ναυτικόν, ὅπου μὲν συμβέβηκε τὴν χώραν εἶναι ἱππάσιμον, ἐνταῦθα μὲν εὐφυῶς ἔχει κατασκευάζειν τὴν ὀλιγαρχίαν ἰσχυράν (ἡ

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by means of the standard of qualification required, only in such number as that, with the number introduced, the whole body of active citizens may be stronger than the body of those excluded from the government.'

3 ἐπιτείνοντας μικρόν] 'slightly tightening it.'

4 καλῶς ἔχοντα τοῖς πλωτῆρσιν] This is the construction Victorius adopts, "bene instructæ nautis," 'well-manned.' It might be ἐπιδέχεται τοῖς πλωτῆρσιν, 'admit in their crew,' 'allow their crew.' The first translation has in its favour the subsequent expression, πλωτήρων τετυχηκότα φαύλων.

φυλακῆς πλείστης] 'greatest precautions.'

5 ἀντικεῖται] 'meets and controls,' 'balances.' The large numbers constitute a claim to power which is seen to be in some degree a valid one, and tends to quiet the oligarchical objections.

εὐταξίας] 'Right conduct in the oligarchs.' Stahr is right, I think, in affixing this definite sense to the word.

VII. 1 χώραν ἱππάσιμον] 'fit for the action of cavalry,' compare Herod. v. 63. ἱππάσιμον ποιήσαντες τὸν χῶρον.

εὐφυῶς ἔχει] 'it is naturally easy.'

The four kinds of military force.

γὰρ σωτηρία τοῖς οἰκοῦσι διὰ ταύτης ἐστὶ τῆς δυνάμεως, αἱ δ' ἱπποτροφίαι τῶν μακρὰς οὐσίας κεκτημένων εἰσίν), ὅπου δ' ὁπλίτην, τὴν ἐχομένην ὀλιγαρχίαν· τὸ γὰρ ὁπλιτικὸν τῶν εὐπόρων ἐστὶ μᾶλλον ἢ τῶν ἀπόρων. ἡ δὲ ψιλὴ 2
δύναμις καὶ ναυτικὴ δημοκρατικὴ πάμπαν. Νῦν μὲν οὖν ὅπου τοιοῦτον πολὺ πλῆθός ἐστιν, ὅταν διαστῶσι, πολλάκις ἀγωνίζονται χεῖρον· δεῖ δὲ πρὸς τοῦτο φάρμακον παρὰ τῶν πολεμικῶν λαμβάνειν στρατηγῶν, οἳ συνδυάζουσι πρὸς τὴν ἱππικὴν δύναμιν καὶ τὴν ὁπλιτικὴν τὴν ἁρμόττουσαν τῶν ψιλῶν. ταύτῃ δ' ἐπικρατοῦσιν ἐν ταῖς διαστάσεσιν 3
οἱ δῆμοι τῶν εὐπόρων· ψιλοὶ γὰρ ὄντες πρὸς ἱππικὴν καὶ ὁπλιτικὴν ἀγωνίζονται ῥᾳδίως. τὸ μὲν οὖν ἐκ τούτων καθιστάναι ταύτην τὴν δύναμιν ἐφ' ἑαυτούς ἐστι καθιστάναι, δεῖ δὲ διῃρημένης τῆς ἡλικίας, καὶ τῶν μὲν ὄντων πρεσβυτέρων τῶν δὲ νέων, ἔτι μὲν ὄντας νέους τοὺς αὑτῶν υἱεῖς διδάσκεσθαι τὰς κούφας καὶ τὰς ψιλὰς ἐργασίας, ἐκκεκριμένους δὲ ἐκ παίδων ἀθλητὰς εἶναι αὐτοὺς τῶν ἔργων. Τὴν 4
δὲ μετάδοσιν γίνεσθαι τῷ πλήθει τοῦ πολιτεύματος ἤτοι

τοῖς οἰκοῦσι] sc. *χώραν ταύτην*.

αἱ ἱπποτροφίαι] Compare VI. (IV.) III. 2, 3.

ὁπλίτην] I should make this an adjective in sense quite as much as *ἱππάσιμον*, 'fit for regular infantry.' Compare the adjectival use of the word *Ἕλλην*. L. and S.

2 *τοιοῦτον*] sc. *ψιλὸν καὶ ναυτικόν*.

ὅταν διαστῶσι, κ.τ.λ.] 'When the two parties quarrel and range themselves one against the other, it not unfrequently happens that the oligarchs get the worst in the struggle.' The cavalry and heavy armed are not found a match for the lighter forces. In the street fighting of antiquity, the advantage lay with the less disciplined but more available forces. The experience of the last few years since 1848 has shown that this is no longer so; the artillery makes the struggle of the people with the soldiery a hopeless one, granting, of course, any proportion between the two forces. The reduction of an insurgent population is as mere a question of calculation as that of an ordinary fortress.

3 *τούτων*] sc. *τῶν δήμων*.

διῃρημένης] 'resting on the distinction of age that exists.'

ἔτι μέν, κ.τ.λ.] 'whilst their sons are yet young, to have them taught.'

ἐκκεκριμένους δὲ ἐκ παίδων] "Sobald sie aus dem Knabenalter getreten sind," Stahr. The *δέ* answering to the *μὲν* in *ἔτι μὲν νέους ὄντας* seems to determine that these words apply to the sons. But allowing this, it is not easy to fix their meaning.

4 *τὴν μετάδοσιν*] The previous remarks have been directed to the means of securing in case of quarrels the power to the oligarchy. The re-

Precautions tending to the safety of oligarchies.

καθάπερ εἴρηται πρότερον, τοῖς τὸ τίμημα κτωμένοις, ἢ
καθάπερ Θηβαίοις, ἀποσχομένοις χρόνον τινὰ τῶν βαναύ-
σων ἔργων, ἢ καθάπερ ἐν Μασσαλίᾳ, κρίσιν ποιουμένους
5 τῶν ἀξίων τῶν ἐν τῷ πολιτεύματι καὶ τῶν ἔξωθεν. ἔτι δὲ
καὶ ταῖς ἀρχαῖς ταῖς κυριωτάταις, ἃς δεῖ τοὺς ἐν τῇ πολιτείᾳ
κατέχειν, δεῖ προσκεῖσθαι λειτουργίας, ἵν' ἑκὼν ὁ δῆμος μὴ
μετέχῃ καὶ συγγνώμην ἔχῃ τοῖς ἄρχουσιν ὡς μισθὸν πολὺν
6 διδοῦσι τῆς ἀρχῆς. ἁρμόττει δὲ θυσίας τε εἰσιόντας ποι-
εῖσθαι μεγαλοπρεπεῖς καὶ κατασκευάζειν τι τῶν κοινῶν, ἵνα
τῶν περὶ τὰς ἑστιάσεις μετέχων ὁ δῆμος καὶ τὴν πόλιν
ὁρῶν κοσμουμένην τὰ μὲν ἀναθήμασι τὰ δὲ οἰκοδομήμασιν
ἄσμενος ὁρᾷ μένουσαν τὴν πολιτείαν· συμβήσεται δὲ καὶ
7 τοῖς γνωρίμοις εἶναι μνημεῖα τῆς δαπάνης. ἀλλὰ τοῦτο
νῦν οἱ περὶ τὰς ὀλιγαρχίας οὐ ποιοῦσιν, ἀλλὰ τοὐναντίον·
τὰ λήμματα γὰρ ζητοῦσιν οὐχ ἧττον ἢ τὴν τιμήν, διόπερ

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mainder of the chapter touches on the question of preserving the oligarchical constitution by milder means, without coming to any open rupture. The first of these is the admission of fresh members into the government. This may be done in three ways: either the acquisition of a certain property may secure it, or the abstinence during a given period from all disqualifying occupations; or, thirdly, it may be done by a selection made by the governing body from the rest.

πρότερον] Ch. VI. ii.

Θηβαίοις] III. v. 7. *δέκα ἐτῶν* is the *χρόνον τινά*.

Μασσαλίᾳ] Grote iii. 532.

ἐν τῷ πολιτεύματι] must here mean not the 'government,' but those 'within the pale of citizenship,' the *πολῖται* hitherto excluded from the government. *τῶν ἔξωθεν* would mean probably any body of resident foreigners. Or in the absence of any details, can the words *ἐν τῷ πολιτεύματι* keep their natural meaning, and the *κρίσιν ποιουμένους* imply a revision of the whole body, such as that of the Roman censors, admitting new members on the ground of their worthiness, excluding others hitherto members for the reverse?

5 *ἃς δεῖ τοὺς ἐν τῇ πολιτείᾳ κατέχειν*] 'Which members of the governing body must hold.' This seems the meaning of *πολιτείᾳ* here, the body of really active citizens, the governing body in the largest sense, as distinct from the executive magistrates.

κατέχειν] 'obtinere,' 'hold,' perhaps even more, 'hold firmly.'

λειτουργίας] The munera ædilitia at Rome are an instance of this.

6 *κατασκευάζειν τι τῶν κοινῶν*] "construire quelques monuments publics." St. Hil. *κατασκευάζειν* has the sense of some permanent construction, not sacrifices or games, but temples or aqueducts, for instance.

7 *τὰ λήμματα, κ.τ.λ.*] On this compare his language, *οὐ γὰρ ἔστιν ἅμα χρηματίζεσθαι ἐκ τῶν κοινῶν καὶ τιμᾶσθαι*, *Eth.* viii. xvi. 3. p. 1163, b. 8.

εὖ ἔχει λέγειν ταύτας εἶναι δημοκρατίας μικράς. Πῶς μὲν 1321 B οὖν χρὴ καθιστάναι τὰς δημοκρατίας καὶ τὰς ὀλιγαρχίας, διωρίσθω τὸν τρόπον τοῦτον.

8 Ἀκόλουθον δὲ τοῖς εἰρημένοις ἐστὶ τὸ διῃρῆσθαι καλῶς τὰ περὶ τὰς ἀρχάς, πόσαι καὶ τίνες καὶ τίνων, καθάπερ εἴρηται καὶ πρότερον· τῶν μὲν γὰρ ἀναγκαίων ἀρχῶν χωρὶς ἀδύνατον εἶναι πόλιν, τῶν δὲ πρὸς εὐταξίαν καὶ κόσμον ἀδύνατον οἰκεῖσθαι καλῶς. ἔτι δ' ἀναγκαῖον ἐν μὲν ταῖς 2 μικραῖς ἐλάττους εἶναι τὰς ἀρχάς, ἐν δὲ ταῖς μεγάλαις πλείους, ὥσπερ τυγχάνει πρότερον εἰρημένον· ποίας οὖν ἁρμόττει συνάγειν καὶ ποίας χωρίζειν, δεῖ μὴ λανθάνειν. Πρῶτον μὲν οὖν ἐπιμέλεια τῶν ἀναγκαίων ἡ περὶ τὴν ἀγο- 3 ράν, ἐφ' ᾗ δεῖ τινὰ ἀρχὴν εἶναι τὴν ἐφορῶσαν περί τε τὰ συμβόλαια καὶ τὴν εὐκοσμίαν· σχεδὸν γὰρ ἀναγκαῖον πάσαις ταῖς πόλεσι τὰ μὲν ὠνεῖσθαι τὰ δὲ πωλεῖν πρὸς τὴν ἀλλήλων ἀναγκαίαν χρείαν, καὶ τοῦτ' ἐστὶν ὑπογυιότατον πρὸς αὐτάρκειαν, δι' ἣν δοκοῦσιν εἰς μίαν πολιτείαν συνελ-

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δημοκρατίας μικράς] 'close democracies.' They combine all the faults of both.

At the end of this chapter, some editors think that in the existing work there is a gap. Nickes quotes Conring, Schneider, Schlosser, Coray. There is no need of supposing anything lost at this particular place. Others, with more reason, think that there is a gap at the end of the next chapter, that the book, in fact, has been curtailed. Spengel quoted by Nickes 125, note 1. In pp. 126, 127, Nickes seems uncertain as to a larger loss.

VIII. 1 ἀκόλουθον δέ] Compare I. 1. ἅμα δὲ περὶ ἐκείνων εἴ τι λοιπόν, with which this passage connects.

τίνων] On what does this depend? It is simplest, looking at VI. (IV.) xv. 1, to supply κύριαι. πόσαι τε ἀρχαί, καὶ κύριαι τίνων.

2 συνάγειν] 'to combine.'

χωρίζειν] 'to keep distinct.'

3 πρῶτον] πρώτη, as Coray suggests, would, I think, be an improvement.

τὴν ἐφορῶσαν] 'whose province it is to watch over the transactions that take place, and also to see that order be kept.'

σχεδόν] This reluctant admission of the necessity of exchange, in the shape of sales and purchases, which are exchanges through the medium of money, is very curious.

ὑπογυιότατον] "the readiest means," Liddell and Scott, "das unmittelbar nächste," Stahr.

δι' ἣν δοκοῦσιν] 'And it is this, this satisfying of the primary wants of our nature, that is thought to have been the origin of the union in a state.' This translation throws the relative back for its antecedent not upon

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θεῖν. ἑτέρα δὲ ἐπιμέλεια ταύτης ἐχομένη καὶ σύνεγγυς ἡ τῶν περὶ τὸ ἄστυ δημοσίων καὶ ἰδίων, ὅπως εὐκοσμία ᾖ, καὶ
4 τῶν πιπτόντων οἰκοδομημάτων καὶ ὁδῶν σωτηρία καὶ διόρθωσις, καὶ τῶν ὁρίων τῶν πρὸς ἀλλήλους, ὅπως ἀνεγκλήτως ἔχωσιν, καὶ ὅσα τούτοις ἄλλα τῆς ἐπιμελείας ὁμοιότροπα.
5 καλοῦσι δ' ἀστυνομίαν οἱ πλεῖστοι τὴν τοιαύτην ἀρχήν, ἔχει δὲ μόρια πλείω τὸν ἀριθμόν, ὧν ἑτέρους ἐφ' ἕτερα καθιστᾶσιν ἐν ταῖς πολυανθρωποτέραις πόλεσιν, οἷον τειχοποιοὺς καὶ κρηνῶν ἐπιμελητὰς καὶ λιμένων φύλακας.
6 Ἄλλη δ' ἀναγκαία τε καὶ παραπλησία ταύτῃ περὶ τῶν αὐτῶν μὲν γάρ, ἀλλὰ περὶ τὴν χώραν ἐστὶ καὶ τὰ περὶ τὰ ἔξω τοῦ ἄστεος· καλοῦσι δὲ τοὺς ἄρχοντας τούτους οἱ μὲν ἀγρονόμους οἱ δ' ὑλωρούς. Αὗται μὲν οὖν ἐπιμέλειαί εἰσι τούτων τρεῖς, ἄλλη δ' ἀρχὴ πρὸς ἣν αἱ πρόσοδοι τῶν κοινῶν ἀναφέρονται, παρ' ὧν φυλαττόντων μερίζονται πρὸς ἑκάστην διοίκησιν· καλοῦσι δ' ἀποδέκτας τούτους καὶ ταμίας.
7 Ἑτέρα δ' ἀρχὴ πρὸς ἣν ἀναγράφεσθαι δεῖ τά τε ἴδια συμβόλαια καὶ τὰς κρίσεις ἐκ τῶν δικαστηρίων· παρὰ δὲ τοῖς αὐτοῖς τούτοις καὶ τὰς γραφὰς τῶν δικῶν γίνεσθαι δεῖ καὶ τὰς εἰσαγωγάς. ἐνιαχοῦ μὲν οὖν μερίζουσι καὶ ταύτην εἰς πλείους, ἔστι δὲ μία κυρία τούτων πάντων· καλοῦνται δὲ

αὐτάρκεια, which *is* the object of the social union, but on the more distant *χρεία*, which, *δοκεῖ*, '*is thought to be so by some*.'

4 *δημοσίων καὶ ἰδίων*] need not be limited as Stahr's translation, "Gebäude," limits it, but generally 'public and private property.'

ὅπως ἀνεγκλήτως ἔχωσιν] 'That there may be no opening for mutual complaints.'

τούτοις] depends on *ὁμοιότροπα*.

5 *ὧν ἑτέρους, κ.τ.λ.*] For the amount of business renders desirable, and the number of citizens admits of, the application of the principle of division of labour.

6 *ἀγρονόμους*] The agrimensores of Rome.

ὑλωρούς] commissioners of woods and forests.

παρ' ὧν φυλαττόντων] 'Who keep them, and from whose hands the distribution is made for the wants of each department.'

διοίκησιν] 'department,' 'branch of administration.'

7 *ἀναγράφεσθαι*] 'registered.'

τὰς κρίσεις τὰς ἐκ τῶν δικαστηρίων] 'The decisions of the courts of justice.'

τὰς εἰσαγωγάς] "opening of the pleadings," L. and S.

ἱερομνήμονες καὶ ἐπιστάται καὶ μνήμονες καὶ τούτοις ἄλλα Magistracies.
ὀνόματα σύνεγγυς. Μετὰ δὲ ταύτην ἐχομένη μὲν ἀναγ-
καιοτάτη δὲ σχεδὸν καὶ χαλεπωτάτη τῶν ἀρχῶν ἐστιν ἡ 8
περὶ τὰς πράξεις τῶν καταδικασθέντων καὶ τῶν προτιθε-
μένων κατὰ τὰς ἐγγραφὰς καὶ περὶ τὰς φυλακὰς τῶν σω- 1322
μάτων. χαλεπὴ μὲν οὖν ἐστι διὰ τὸ πολλὴν ἔχειν ἀπέ- 9
χθειαν, ὥστε ὅπου μὴ μεγάλα ἔστι κερδαίνειν, οὔτ' ἄρχειν
ὑπομένουσιν αὐτὴν οὔθ' ὑπομείναντες ἐθέλουσι πράττειν
κατὰ τοὺς νόμους· ἀναγκαία δ' ἐστίν, ὅτι οὐδὲν ὄφελος
γίνεσθαι μὲν δίκας περὶ τῶν δικαίων, ταύτας δὲ μὴ λαμβά-
νειν τέλος, ὥστ' εἰ, μὴ γιγνομένων, κοινωνεῖν ἀδύνατον ἀλλή-
λοις, καὶ πράξεων μὴ γιγνομένων. διὸ βέλτιον μὴ μίαν 10
εἶναι ταύτην τὴν ἀρχήν, ἀλλ' ἄλλους ἐξ ἄλλων δικαστηρίων.
καὶ περὶ τὰς προθέσεις τῶν ἀναγεγραμμένων ὡσαύτως πει-
ρᾶσθαι διαιρεῖν. ἔτι δ' ἔνια πράττεσθαι καὶ τὰς ἀρχὰς

ἱερομνήμονες] This use of the word is not its usual one. The name is most familiar as applied to the deputies to the Amphictyonic council. Nor does it here mean magistrates such as those mentioned by Smith, *Dict. Ant.* "Recorders," "notaries." Such seems the meaning here, as also of μνήμονες, L. and S.

ἐπιστάται] Of the two common senses again of this word, neither suits this passage, comp. Smith, *Dict. Ant.* Its sense must be analogous to that assigned in the last note to μνήμονες.

8 τῶν προτιθεμένων κατὰ τὰς ἐγγραφάς] "mit eintreibung der verhängten Strafgelder," says Stahr, "with the collection of the fines imposed." But this is not a close rendering of the words. I take προτιθεμένων as passive and masculine, 'proscriptorum' in its primary sense, and with Stahr I make it depend on πράξεις. 'With the levying of the penalties from those whose names are "posted up in accordance with the registers" of the condemnations.' So I render the passage.

9 ἔχειν ἀπέχθειαν] 'involves much odium,' or 'has great odium attached to it.'

λαμβάνειν τέλος] 'be executed, put in force;' similar expressions are λαμβάνειν ὕψος, τιμήν.

10 Διό] Because of the unpopularity that attaches to the office.

τὰς προθέσεις τῶν ἀναγεγραμμένων] πρόθεσις is 'the proscription,' 'the posting up' of those registered or recorded. So in substance the expression is equivalent to the one noticed, § 8, τῶν προτιθεμένων κατὰ τὰς ἐγγραφάς. And so Stahr takes it.

ἔτι δ' ἔνια] The Greek of this passage is very hard. What is the meaning of the καί before τὰς ἀρχάς? Again, what is the sense of τῶν νέων, τὰς νέας, τῶν ἐνεστώτων? I do not see that Stahr translates the καί, and the sense he attaches to the νέων, νέας, "fresh cases, fresh magistracies," is, I should think, open to question. At the same time, I do not see what better solution

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τάς τε ἄλλας καὶ τὰς τῶν νέων, μᾶλλον τὰς νέας, καὶ τὰς τῶν ἐνεστώτων ἑτέρας καταδικασάσης ἑτέραν εἶναι τὴν πραττομένην, οἷον ἀστυνόμους τὰς παρὰ τῶν ἀγορανόμων, τὰς
11 δὲ παρὰ τούτων ἑτέρους. ὅσῳ γὰρ ἂν ἐλάττων ἀπέχθεια ἐνῇ τοῖς πραττομένοις, τοσούτῳ μᾶλλον λήψονται τέλος αἱ πράξεις· τὸ μὲν οὖν τοὺς αὐτοὺς εἶναι τοὺς καταδικάσαντας καὶ πραττομένους ἀπέχθειαν ἔχει διπλῆν, τὸ δὲ περὶ πάντων τοὺς αὐτοὺς πολεμίους πᾶσιν. πολλαχοῦ δὲ διῄρηται καὶ ἡ φυλάττουσα πρὸς τὴν πραττομένην, οἷον Ἀθήνησι
12 [ἡ][a] τῶν ἕνδεκα καλουμένων. διὸ βέλτιον καὶ ταύτην χωρίζειν, καί τι[b] σόφισμα ζητεῖν καὶ περὶ ταύτην. ἀναγκαία μὲν γάρ ἐστιν οὐχ ἧττον τῆς εἰρημένης, συμβαίνει δὲ τοὺς μὲν ἐπιεικεῖς φεύγειν μάλιστα ταύτην τὴν ἀρχήν, τοὺς δὲ μοχθηροὺς οὐκ ἀσφαλὲς ποιεῖν κυρίους· αὐτοὶ γὰρ δέονται
13 φυλακῆς μᾶλλον ἢ φυλάττειν ἄλλους δύνανται. διὸ δεῖ μὴ μίαν ἀποτεταγμένην ἀρχὴν εἶναι πρὸς αὐτοῖς, μηδὲ συνεχῶς τὴν αὐτήν, ἀλλὰ τῶν τε νέων, ὅπου τις ἐφήβων ἢ φρουρῶν

[a] Bekker's text has not this ἡ. [b] τό Bekker.

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to offer. No satisfactory rendering presents itself.

τῶν ἐνεστώτων] 'the actually existing cases;' "herkömmlichen," Stahr.

τὰς παρὰ τῶν ἀγορανόμων] 'Those which come from.'

11 ἐνῇ τοῖς πραττομένοις] 'attaches to those who execute the sentences.'

πολεμίους πᾶσιν] 'Makes them enemies to all,' places them, that is, in a hostile relation to all. There is no regular construction of the accusative. Some verb must be supplied from ἔχει, 'involves their being.'

τῶν ἕνδεκα καλουμένων] Coray reads ἡ before this genitive, and Stahr also inserts the article, though in brackets. It is required by the sense, and I have followed Stahr in inserting it. On the functions of 'the Eleven,' compare Hermann, *Pol. Ant.* § 139. This passage seems to limit their functions.

ταύτην] sc. τὴν φυλάττουσαν.

12 τι σόφισμα] The definite article, which is the general reading, I can make nothing of. I have by a slight change introduced the indefinite pronoun. Compare for the language in justification of the change, II. v. 29. ἐὰν μή τι σοφίζωνται. What is *the* device, τὸ σόφισμα, which is alluded to, if the article is kept? "Des moyens adroits," St. Hil., and "Das passende auskunftsmittel," Stahr.

13 πρὸς αὐτοῖς] 'for these objects,' "für diese Geschäfte," Stahr; but the expression is irregular altogether. Can it be 'Therefore there must not be one definite magistracy set apart in addition to them (τοῖς μοχθηροῖς), sc. the bad whom alone you can expect to find ready to act as jailers, &c.'

ἀλλὰ τῶν τε νέων] 'But,' he goes on

ἐστὶ τάξις, καὶ τῶν ἀρχῶν δεῖ κατὰ μέρη ποιεῖσθαι τὴν ἐπι- Magistracies.
μέλειαν ἑτέρους. Ταύτας μὲν οὖν τὰς ἀρχὰς ὡς ἀναγκαιο-
τάτας θετέον εἶναι πρώτας, μετὰ δὲ ταύτας τὰς ἀναγκαίας
μὲν οὐθὲν ἧττον, ἐν σχήματι δὲ μείζονι τεταγμένας· καὶ γὰρ
ἐμπειρίας καὶ πίστεως δέονται πολλῆς. τοιαῦται δ' εἰσὶ[a] 14
αἵ τε περὶ τὴν φυλακὴν τῆς πόλεως, καὶ ὅσαι τάττονται
πρὸς τὰς πολεμικὰς χρείας. δεῖ δὲ καὶ ἐν εἰρήνῃ καὶ ἐν
πολέμῳ πυλῶν τε καὶ τειχῶν φυλακῆς ὁμοίως ἐπιμελητὰς
εἶναι, καὶ ἐξετάσεως καὶ συντάξεως τῶν πολιτῶν. ἔνθα μὲν
οὖν ἐπὶ πᾶσι τούτοις ἀρχαὶ πλείους εἰσίν, ἔνθα δ' ἐλάττους,
οἷον ἐν ταῖς μικραῖς πόλεσι μία περὶ πάντων. καλοῦσι δὲ 15
στρατηγοὺς καὶ πολεμάρχους τοὺς τοιούτους. ἔτι δὲ κἂν 1322 B
ὦσιν ἱππεῖς ἢ ψιλοὶ ἢ τοξόται ἢ ναυτικόν, καὶ ἐπὶ τούτων
ἑκάστων ἐνίοτε καθίστανται ἀρχαί, αἳ καλοῦνται ναυαρχίαι
καὶ ἱππαρχίαι καὶ ταξιαρχίαι, καὶ κατὰ μέρος δὲ αἱ ὑπὸ
ταύτας τριηραρχίαι καὶ λοχαγίαι καὶ φυλαρχίαι καὶ ὅσα
τούτων μόρια· τὸ δὲ πᾶν ἕν τι τούτων ἐστὶν εἶδος ἐπιμελείας
πολεμικῶν. περὶ μὲν οὖν ταύτην τὴν ἀρχὴν ἔχει τὸν τρό- 16
πον τοῦτον. Ἐπεὶ δὲ ἔνιαι τῶν ἀρχῶν, εἰ καὶ μὴ πᾶσαι,
διαχειρίζουσι πολλὰ τῶν κοινῶν, ἀναγκαῖον ἑτέραν εἶναι τὴν

[a] εἶεν Bekker.

to say, 'both of the young there must be some, and the regular magistrates must take in turns this duty.'

πρώτας] 'in order of time.'

ἐν σχήματι μείζονι τεταγμένας] 'Speciosi magis ministerii,' 'holding a higher position,' 'of more importance in the scale.'

14 εἰσί] εἶεν [ἂν] is Stahr's reading. I do not see why εἰσί should not at once be substituted for εἶεν, which cannot be construed.

ὁμοίως is to be taken with ἐν εἰρήνῃ καὶ ἐν πολέμῳ.

ἐξετάσεως] 'reviewing.'

συντάξεως] 'disciplining.'

15 κατὰ μέρος] 'in detail.' VI. (IV.) I. I. κατὰ μόριον.

ὑπὸ ταύτας] *Eth.* I. i. 4, p. 1094. 10, ὅσαι δ' εἰσὶν ὑπὸ μίαν τινὰ δύναμιν, κ.τ.λ.

φυλαρχίαι] Compare Smith, *Dict. Ant.*, art. Phylarchi.

ἕν τι τούτων ἐστὶν εἶδος] Again compare VI. (IV.) I. I, περὶ γένος ἕν τι τελείαις οὔσαις.

16 διαχειρίζουσι] 'have pass through their hands.'

προσευθυνοῦσαν] 'and besides bring to an account,' L. and S. Compare Smith, *Dict. Ant.*, art. Euthyne, p. 479.

διαχειρίζουσαν] I should give this verb here a slightly different sense from the one above, and its more usual sense of 'managing.'

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ληψομένην λογισμὸν καὶ προσευθυνοῦσαν, αὐτὴν μηθὲν διαχειρίζουσαν ἕτερον· καλοῦσι δὲ τούτους οἱ μὲν εὐθύνους, οἱ
17 δὲ λογιστάς, οἱ δὲ ἐξεταστάς, οἱ δὲ συνηγόρους. Παρὰ πάσας δὲ ταύτας τὰς ἀρχὰς ἡ μάλιστα κυρία πάντων ἐστίν· ἡ γὰρ αὐτὴ πολλάκις ἔχει τὸ τέλος καὶ τὴν εἰσφοράν, ἢ προκάθηται τοῦ πλήθους, ὅπου κύριός ἐστιν ὁ δῆμος· δεῖ γὰρ εἶναι τὸ συνάγον τὸ κύριον τῆς πολιτείας. καλεῖται δὲ ἔνθα μὲν πρόβουλοι διὰ τὸ προβουλεύειν, ὅπου δὲ πλῆθός ἐστι,
18 βουλὴ μᾶλλον. Αἱ μὲν οὖν πολιτικαὶ τῶν ἀρχῶν σχεδὸν τοσαῦταί τινές εἰσιν, ἄλλο δ' εἶδος ἐπιμελείας ἡ περὶ τοὺς θεούς, οἷον ἱερεῖς τε καὶ ἐπιμεληταὶ τῶν περὶ τὰ ἱερὰ τοῦ σώζεσθαί τε τὰ ὑπάρχοντα καὶ ἀνορθοῦσθαι τὰ πίπτοντα τῶν οἰκοδομημάτων καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ὅσα τέτακται πρὸς τοὺς
19 θεούς. συμβαίνει δὲ τὴν ἐπιμέλειαν ταύτην ἐνιαχοῦ μὲν εἶναι μίαν, οἷον ἐν ταῖς μικραῖς πόλεσιν, ἐνιαχοῦ δὲ πολλὰς καὶ κεχωρισμένας τῆς ἱερωσύνης, οἷον ἱεροποιοὺς καὶ ναοφύ-
20 λακας καὶ ταμίας τῶν ἱερῶν χρημάτων. ἐχομένη δὲ ταύτης ἡ πρὸς τὰς θυσίας ἀφωρισμένη τὰς κοινὰς πάσας, ὅσας μὴ τοῖς ἱερεῦσιν ἀποδίδωσιν ὁ νόμος, ἀλλ' ἀπὸ τῆς κοινῆς ἑστίας

συνηγόρους] Not the common sense of the word. The common sense is 'advocates,' and I can only refer to the *Dict. Ant.* p. 1086, b, where the conjectures on the subject are given.

17 *τὸ τέλος καὶ τὴν εἰσφοράν*] "La fixation et la rentrée des impôts," St. Hilaire's translation, is not in harmony with the passage, if conceivably justifiable on other grounds, which I should doubt. Stahr gives a better sense, "der Ausgang der Dinge gleichwie der Vortrag derselben ruht," 'have in their hands the final ratification as well as the primary introduction of any measure.' Thus I give *τὴν εἰσφοράν* its literal signification, 'the bringing in.' *ἐφορείαν*, the reading of one MS., has been adopted by several, but is not necessary, and the context is in favour of the usual reading retained by Bekker.

δεῖ γὰρ εἶναι τὸ συνάγον] 'There must exist the body which can call together the sovereign body,' and this body, *τὸ συνάγον*, will have in its hands the introduction of the measures to be discussed.

ὅπου δὲ πλῆθός ἐστι] Where the government is a popular one. See below, § 24.

19 *τῆς ἱερωσύνης*] 'from the priestly function itself.'

20 *ἀπὸ τῆς κοινῆς, κ.τ.λ.*] "deren Besorgung von dem gemeinschaftlichen heiligen Staatsheerde ausgeht." Stahr; 'all those sacrifices which derive their claim to attention from their connexion with the public or state hearth.'

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ἔχουσι τὴν τιμήν· καλοῦσι δ' οἱ μὲν ἄρχοντας τούτους, οἱ
δὲ βασιλεῖς, οἱ δὲ πρυτάνεις. Αἱ μὲν οὖν ἀναγκαῖαι ἐπι-
μέλειαί εἰσι περὶ τούτων, ὡς εἰπεῖν συγκεφαλαιωσαμένους, 21
περί τε τὰ δαιμόνια καὶ τὰ πολεμικὰ καὶ περὶ τὰς προσό-
δους καὶ περὶ τὰ ἀναλισκόμενα, καὶ περὶ ἀγορὰν καὶ περὶ τὸ
ἄστυ καὶ λιμένας καὶ τὴν χώραν, ἔτι τὰ περὶ τὰ δικαστήρια
καὶ συναλλαγμάτων ἀναγραφὰς καὶ πράξεις καὶ φυλακὰς
καὶ ἐπιλογισμούς τε καὶ ἐξετάσεις, καὶ πρὸς εὐθύνας τῶν
ἀρχόντων, καὶ τέλος αἱ περὶ τὸ βουλευόμενόν εἰσι τῶν κοι-
νῶν. ἰδίᾳ δὲ ταῖς σχολαστικωτέραις καὶ μᾶλλον εὐημερού- 22
σαις πόλεσιν, ἔτι δὲ φροντιζούσαις εὐκοσμίας, γυναικονομία,
νομοφυλακία, παιδονομία, γυμνασιαρχία, πρὸς δὲ τούτοις 1323
περὶ ἀγῶνας ἐπιμέλεια γυμνικοὺς καὶ Διονυσιακούς, κἂν εἴ
τινας ἑτέρας συμβαίνει τοιαύτας γίνεσθαι θεωρίας. τούτων 23
δ' ἔνιαι φανερῶς εἰσιν οὐ δημοτικαὶ τῶν ἀρχῶν, οἷον γυναι-
κονομία καὶ παιδονομία· τοῖς γὰρ ἀπόροις ἀνάγκη χρῆσθαι
καὶ γυναιξὶ καὶ παισὶν ὥσπερ ἀκολούθοις διὰ τὴν ἀδουλίαν.
τριῶν δ' οὐσῶν ἀρχῶν καθ' ἃς αἱροῦνταί τινες ἀρχὰς τὰς 24
κυρίους, νομοφυλάκων προβούλων βουλῆς, οἱ μὲν νομοφύ-

ἄρχοντας] At Athens we have the ἄρχων βασιλεύς combining the two terms. On the general question, comp. Hermann, *Pol. Ant.* § 56, and note 11, where the authorities are given: also above, III. xiv. 13.

21 ἐπιλογισμούς] not, I think, as L. and S. give it, a "reckoning over, calculation," but in a more technical sense, 'a review of the accounts by the λογισταί,' as ἐξετάσεις is a review by the officers called ἐξετασταί, § 16.

τῶν κοινῶν] Should περί be supplied, or does the genitive depend on the relative? Stahr takes it in the first way, and perhaps that is the safer, though in any way it is awkward.

22 σχολαστικωτέρας] Compare V. (VIII.) vi. 11, σχολαστικώτεροι γὰρ γιγνόμενοι διὰ τὰς εὐπορίας.

νομοφυλακία] Compare Smith, *Dict. Ant.* The position of the word here prevents its being applied to any very high magistracy, such as those mentioned in the article as existing in other states of Greece.

23 διὰ τὴν ἀδουλίαν] 'from their not having any slaves.'

24 καθ' ἃς αἱροῦνται] This passage is not easy, and I do not feel sure of more than the general meaning. 'There are three forms of magistracy, which are adopted when the supreme magistrates are being chosen, these three are, &c., and of them the first is, &c.' So I translate it. The distinction between πρόβουλοι and the βούλη is sufficiently familiar to all readers of Greek history.

Whether any other points relating

Magistracies. λακες ἀριστοκρατικόν, ὀλιγαρχικὸν δ' οἱ πρόβουλοι, βουλὴ δὲ δημοτικόν. Περὶ μὲν οὖν τῶν ἀρχῶν, ὡς ἐν τύπῳ, σχεδὸν εἴρηται περὶ πασῶν.

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to the βουλευτικόν and δικαστικόν were treated of here, we cannot say. At any rate, the book is short, and the two subjects mentioned as much wanted an additional discussion as the one he has discussed.

BOOK VIII. (V.) SUMMARY.

IN the summary of Book VI. (IV.) I have given the position of this book in reference to the general subject. It was there stated, that the delicate problem of Greek practical statesmanship, was to balance two antagonist parties in each state; or if not to balance them, if that was given up as impossible, then, as neither the one party nor the other could be wholly got rid of, the problem was to assign their mutual relations, to temper the necessary superiority of the one, to relieve the necessary inferiority of the other; to remove in the former case whatever there was of insulting for the governed, to remove in the latter case, as far as possible, all causes of irritation against the governor. But a statement such as this implies constant difficulty and even danger. The governors were not easy to restrain. Their power was in most cases the result of a contest; there had been a victory and a triumph; and the sense of this acted upon both parties, humbling the inferior, raising an insolent temper in the superior. Or it might be that without any actual contest the power of the ruling party was the expression of a state of things which was past. Side by side with the party which had hitherto been dominant, had grown up another, and its strength had become such that it was no longer willing to acquiesce as before in its political inferiority. The inequality of an earlier stage, which had been just, had ceased to be so; and the desire for greater political equality was a just and a growing one. But a dominant political party is slow to recognise an alteration in the state of things fatal to its own exclusive supremacy. The justice of a desire is no justification in its eyes. *κἂν ᾖ πάνυ χαλεπὸν εὑρεῖν τὴν ἀλήθειαν περὶ αὐτῶν, ὅμως ῥᾷον τυχεῖν ἢ συμπεῖσαι τοὺς δυναμένους πλεονεκτεῖν· ἀεὶ γὰρ ζητοῦσι τὸ ἴσον καὶ τὸ δίκαιον οἱ ἥττους, οἱ δὲ κρατοῦντες οὐδὲν φροντίζουσιν.* "Persuasion is the resource of the feeble, and the feeble can seldom persuade." The party in power yields only to pressure, and its concessions are valueless as conciliations. They are wrung from its weakness, and given with reluctance. They are stimulants to the growing strength of its

opponents. So it is a constant effort on the one side to repress, on the other to advance. This was the state of Greece in Aristotle's time, and had been so during the whole period of its history. It was the state of *στάσις*, permanent, and with the combinations then available, irremoveable. Of course such a state must, as I said before, lead to greater vicissitudes, to periods of crisis, to revolutions, to *μεταβολαί*. It is these two subjects that form the subject of the analysis in this VIIIth book. It is the pathology, if I may use the expression, of Greek society. Aristotle begins with the most general expression of the one great permanent cause of the diseased state of society, the sense of inequality—*πανταχοῦ διὰ τὸ ἄνισον ἡ στάσις*. And the inequality might be either in property or political privileges, it might be more social or more political. And it might be with a view to secure a greater equality on these points for themselves, to aid others in attaining it, or to prevent others from gaining a superiority, that the parties were formed.

This, the one great permanent cause, would not lead to violent outbreaks without certain minor conditions or occasions. These are enumerated by Aristotle (Ch. II.), and explained and illustrated (III. IV.) This enumeration, this analysis is quite general. In the Vth chapter he takes the case of democracy and applies his previous remarks to it. In the VIth he treats similarly of oligarchy. In the VIIth of aristocracy. In all three alike it is the causes of destruction that he deals with, why they do not maintain themselves, whether the cause be internal or external.

In the two next chapters VIII. IX. he addresses himself to the question how they may avoid the dangers that threaten them, how they may succeed in maintaining themselves. As a general rule this will be clear from our previous analysis of the dangers. In detail the precepts are to avoid all violation of the law; to keep a watchful eye over slight innovations; to exercise a prudent forethought in reference to the gradually altering relations of the parties in the state, to the gradual changes in the value of property; to remove the temptations which great pecuniary advantages attached to office hold out; to check all disorder of the finances. Such are some of the principal precautions. But this is the negative side of the question. More positive safeguards exist. These will be found to be two main ones: the securing governors qualified for their post, and, secondly, the all-important but generally neglected point, the educating the citizens in harmony with the institutions under which they live.

Passing from the free governments, the constitutions of Greece, he turns to monarchy, and of course in this case it will be the corrupter forms of monarchy that will necessarily attract his attention. For monarchy in its highest form is, we have seen, identified with the ideal government, and the elements of disturbance should be, by hypothesis, alien to such a government. It should be clear from permanent dissensions, as from violent changes, from *στάσις* and *μεταβολή*. But the monarchical power of the semi-civilised monarchies existing in the neighbouring nations, Thracian Macedonian, Epirotic, or Persian, and the monarchical power in the hands either of Persian satraps or of Greek tyrants was liable to attacks, the latter form especially. All the citizens whom it had deprived of their political privileges were its sworn enemies. It was, by its definition, a monarchy exercised entirely in the interest of one man, against the will of all the others. Occasion only could be wanting for its overthrow. The earlier despots of Greece had been but short-lived, yet their power had rested on a much more solid basis, had more represented a real need of their respective states. The later ones were a much more violent shock to the feelings of their times, and were as being so of all governments the most short-lived. Ch. X. is a long enumeration of the dangers and changes in monarchical governments. Ch. XI. is an enumeration of the methods of preserving the monarchy, whether tyrannical or not. Ch. XII. is a short statement of the comparative duration of governments. Ch. XIII. contains a discussion of the sequence observed in the changes, together with a criticism on the order of succession as laid down in the *Republic* of Plato.

With this, somewhat abruptly, his book, as we have it at present, terminates. But the abruptness is in the form merely, for the subject of this concluding book has been adequately worked out. We cannot, that is, as in other parts of his work, lay our hands on any point in the question of the internal dissensions and revolutions of Greek states, which, on his own showing, he ought to have treated and has not. And more than this, we cannot, I think, find any point which in theory we might require to complete his statements. That many points are hastily touched, as, for instance, the matter discussed in the last chapter, will not surprise any one familiar with the method of Aristotle's writings. For with him the completeness of thought is always so much more an object than the completeness of expression. And we scarcely ever find evidences of labour bestowed on the mere dressing up of the subject. We are never suffered to forget his language in *Eth.*

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θεῖν. ἑτέρα δὲ ἐπιμέλεια ταύτης ἐχομένη καὶ σύνεγγυς ἡ τῶν περὶ τὸ ἄστυ δημοσίων καὶ ἰδίων, ὅπως εὐκοσμία ᾖ, καὶ
4 τῶν πιπτόντων οἰκοδομημάτων καὶ ὁδῶν σωτηρία καὶ διόρθωσις, καὶ τῶν ὁρίων τῶν πρὸς ἀλλήλους, ὅπως ἀνεγκλήτως ἔχωσιν, καὶ ὅσα τούτοις ἄλλα τῆς ἐπιμελείας ὁμοιότροπα.
5 καλοῦσι δ' ἀστυνομίαν οἱ πλεῖστοι τὴν τοιαύτην ἀρχήν, ἔχει δὲ μόρια πλείω τὸν ἀριθμόν, ὧν ἑτέρους ἐφ' ἕτερα καθιστᾶσιν ἐν ταῖς πολυανθρωποτέραις πόλεσιν, οἷον τειχοποιοὺς καὶ κρηνῶν ἐπιμελητὰς καὶ λιμένων φύλακας.
6 Ἄλλη δ' ἀναγκαία τε καὶ παραπλησία ταύτῃ περὶ τῶν αὐτῶν μὲν γάρ, ἀλλὰ περὶ τὴν χώραν ἐστὶ καὶ τὰ περὶ τὰ ἔξω τοῦ ἄστεος· καλοῦσι δὲ τοὺς ἄρχοντας τούτους οἱ μὲν ἀγρονόμους οἱ δ' ὑλωρούς. Αὗται μὲν οὖν ἐπιμέλειαί εἰσι τούτων τρεῖς, ἄλλη δ' ἀρχὴ πρὸς ἣν αἱ πρόσοδοι τῶν κοινῶν ἀναφέρονται, παρ' ὧν φυλαττόντων μερίζονται πρὸς ἑκάστην διοίκησιν· καλοῦσι δ' ἀποδέκτας τούτους καὶ ταμίας.
7 Ἑτέρα δ' ἀρχὴ πρὸς ἣν ἀναγράφεσθαι δεῖ τά τε ἴδια συμβόλαια καὶ τὰς κρίσεις ἐκ τῶν δικαστηρίων· παρὰ δὲ τοῖς αὐτοῖς τούτοις καὶ τὰς γραφὰς τῶν δικῶν γίνεσθαι δεῖ καὶ τὰς εἰσαγωγάς. ἐνιαχοῦ μὲν οὖν μερίζουσι καὶ ταύτην εἰς πλείους, ἔστι δὲ μία κυρία τούτων πάντων· καλοῦνται δὲ

αὐτάρκεια, which *is* the object of the social union, but on the more distant χρεία, which, δοκεῖ, '*is thought to be so by some.*'

4 δημοσίων καὶ ἰδίων] need not be limited as Stahr's translation, "Gebäude," limits it, but generally 'public and private property.'

ὅπως ἀνεγκλήτως ἔχωσιν] 'That there may be no opening for mutual complaints.'

τούτοις] depends on ὁμοιότροπα.

5 ὧν ἑτέρους, κ.τ.λ.] For the amount of business renders desirable, and the number of citizens admits of, the application of the principle of division of labour.

6 ἀγρονόμους] The agrimensores of Rome.

ὑλωρούς] commissioners of woods and forests.

παρ' ὧν φυλαττόντων] 'Who keep them, and from whose hands the distribution is made for the wants of each department.'

διοίκησιν] 'department,' 'branch of administration.'

7 ἀναγράφεσθαι] 'registered.'

τὰς κρίσεις τὰς ἐκ τῶν δικαστηρίων] 'The decisions of the courts of justice.'

τὰς εἰσαγωγάς] "opening of the pleadings," L. and S.

ἱερομνήμονες καὶ ἐπιστάται καὶ μνήμονες καὶ τούτοις ἄλλα Magistracies.
ὀνόματα σύνεγγυς. Μετὰ δὲ ταύτην ἐχομένη μὲν ἀναγ-
καιοτάτη δὲ σχεδὸν καὶ χαλεπωτάτη τῶν ἀρχῶν ἐστιν ἡ 8
περὶ τὰς πράξεις τῶν καταδικασθέντων καὶ τῶν προτιθε-
μένων κατὰ τὰς ἐγγραφὰς καὶ περὶ τὰς φυλακὰς τῶν σω- 1322
μάτων. χαλεπὴ μὲν οὖν ἐστι διὰ τὸ πολλὴν ἔχειν ἀπέ- 9
χθειαν, ὥστε ὅπου μὴ μεγάλα ἔστι κερδαίνειν, οὔτ' ἄρχειν
ὑπομένουσιν αὐτὴν οὔθ' ὑπομείναντες ἐθέλουσι πράττειν
κατὰ τοὺς νόμους· ἀναγκαία δ' ἐστίν, ὅτι οὐδὲν ὄφελος
γίνεσθαι μὲν δίκας περὶ τῶν δικαίων, ταύτας δὲ μὴ λαμβά-
νειν τέλος, ὥστ' εἰ μὴ γιγνομένων κοινωνεῖν ἀδύνατον ἀλλή-
λοις, καὶ πράξεων μὴ γιγνομένων. διὸ βέλτιον μὴ μίαν 10
εἶναι ταύτην τὴν ἀρχήν, ἀλλ' ἄλλους ἐξ ἄλλων δικαστηρίων.
καὶ περὶ τὰς προθέσεις τῶν ἀναγεγραμμένων ὡσαύτως πει-
ρᾶσθαι διαιρεῖν. ἔτι δ' ἔνια πράττεσθαι καὶ τὰς ἀρχὰς

ἱερομνήμονες] This use of the word is not its usual one. The name is most familiar as applied to the deputies to the Amphictyonic council. Nor does it here mean magistrates such as those mentioned by Smith, *Dict. Ant.* "Recorders," "notaries." Such seems the meaning here, as also of μνήμονες, L. and S.

ἐπιστάται] Of the two common senses again of this word, neither suits this passage, comp. Smith, *Dict. Ant.* Its sense must be analogous to that assigned in the last note to μνήμονες.

8 τῶν προτιθεμένων κατὰ τὰς ἐγγραφάς] "mit eintreibung der verhängten Strafgelder," says Stahr, "with the collection of the fines imposed." But this is not a close rendering of the words. I take προτιθεμένων as passive and masculine, 'proscriptorum' in its primary sense, and with Stahr I make it depend on πράξεις. 'With the levying of the penalties from those whose names are "posted up in accordance with the registers" of the condemnations.' So I render the passage.

9 ἔχειν ἀπέχθειαν] 'involves much odium,' or 'has great odium attached to it.'

λαμβάνειν τέλος] 'be executed, put in force;' similar expressions are λαμβάνειν ὕψος, τιμήν.

10 Διό] Because of the unpopularity that attaches to the office.

τὰς προθέσεις τῶν ἀναγεγραμμένων] πρόθεσις is 'the proscription,' 'the posting up' of those registered or recorded. So in substance the expression is equivalent to the one noticed, § 8, τῶν προτιθεμένων κατὰ τὰς ἐγγραφάς. And so Stahr takes it.

ἔτι δ' ἔνια] The Greek of this passage is very hard. What is the meaning of the καί before τὰς ἀρχάς? Again, what is the sense of τῶν νέων, τὰς νέας, τῶν ἐνεστώτων? I do not see that Stahr translates the καί, and the sense he attaches to the νέων, νέας, "fresh cases, fresh magistracies," is, I should think, open to question. At the same time, I do not see what better solution

Magistracies. τάς τε ἄλλας καὶ τὰς τῶν νέων μᾶλλον τὰς νέας, καὶ τὰς τῶν ἐνεστώτων ἑτέρας καταδικασάσης ἑτέραν εἶναι τὴν πραττομένην, οἷον ἀστυνόμους τὰς παρὰ τῶν ἀγορανόμων, τὰς
11 δὲ παρὰ τούτων ἑτέρους. ὅσῳ γὰρ ἂν ἐλάττων ἀπέχθεια ἐνῇ τοῖς πραττομένοις, τοσούτῳ μᾶλλον λήψονται τέλος αἱ πράξεις· τὸ μὲν οὖν τοὺς αὐτοὺς εἶναι τοὺς καταδικάσαντας καὶ πραττομένους ἀπέχθειαν ἔχει διπλῆν, τὸ δὲ περὶ πάντων τοὺς αὐτοὺς πολεμίους πᾶσιν. πολλαχοῦ δὲ διῄρηται καὶ ἡ φυλάττουσα τῆς πραττομένης, οἷον Ἀθήνησι
12 [ἡ][a] τῶν ἕνδεκα καλουμένων. διὸ βέλτιον καὶ ταύτην χωρίζειν, καὶ τί[b] σόφισμα ζητεῖν καὶ περὶ ταύτην. ἀναγκαία μὲν γάρ ἐστιν οὐχ ἧττον τῆς εἰρημένης, συμβαίνει δὲ τοὺς μὲν ἐπιεικεῖς φεύγειν μάλιστα ταύτην τὴν ἀρχήν, τοὺς δὲ μοχθηροὺς οὐκ ἀσφαλὲς ποιεῖν κυρίους· αὐτοὶ γὰρ δέονται
13 φυλακῆς μᾶλλον ἢ φυλάττειν ἄλλους δύνανται. διὸ δεῖ μὴ μίαν ἀποτεταγμένην ἀρχὴν εἶναι πρὸς αὐτοῖς, μηδὲ συνεχῶς τὴν αὐτήν, ἀλλὰ τῶν τε νέων, ὅπου τις ἐφήβων ἢ φρουρῶν

[a] Bekker's text has not this ἡ. [b] τό Bekker.

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to offer. No satisfactory rendering presents itself.

τῶν ἐνεστώτων] 'the actually existing cases;' "herkömmlichen," Stahr.

τὰς παρὰ τῶν ἀγορανόμων] 'Those which come from.'

11 ἐνῇ τοῖς πραττομένοις] 'attaches to those who execute the sentences.'

πολεμίους πᾶσιν] 'Makes them enemies to all,' places them, that is, in a hostile relation to all. There is no regular construction of the accusative. Some verb must be supplied from ἔχει, 'involves their being.'

τῶν ἕνδεκα καλουμένων] Coray reads ἡ before this genitive, and Stahr also inserts the article, though in brackets. It is required by the sense, and I have followed Stahr in inserting it. On the functions of 'the Eleven,' compare Hermann, Pol. Ant. § 139. This passage seems to limit their functions.

ταύτην] sc. τὴν φυλάττουσαν.

12 τι σόφισμα] The definite article, which is the general reading, I can make nothing of. I have by a slight change introduced the indefinite pronoun. Compare for the language in justification of the change, II. v. 29. ἐὰν μή τι σοφίζωνται. What is *the* device, τὸ σόφισμα, which is alluded to, if the article is kept? "Des moyens adroits," St. Hil., and "Das passende auskunftsmittel," Stahr.

13 πρὸς αὐτοῖς] 'for these objects,' "für diese Geschäfte," Stahr; but the expression is irregular altogether. Can it be 'Therefore there must not be one definite magistracy set apart in addition to them (τοῖς μοχθηροῖς), sc. the bad whom alone you can expect to find ready to act as jailers, &c.'

ἀλλὰ τῶν τε νέων] 'But,' he goes on

Magistracies.

ἐστὶ τάξις, καὶ τῶν ἀρχῶν δεῖ κατὰ μέρη ποιεῖσθαι τὴν ἐπιμέλειαν ἑτέρους. Ταύτας μὲν οὖν τὰς ἀρχὰς ὡς ἀναγκαιοτάτας θετέον εἶναι πρώτας, μετὰ δὲ ταύτας τὰς ἀναγκαίας μὲν οὐθὲν ἧττον, ἐν σχήματι δὲ μείζονι τεταγμένας· καὶ γὰρ ἐμπειρίας καὶ πίστεως δέονται πολλῆς. τοιαῦται δ' εἰσὶ[a] 14
αἵ τε περὶ τὴν φυλακὴν τῆς πόλεως, καὶ ὅσαι τάττονται πρὸς τὰς πολεμικὰς χρείας. δεῖ δὲ καὶ ἐν εἰρήνῃ καὶ ἐν πολέμῳ πυλῶν τε καὶ τειχῶν φυλακῆς ὁμοίως ἐπιμελητὰς εἶναι, καὶ ἐξετάσεως καὶ συντάξεως τῶν πολιτῶν. ἔνθα μὲν οὖν ἐπὶ πᾶσι τούτοις ἀρχαὶ πλείους εἰσίν, ἔνθα δ' ἐλάττους, οἷον ἐν ταῖς μικραῖς πόλεσι μία περὶ πάντων. καλοῦσι δὲ 15
στρατηγοὺς καὶ πολεμάρχους τοὺς τοιούτους. ἔτι δὲ κἂν 1322 B
ὦσιν ἱππεῖς ἢ ψιλοὶ ἢ τοξόται ἢ ναυτικόν, καὶ ἐπὶ τούτων ἑκάστων ἐνίοτε καθίστανται ἀρχαί, αἳ καλοῦνται ναυαρχίαι καὶ ἱππαρχίαι καὶ ταξιαρχίαι, καὶ κατὰ μέρος δὲ αἱ ὑπὸ ταύτας τριηραρχίαι καὶ λοχαγίαι καὶ φυλαρχίαι καὶ ὅσα τούτων μόρια· τὸ δὲ πᾶν ἕν τι τούτων ἐστὶν εἶδος ἐπιμελείας πολεμικῶν. περὶ μὲν οὖν ταύτην τὴν ἀρχὴν ἔχει τὸν τρόπον τοῦτον. Ἐπεὶ δὲ ἔνιαι τῶν ἀρχῶν, εἰ καὶ μὴ πᾶσαι, 16
διαχειρίζουσι πολλὰ τῶν κοινῶν, ἀναγκαῖον ἑτέραν εἶναι τὴν

[a] εἶεν Bekker.

to say, 'both of the young there must be some, and the regular magistrates must take in turns this duty.'

πρώτας] 'in order of time.'

ἐν σχήματι μείζονι τεταγμένας] 'Speciosi magis ministerii,' 'holding a higher position,' 'of more importance in the scale.'

14 εἰσί] εἶεν [ἂν] is Stahr's reading. I do not see why εἰσί should not at once be substituted for εἶεν, which cannot be construed.

ὁμοίως is to be taken with ἐν εἰρήνῃ καὶ ἐν πολέμῳ.

ἐξετάσεως] 'reviewing.'

συντάξεως] 'disciplining.'

15 κατὰ μέρος] 'in detail.' VI. (IV.) I. I. κατὰ μόριον.

ὑπὸ ταύτας] *Eth.* I. i. 4, p. 1094. 10, ὅσαι δ' εἰσὶν ὑπὸ μίαν τινὰ δύναμιν, κ.τ.λ.

φυλαρχίαι] Compare Smith, *Dict. Ant.*, art. Phylarchi.

ἕν τι τούτων ἐστὶν εἶδος] Again compare VI. (IV.) I. I, περὶ γένος ἕν τι τελείαις οὔσαις.

16 διαχειρίζουσι] 'have pass through their hands.'

προσευθυνοῦσαν] 'and besides bring to an account,' L. and S. Compare Smith, *Dict. Ant.*, art. Euthyne, p. 479.

διαχειρίζουσαν] I should give this verb here a slightly different sense from the one above, and its more usual sense of 'managing.'

[illegible] ληψομένην λογισμὸν καὶ προσευθύνουσαν, αὐτὴν μηδὲν διαχειρίζουσαν ἕτερον· καλοῦσι δὲ τούτους οἱ μὲν εὐθύνους, οἱ δὲ λογιστάς, οἱ δὲ ἐξεταστάς, οἱ δὲ συνηγόρους. Παρὰ πάσας δὲ ταύτας τὰς ἀρχὰς ἡ μάλιστα κυρία πάντων ἐστίν· ἡ γὰρ αὐτὴ πολλάκις ἔχει τὸ τέλος καὶ τὴν εἰσφοράν, ἢ προκάθηται τοῦ πλήθους, ὅπου κύριός ἐστιν ὁ δῆμος· δεῖ γὰρ εἶναι τὸ συνάγον τὸ κύριον τῆς πολιτείας. καλεῖται δὲ ἔνθα μὲν πρόβουλοι διὰ τὸ προβουλεύειν, ὅπου δὲ πλῆθός ἐστι, βουλὴ μᾶλλον. Αἱ μὲν οὖν πολιτικαὶ τῶν ἀρχῶν σχεδὸν τοσαῦταί τινές εἰσιν, ἄλλο δ' εἶδος ἐπιμελείας ἡ περὶ τοὺς θεούς, οἷον ἱερεῖς τε καὶ ἐπιμεληταὶ τῶν περὶ τὰ ἱερὰ τοῦ σώζεσθαί τε τὰ ὑπάρχοντα καὶ ἀνορθοῦσθαι τὰ πίπτοντα τῶν οἰκοδομημάτων καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ὅσα τέτακται πρὸς τοὺς θεούς. συμβαίνει δὲ τὴν ἐπιμέλειαν ταύτην ἐνιαχοῦ μὲν εἶναι μίαν, οἷον ἐν ταῖς μικραῖς πόλεσιν, ἐνιαχοῦ δὲ πολλὰς καὶ κεχωρισμένας τῆς ἱερωσύνης, οἷον ἱεροποιοὺς καὶ ναοφύλακας καὶ ταμίας τῶν ἱερῶν χρημάτων. ἐχομένη δὲ ταύτης ἡ πρὸς τὰς θυσίας ἀφωρισμένη τὰς κοινὰς πάσας, ὅσας μὴ τοῖς ἱερεῦσιν ἀποδίδωσιν ὁ νόμος, ἀλλ' ἀπὸ τῆς κοινῆς ἑστίας

συνηγόρους] Not the common sense of the word. The common sense is 'advocates,' and I can only refer to the Dict. Ant. p. 1080, b, where the conjectures on the subject are given.

17 τὸ τέλος καὶ τὴν εἰσφοράν] "La fixation et la rentrée des impôts," St Hilaire's translation, is not in harmony with the passage, if conceivably justifiable on other grounds, which I should doubt. Stahr gives a better sense "der Ausgang der Dinge gleichwie der Vortrag derselben ruht," 'have in their hands the final ratification as well as the primary introduction of the measures.' Thus I give the corresponding literal signification, 'the bringing in.' [illegible] the reading of one MS., has been adopted by several, but is not [illegible], and the context is in favour of the usual reading retained by Bekker.

δεῖ γὰρ εἶναι τὸ συνάγον] 'There must exist the body which can call together the sovereign body,' and this body, τὸ συνάγον, will have in its hands the introduction of the measures to be discussed.

ὅπου δὲ πλῆθός ἐστι] Where the government is a popular one. See below, § 24.

19 τῆς ἱερωσύνης] 'from the priestly function itself.'

20 ἀπὸ τῆς κοινῆς, κ.τ.λ.] "deren Besorgung von dem gemeinschaftlichen heiligen Staatsheerde ausgeht." Stahr; 'all those sacrifices which derive their claim to attention from their connexion with the public or state hearth.'

Magistracies.

ἔχουσι τὴν τιμήν· καλοῦσι δ' οἱ μὲν ἄρχοντας τούτους, οἱ δὲ βασιλεῖς, οἱ δὲ πρυτάνεις. Αἱ μὲν οὖν ἀναγκαῖαι ἐπι-
21 μέλειαί εἰσι περὶ τούτων, ὡς εἰπεῖν συγκεφαλαιωσαμένους, περί τε τὰ δαιμόνια καὶ τὰ πολεμικὰ καὶ περὶ τὰς προσόδους καὶ περὶ τὰ ἀναλισκόμενα, καὶ περὶ ἀγορὰν καὶ περὶ τὸ ἄστυ καὶ λιμένας καὶ τὴν χώραν, ἔτι τὰ περὶ τὰ δικαστήρια καὶ συναλλαγμάτων ἀναγραφὰς καὶ πράξεις καὶ φυλακὰς καὶ ἐπιλογισμούς τε καὶ ἐξετάσεις, καὶ πρὸς εὐθύνας τῶν ἀρχόντων, καὶ τέλος αἳ περὶ τὸ βουλευόμενόν εἰσι τῶν κοι-
νῶν. ἰδίᾳ δὲ ταῖς σχολαστικωτέραις καὶ μᾶλλον εὐημερού- 22
σαις πόλεσιν, ἔτι δὲ φροντιζούσαις εὐκοσμίας, γυναικονομία,
νομοφυλακία, παιδονομία, γυμνασιαρχία, πρὸς δὲ τούτοις 1323
περὶ ἀγῶνας ἐπιμέλεια γυμνικοὺς καὶ Διονυσιακούς, κἂν εἴ τινας ἑτέρας συμβαίνει τοιαύτας γίνεσθαι θεωρίας. τούτων 23
δ' ἔνιαι φανερῶς εἰσιν οὐ δημοτικαὶ τῶν ἀρχῶν, οἷον γυναικονομία καὶ παιδονομία· τοῖς γὰρ ἀπόροις ἀνάγκη χρῆσθαι καὶ γυναιξὶ καὶ παισὶν ὥσπερ ἀκολούθοις διὰ τὴν ἀδουλίαν.
τριῶν δ' οὐσῶν ἀρχῶν καθ' ἃς αἱροῦνταί τινες ἀρχὰς τὰς 24
κυρίους, νομοφυλάκων προβούλων βουλῆς, οἱ μὲν νομοφύ-

ἄρχοντας] At Athens we have the ἄρχων βασιλεύς combining the two terms. On the general question, comp. Hermann, *Pol. Ant.* § 56, and note 11, where the authorities are given: also above, III. xiv. 13.

21 ἐπιλογισμούς] not, I think, as L. and S. give it, a "reckoning over, calculation," but in a more technical sense, 'a review of the accounts by the λογισταί,' as ἐξετάσεις is a review by the officers called ἐξετασταί, § 16.

τῶν κοινῶν] Should περί be supplied, or does the genitive depend on the relative? Stahr takes it in the first way, and perhaps that is the safer, though in any way it is awkward.

22 σχολαστικωτέραις] Compare V. (VIII.) vi. 11, σχολαστικώτεροι γὰρ γιγνόμενοι διὰ τὰς εὐπορίας.

νομοφυλακία] Compare Smith, *Dict. Ant.* The position of the word here prevents its being applied to any very high magistracy, such as those mentioned in the article as existing in other states of Greece.

23 διὰ τὴν ἀδουλίαν] 'from their not having any slaves.'

24 καθ' ἃς αἱροῦνται] This passage is not easy, and I do not feel sure of more than the general meaning. 'There are three forms of magistracy, which are adopted when the supreme magistrates are being chosen, these three are, &c., and of them the first is, &c.' So I translate it. The distinction between πρόβουλοι and the βούλη is sufficiently familiar to all readers of Greek history.

Whether any other points relating

Magistracies.

λακες ἀριστοκρατικόν, ὀλιγαρχικὸν δ᾽ οἱ πρόβουλοι, βουλὴ δὲ δημοτικόν. Περὶ μὲν οὖν τῶν ἀρχῶν, ὡς ἐν τύπῳ, σχεδὸν εἴρηται περὶ πασῶν.

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to the βουλευτικόν and δικαστικόν were treated of here, we cannot say. At any rate, the book is short, and the two subjects mentioned as much wanted an additional discussion as the one he has discussed.

BOOK VIII. (V.) SUMMARY.

IN the summary of Book VI. (IV.) I have given the position of this book in reference to the general subject. It was there stated, that the delicate problem of Greek practical statesmanship, was to balance two antagonist parties in each state; or if not to balance them, if that was given up as impossible, then, as neither the one party nor the other could be wholly got rid of, the problem was to assign their mutual relations, to temper the necessary superiority of the one, to relieve the necessary inferiority of the other; to remove in the former case whatever there was of insulting for the governed, to remove in the latter case, as far as possible, all causes of irritation against the governor. But a statement such as this implies constant difficulty and even danger. The governors were not easy to restrain. Their power was in most cases the result of a contest; there had been a victory and a triumph; and the sense of this acted upon both parties, humbling the inferior, raising an insolent temper in the superior. Or it might be that without any actual contest the power of the ruling party was the expression of a state of things which was past. Side by side with the party which had hitherto been dominant, had grown up another, and its strength had become such that it was no longer willing to acquiesce as before in its political inferiority. The inequality of an earlier stage, which had been just, had ceased to be so; and the desire for greater political equality was a just and a growing one. But a dominant political party is slow to recognise an alteration in the state of things fatal to its own exclusive supremacy. The justice of a desire is no justification in its eyes. *κἂν ᾖ πάνυ χαλεπὸν εὑρεῖν τὴν ἀλήθειαν περὶ αὐτῶν, ὅμως ῥᾷον τυχεῖν ἢ συμπεῖσαι τοὺς δυναμένους πλεονεκτεῖν· ἀεὶ γὰρ ζητοῦσι τὸ ἴσον καὶ τὸ δίκαιον οἱ ἥττους, οἱ δὲ κρατοῦντες οὐδὲν φροντίζουσιν.* "Persuasion is the resource of the feeble, and the feeble can seldom persuade." The party in power yields only to pressure, and its concessions are valueless as conciliations. They are wrung from its weakness, and given with reluctance. They are stimulants to the growing strength of its

opponents. So it is a constant effort on the one side to repress, on the other to advance. This was the state of Greece in Aristotle's time, and had been so during the whole period of its history. It was the state of στάσις, permanent, and with the combinations then available, irremoveable. Of course such a state must, as I said before, lead to greater vicissitudes, to periods of crisis, to revolutions, to μεταβολαί. It is these two subjects that form the subject of the analysis in this VIIIth book. It is the pathology, if I may use the expression, of Greek society. Aristotle begins with the most general expression of the one great permanent cause of the diseased state of society, the sense of inequality—πανταχοῦ διὰ τὸ ἄνισον ἡ στάσις. And the inequality might be either in property or political privileges, it might be more social or more political. And it might be with a view to secure a greater equality on these points for themselves, to aid others in attaining it, or to prevent others from gaining a superiority, that the parties were formed.

This, the one great permanent cause, would not lead to violent outbreaks without certain minor conditions or occasions. These are enumerated by Aristotle (Ch. II.), and explained and illustrated (III. IV.) This enumeration, this analysis is quite general. In the Vth chapter he takes the case of democracy and applies his previous remarks to it. In the VIth he treats similarly of oligarchy. In the VIIth of aristocracy. In all three alike it is the causes of destruction that he deals with, why they do not maintain themselves, whether the cause be internal or external.

In the two next chapters VIII. IX. he addresses himself to the question how they may avoid the dangers that threaten them, how they may succeed in maintaining themselves. As a general rule this will be clear from our previous analysis of the dangers. In detail the precepts are to avoid all violation of the law; to keep a watchful eye over slight innovations; to exercise a prudent forethought in reference to the gradually altering relations of the parties in the state, to the gradual changes in the value of property; to remove the temptations which great pecuniary advantages attached to office hold out; to check all disorder of the finances. Such are some of the principal precautions. But this is the negative side of the question. More positive safeguards exist. These will be found to be two main ones: the securing governors qualified for their post, and, secondly, the all-important but generally neglected point, the educating the citizens in harmony with the institutions under which they live.

Passing from the free governments, the constitutions of Greece, he turns to monarchy, and of course in this case it will be the corrupter forms of monarchy that will necessarily attract his attention. For monarchy in its highest form is, we have seen, identified with the ideal government, and the elements of disturbance should be, by hypothesis, alien to such a government. It should be clear from permanent dissensions, as from violent changes, from στάσις and μεταβολή. But the monarchical power of the semi-civilised monarchies existing in the neighbouring nations, Thracian Macedonian, Epirotic, or Persian, and the monarchical power in the hands either of Persian satraps or of Greek tyrants was liable to attacks, the latter form especially. All the citizens whom it had deprived of their political privileges were its sworn enemies. It was, by its definition, a monarchy exercised entirely in the interest of one man, against the will of all the others. Occasion only could be wanting for its overthrow. The earlier despots of Greece had been but short-lived, yet their power had rested on a much more solid basis, had more represented a real need of their respective states. The later ones were a much more violent shock to the feelings of their times, and were as being so of all governments the most short-lived. Ch. X. is a long enumeration of the dangers and changes in monarchical governments. Ch. XI. is an enumeration of the methods of preserving the monarchy, whether tyrannical or not. Ch. XII. is a short statement of the comparative duration of governments. Ch. XIII. contains a discussion of the sequence observed in the changes, together with a criticism on the order of succession as laid down in the *Republic* of Plato.

With this, somewhat abruptly, his book, as we have it at present, terminates. But the abruptness is in the form merely, for the subject of this concluding book has been adequately worked out. We cannot, that is, as in other parts of his work, lay our hands on any point in the question of the internal dissensions and revolutions of Greek states, which, on his own showing, he ought to have treated and has not. And more than this, we cannot, I think, find any point which in theory we might require to complete his statements. That many points are hastily touched, as, for instance, the matter discussed in the last chapter, will not surprise any one familiar with the method of Aristotle's writings. For with him the completeness of thought is always so much more an object than the completeness of expression. And we scarcely ever find evidences of labour bestowed on the mere dressing up of the subject. We are never suffered to forget his language in *Eth.*

I. 7. 1. p. 1098. 20): περιγεγράφθω μὲν οὖν τἀγαθὸν ταύτῃ· δεῖ γὰρ ἴσως ὑποτυπῶσαι πρῶτον, εἶθ' ὕστερον ἀναγράψαι. δόξειε δ' ἂν παντὸς εἶναι προαγαγεῖν καὶ διαρθρῶσαι τὰ καλῶς ἔχοντα τῇ περιγραφῇ, καὶ ὁ χρόνος τῶν τοιούτων εὑρετὴς ἢ συνεργὸς ἀγαθὸς εἶναι. ὅθεν καὶ τῶν τεχνῶν γεγόνασιν αἱ ἐπιδόσεις· παντὸς γὰρ προσθεῖναι τὸ ἐλλεῖπον.

ΠΟΛΙΤΙΚΩΝ Θ. (Ε.)

ΠΕΡΙ μὲν οὖν τῶν ἄλλων ὧν προειλόμεθα σχεδὸν εἴρηται περὶ πάντων· ἐκ τίνων δὲ μεταβάλλουσιν αἱ πολιτεῖαι καὶ πόσων καὶ ποίων, καὶ τίνες ἑκάστης πολιτείας φθοραί, καὶ ἐκ ποίων εἰς ποίας μάλιστα μεθίστανται, ἔτι δὲ σωτηρίαι τίνες καὶ κοινῇ καὶ χωρὶς ἑκάστης εἰσίν, [ἔτι δὲ διὰ τίνων ἂν μάλιστα σώζοιτο τῶν πολιτειῶν ἑκάστη,] σκεπτέον ἐφεξῆς τοῖς εἰρημένοις. δεῖ δὲ πρῶτον ὑπολαβεῖν τὴν ἀρχήν, 2 ὅτι πολλαὶ γεγένηνται πολιτεῖαι πάντων μὲν ὁμολογούντων τὸ δίκαιον καὶ τὸ κατ' ἀναλογίαν ἴσον, τούτου δ' ἁμαρτα-

The object of the book.

VIII. I. 1. On the order of this book from the nature of the case see Spengel, pp. 35, 36. It is there remarked that Aristotle's treatment of the φθοραί first and then the σωτηρίαι, of the causes of destruction before the means of conservation, points to the preceding construction in VI. VII. (IV. VI.).

περὶ μέν, κ. τ. λ.] Any difficulty which may be felt as to the change or rejection of certain passages in the preceding books, favourable to the existing order, could only be exchanged for a new one if they were retained unaltered, when we come on such a passage as these opening words. In their obvious natural meaning they are the opening words of the conclusion of a work. The design has been carried out in all points but one, that one shall now receive full attention.

ἐκ τίνων δέ] This is done in Chaps. I.—IV. We must remark that his language is πολιτεῖαι, and that the earlier chapters are limited to these πολιτεῖαι and do not touch on μοναρχία, which was not to him a πολιτεία.

ἑκάστης πολιτείας] V.—VII.

σωτηρίαι τίνες] VIII.—IX.

ἔτι δὲ διὰ τίνων] This apparent repetition finds a defender in Stahr. I cannot see any such difference in meaning as to make it desirable to retain both. There is a difference easily seen between φθοραί and μεθίστανται, but none such here between σωτηρίαι and σώζοιτο. I have therefore, as in other passages, enclosed the words in brackets.

2 ὑπολαβεῖν τὴν ἀρχήν] "von dem früher ausgesprochenem Satze ausgehen," Stahr, 'assume as our starting point.'

τὸ δίκαιον καί] Spengel, p. 38, note 34, wishes to read εἶναι for καί, and I think the sense much better. Stahr retains καί. The change into εἶναι is, I believe, countenanced by § 13 rightly viewed. What people agree in is the general statement that justice consists in what is equal in proportion to the claim of the parties. Democrat and oligarch go so far together, but then they differ immediately as to this claim. If the reading of Bekker is kept, Aristotle means to say that all allow justice to be the right thing

ὁμολογούντων, ὥσπερ εἴρηται καὶ πρότερον. δῆμος μὲν γὰρ ἐγένετο ἐκ τοῦ ἴσους ὁτιοῦν ὄντας οἴεσθαι ἁπλῶς ἴσους εἶναι
3 (ὅτι γὰρ ἐλεύθεροι πάντες ὁμοίως, ἁπλῶς ἴσοι εἶναι νομίζουσιν), ὀλιγαρχία δὲ ἐκ τοῦ ἀνίσους ἕν τι ὄντας ὅλως εἶναι ἀνίσους ὑπολαμβάνειν (κατ' οὐσίαν γὰρ ἄνισοι ὄντες ἁπλῶς
4 ἀνίσους ὑπολαμβάνουσιν εἶναι). εἶτα οἱ μὲν ὡς ἴσοι ὄντες πάντων τῶν ἴσων ἀξιοῦσι μετέχειν, οἱ δ' ὡς ἄνισοι ὄντες
5 πλεονεκτεῖν ζητοῦσιν· τὸ γὰρ πλεῖον ἄνισον. ἔχουσι μὲν οὖν τι πᾶσαι δίκαιον, ἡμαρτημέναι δ' ἁπλῶς εἰσίν· καὶ διὰ ταύτην τὴν αἰτίαν, ὅταν μὴ κατὰ τὴν ὑπόληψιν ἣν ἑκάτεροι τυγχάνουσιν ἔχοντες μετέχωσι τῆς πολιτείας, στασιάζουσιν.
6 πάντων δὲ δικαιότατα μὲν ἂν στασιάζοιεν, ἥκιστα δὲ τοῦτο πράττουσιν, οἱ κατ' ἀρετὴν διαφέροντες· μάλιστα γὰρ
7 εὔλογον ἀνίσους ἁπλῶς εἶναι τούτους μόνους. εἰσὶ δέ τινες οἳ κατὰ γένος ὑπερέχοντες οὐκ ἀξιοῦσι τῶν ἴσων αὑτοὺς διὰ τὴν ἀνισότητα ταύτην· εὐγενεῖς γὰρ εἶναι δοκοῦσιν οἷς ὑπάρχει προγόνων ἀρετὴ καὶ πλοῦτος. Ἀρχαὶ μὲν οὖν ὡς εἰπεῖν αὗται καὶ πηγαὶ τῶν στάσεών εἰσιν, ὅθεν στασιάζουσιν.
8 Διὸ καὶ αἱ μεταβολαὶ γίγνονται διχῶς· ὁτὲ μὲν γὰρ πρὸς

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and what is equal proportionately, but fail in attaining justice, in realising this their idea of what is equal and just. Their agreement goes no further than their language, as soon as they come to action, they are at issue as to the practical application of the language in which they agree. This leaves a definite and good sense for Bekker's text, which I have therefore not altered.

3 κατ' οὐσίαν] 'in property.'

4 πάντων τῶν ἴσων] 'equality in all things.'

πλεονεκτεῖν ζητοῦσιν] So *Eth.* v. 2. [illegible] p. 1129, b 9, δοκεῖ πλεονέκτης [illegible] τοῦτο γὰρ περιέχει καὶ κοινόν, "[illegible] more [illegible] much more inclusive," Stahr. The [illegible] is to be understood simply as a justification of his use of πλεονεκτεῖν.

5 ἡμαρτημέναι δ' ἁπλῶς] Spengel in the passage quoted above would read here ἡμαρτηκυῖαι δὲ τοῦ ἁπλῶς, but the reading in the text seems to be quite defensible.

κατὰ τὴν ὑπόληψιν] 'according to the view which they respectively entertain.'

6 πάντων δέ] For all this language compare III. xii. 13.

7 εὐγενεῖς] Compare VI. (IV.) viii. 9, ἀρχαῖος πλοῦτος καὶ ἀρετή.

ὅθεν στασιάζουσιν] not in the sense of ὅθεν ἡ κίνησις, but οὗ ἕνεκα, *Eth.* vi. 2. 4[a], p. 1139, 31.

8 Διὸ καὶ αἱ μεταβολαί, κ. τ. λ.] καὶ αἱ μεταβολαί, the revolutions, the changes of the government, as well as the dissensions whilst the

The two forms of revolution.

τὴν πολιτείαν, ὅπως ἐκ τῆς καθεστηκυίας ἄλλην μεταστή-
σωσιν, οἷον ἐκ δημοκρατίας ὀλιγαρχίαν ἢ δημοκρατίαν ἐξ
ὀλιγαρχίας, ἢ πολιτείαν καὶ ἀριστοκρατίαν ἐκ τούτων, ἢ
ταύτας ἐξ ἐκείνων· ὁτὲ δ' οὐ πρὸς τὴν καθεστηκυῖαν πολι-
τείαν, ἀλλὰ τὴν μὲν κατάστασιν προαιροῦνται τὴν αὐτήν,
δι' αὐτῶν δ' εἶναι βούλονται ταύτην, οἷον τὴν ὀλιγαρχίαν
ἢ τὴν μοναρχίαν. ἔτι περὶ τοῦ μᾶλλον καὶ ἧττον, οἷον ἢ 9
ὀλιγαρχίαν οὖσαν εἰς τὸ μᾶλλον ὀλιγαρχεῖσθαι ἢ εἰς τὸ
ἧττον, ἢ δημοκρατίαν οὖσαν εἰς τὸ μᾶλλον δημοκρατεῖσθαι
ἢ εἰς τὸ ἧττον· ὁμοίως δὲ καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν λοιπῶν πολιτειῶν, ἢ
ἵνα ἐπιταθῶσιν ἢ ἀνεθῶσιν. ἔτι πρὸς τὸ μέρος τι κινῆσαι 10
τῆς πολιτείας, οἷον ἀρχήν τινα καταστῆσαι ἢ ἀνελεῖν,
ὥσπερ ἐν Λακεδαίμονί φασι Λύσανδρόν τινες ἐπιχειρῆσαι
καταλῦσαι τὴν βασιλείαν καὶ Παυσανίαν τὸν βασιλέα τὴν
ἐφορείαν. καὶ ἐν Ἐπιδάμνῳ δὲ μετέβαλεν ἡ πολιτεία

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government remains unchanged; this last is *στάσις*. The connexion which *διό* is meant to indicate is not so clear. It seems to be this: inequality is the great cause of dissension, and dissension leads to revolution. The inequality to be remedied exists either with reference to the two parties which divide the state, the many and the wealthy, or with reference to the members of those parties within themselves, or more specifically of that one which is in actual possession of the government. If, then, the inequality may be of two kinds, the dissension may also be of two kinds, and if the dissension is of two kinds, the revolution to which it leads may also assume one of two forms. I do not see any other way, though not satisfied with this.

ὁτὲ μὲν γάρ, κ. τ. λ.] 'At one time it assumes the form of an attack on the existing constitution.' It is a question of the form of government.

πολιτείαν καὶ ἀριστοκρατίαν] Compare II. XI. 5, and VI. (IV.) Ch. VII. VIII.

δι' αὐτῶν] It is a personal question. They accept the constitution, they wish it to be placed in their own hands to administer.

9 *ἔτι*] It is a question of degree. Victorius looks on the two cases indicated by *ἔτι* in §§ 9, 10 as varieties of the second form of revolution, *ὅτε δ' οὐ πρός, κ.τ.λ.*, and finds in this view the justification of the *διχῶς γίγνονται αἱ μεταβολαί*. I rather look on them as proceeding from his careful attention to all distinctions, his wish to exhaust the cases. They are simply subsidiary.

10 *μέρος τι*] 'Some one part.'

ὥσπερ ἐν Λακεδαίμονι] Mr Grote, IX. 330, considers that Lysander's object was to make the kingly office elective, not hereditary; to introduce something very similar to the method adopted at Carthage, II. XI. 4.

Παυσανίαν] On this see Grote, II. 464, 467, V. 362.

Ἐπιδάμνῳ] Of Epidamnus, we have had notices, II. VII. 23, III. XVI. 1.

κατὰ μέριον· ἀντὶ γὰρ τῶν φυλάρχων βουλὴν ἐποίησαν.
11 εἰς δὲ τὴν Ἡλιαίαν ἐπάναγκές ἐστιν ἔτι τῶν ἐν τῷ πολιτεύματι βαδίζειν τὰς ἀρχάς, ὅταν ἐπιψηφίζηται ἀρχή τις. ὀλιγαρχικὸν δὲ καὶ ὁ ἄρχων ὁ εἷς ἦν ἐν τῇ πολιτείᾳ ταύτῃ· πανταχοῦ γὰρ διὰ τὸ ἄνισον ἡ στάσις· οὐ μὴν τοῖς ἀνίσοις ὑπάρχει ἀνάλογον· ἀΐδιος γὰρ βασιλεία ἄνισος, ἐὰν ᾖ ἐν
12 ἴσοις· ὅλως γὰρ τὸ ἴσον ζητοῦντες στασιάζουσιν. ἔστι δὲ διττὸν τὸ ἴσον· τὸ μὲν γὰρ ἀριθμῷ τὸ δὲ κατ' ἀξίαν ἐστίν.

Inequality the ground of political disturbance.

Mr [illegible] remarks on them that they are so brief as to convey [illegible] knowledge. There is a notice [illegible]

[illegible] by a change in one [illegible]

[illegible] As [illegible]

[illegible]

there will be dissension if citizens unequal in position have their rights proportioned to that inequality. In one sense it is true this case presents an inequality, but it is an inequality which is really just. There is no violation of proportion. So I would paraphrase the passage, agreeing with Stahr in the sense I attach to it, but allowing that it is simply conjectural. The only other way I can suggest is: in all cases alike where there is dissension, inequality is the cause of that dissension, but it is not in all cases that inequality produces dissension; people may be unequal and yet not quarrel, for though unequal in the distribution of political power or privileges, a proportionate equality may be preserved. The cases in which inequality results in dissension are then those where over and above the inequality there is in the [illegible] above mentioned, a violation of this proportionate equality. The second paraphrase supplies more, but does not change the sense of the words so much as the other. [illegible] the general basis of the two is pretty much the same. I suspect the passage of being altogether disturbed. [illegible] seems to refer [illegible] to the cases of Sparta and [illegible]. [illegible] it would seem [illegible] the general remark [illegible]

[illegible] Ed.

λέγω δὲ ἀριθμῷ μὲν τὸ πλήθει ἢ μεγέθει ταὐτὸ καὶ ἴσον, *Inequality the ground of political disturbance.*
κατ' ἀξίαν δὲ τὸ τῷ λόγῳ, οἷον ὑπερέχει κατ' ἀριθμὸν μὲν
ἴσον τὰ τρία τοῖν δυοῖν καὶ ταῦτα τοῦ ἑνός, λόγῳ δὲ τέτ-
ταρα τοῖν δυοῖν καὶ ταῦτα τοῦ ἑνός· ἴσον γὰρ μέρος τὰ δύο
τῶν τεττάρων καὶ τὸ ἓν τῶν δυοῖν· ἄμφω γὰρ ἡμίση. ὁμο- 13 *Idea of equality.*
λογοῦντες δὲ τὸ ἁπλῶς εἶναι δίκαιον τὸ κατ' ἀξίαν, διαφέ-
ρονται, καθάπερ ἐλέχθη πρότερον, οἱ μὲν ὅτι, ἐὰν κατά τι
ἴσοι ὦσιν, ὅλως ἴσοι νομίζουσιν εἶναι, οἱ δ' ὅτι, ἐὰν κατά τι
ἄνισοι, πάντων ἀνίσων ἀξιοῦσιν ἑαυτούς. διὸ καὶ μάλιστα 14
δύο γίνονται πολιτεῖαι, δῆμος καὶ ὀλιγαρχία· εὐγένεια γὰρ 1302
καὶ ἀρετὴ ἐν ὀλίγοις, ταῦτα δ' ἐν πλείοσιν· εὐγενεῖς γὰρ
καὶ ἀγαθοὶ οὐδαμοῦ ἑκατόν, ἄποροι δὲ πολλοὶ πολλαχοῦ.
τὸ δὲ ἁπλῶς πάντῃ καθ' ἑκατέραν τετάχθαι τὴν ἰσότητα

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v. x. 4, p. 1134, 27, ἐλευθέρων καὶ ἴσων, ἢ κατ' ἀναλογίαν ἢ κατ' ἀριθμόν. The two passages compared show, as does also § 13 compared with § 2 in this chapter, that κατ' ἀναλογίαν is equivalent to κατ' ἀξίαν. Numerical is opposed to proportionate equality.

13 ὁμολογοῦντες δέ, κ. τ. λ.] The text as I have given it differs from Bekker's in its view of the article τό before ἁπλῶς, and in its stopping—Bekker places a comma after δίκαιον. 'Whilst agreeing in the statement,' such I make the force of τό, 'that abstractedly justice consists in the observance of the fair claim of all parties, they differ, as was said before, in this that the one, &c.' See above in § 2.

14 διὸ καὶ μάλιστα] Again the connection, as in § 8, is not quite clear. The claims of various parties are the cause of difference. These claims may be either that of superior numbers, or superior wealth, or superior birth, or superior goodness. But practically it is the first two that are important. Superiority of birth and goodness is found in so few as not to make their claim a cause of disturbance. Add to this that superiority in goodness is generally accompanied by the indisposition to assert the claim which it gives. The two remaining claims, that of numbers and wealth, are the bases respectively of the two common forms of government, democracy, and oligarchy, and these two claims are really the only ones that in common political life are found to be the ground of political dissensions. Hence, also, to speak generally, there are two, and only two constitutions.

ταῦτα δ' ἐν πλείοσιν] The elements of these, δῆμος καὶ ὀλιγαρχία.

ἄποροι] Some MSS. read εὔποροι. Stahr conjectures that the text originally included both. It would be better if it did. εὔποροι δὲ καὶ ἄποροι πολλοὶ πολλαχοῦ. But it may stand as it is; either involves the other. Compare VI. (IV.) iv. 18, 19. The existence of a large class of poor renders their claim inevitable, their objection to the rule of the rich inevitable, if they are subject; the objection of the rich inevitable if the poor are dominant.

καθ' ἑκατέραν ἰσότητα] 'according to either of the two equalities.'

Idea of equality.

φαῦλον. φανερὸν δ' ἐκ τοῦ συμβαίνοντος· οὐδεμία γὰρ μόνιμος ἐκ τῶν τοιούτων πολιτειῶν. τούτου δ' αἴτιον ὅτι
15 ἀδύνατον ἀπὸ τοῦ πρώτου καὶ τοῦ ἐν ἀρχῇ ἡμαρτημένου μὴ ἀπαντᾶν εἰς τὸ τέλος κακόν τι. διὸ δεῖ τὰ μὲν ἀριθμητικῇ ἰσότητι χρῆσθαι, τὰ δὲ τῇ κατ' ἀξίαν. ὅμως δὲ ἀσφαλε-
16 στέρα καὶ ἀστασίαστος μᾶλλον ἡ δημοκρατία τῆς ὀλιγαρχίας. ἐν μὲν γὰρ ταῖς ὀλιγαρχίαις ἐγγίνονται δύο, ἥ τε πρὸς ἀλλήλους στάσις καὶ ἔτι ἡ πρὸς τὸν δῆμον, ἐν δὲ ταῖς δημοκρατίαις ἡ πρὸς τὴν ὀλιγαρχίαν μόνον· αὐτῷ δὲ πρὸς αὑτόν, ὅ τι καὶ ἄξιον εἰπεῖν, οὐκ ἐγγίγνεται τῷ δήμῳ στάσις. ἔτι δὲ ἡ ἐκ τῶν μέσων πολιτεία ἐγγυτέρω τοῦ δήμου ἢ ἡ τῶν ὀλίγων, ἥπερ ἐστὶν ἀσφαλεστάτη τῶν τοιού-
2 των πολιτειῶν.

Ἐπεὶ δὲ σκοποῦμεν ἐκ τίνων αἵ τε στάσεις γίγνονται καὶ αἱ μεταβολαὶ περὶ τὰς πολιτείας, ληπτέον καθόλου πρῶτον τὰς ἀρχὰς καὶ τὰς αἰτίας αὐτῶν. εἰσὶ δὲ[a] σχεδὸν

[a] δὴ Bekker.

ἐκ τοῦ συμβαίνοντος] 'from that which is habitually the result.'

15 μὴ ἀπαντᾶν] 'There should not result in the end.'

τὰ μὲν ἀριθμητικῇ, κ.τ.λ.] The principle of absolute or numerical equality ought to be mixed with the principle of proportionate equality, according, that is, to personal worth. Lewis *on Opinion*, 273.

ὅμως δέ] This refers to the οὐδεμία γὰρ μόνιμος. Still, though no such form is permanent, there is more safety and less liability to quarrels in democracy than in oligarchy.

ἥπερ δὲ ἀσφαλεστέρα] Instances are not difficult to find, if we wish to verify the truth of Aristotle's remark. It deserves attention in itself, and from the contrast it offers to the general estimate of these forms of government, which the influence of [illegible] sympathies has made popular in England, not less in contempt of historical evidence, than of this, the deliberate judgment of the greatest political writer of his own or of any age. The simplest instance in Greek political experience would be that of the Thirty Tyrants at Athens, whose internal dissensions we have an opportunity of studying.

16 ὅ τι καὶ ἄξιον εἰπεῖν] This expression occurred II. xi. 2.

ἥπερ] 'and this,' ἡ τῶν μέσων, 'it is that is the most secure.'

τῶν τοιούτων πολιτειῶν] 'of such forms of government as we are now discussing,' the actual and imperfect forms.

II. 1 καθόλου] as opposed to Ch. V. 1, καθ' ἕκαστον εἴδος μερίσαντας. So that Chaps. II. III. IV. form one division of the book.

δέ] I prefer this reading of one MS. to Bekker's reading, δή.

The causes and occasions of disturbance generally.

ὡς εἰπεῖν τρεῖς τὸν ἀριθμόν, ἃς διοριστέον καθ' αὑτὰς τύπῳ
πρῶτον. δεῖ γὰρ λαβεῖν πῶς τε ἔχοντες στασιάζουσι καὶ
τίνων ἕνεκεν, καὶ τρίτον τίνες ἀρχαὶ γίνονται τῶν πολιτικῶν
ταραχῶν καὶ τῶν πρὸς ἀλλήλους στάσεων. Τοῦ μὲν οὖν
αὐτοὺς ἔχειν πως πρὸς τὴν μεταβολὴν αἰτίαν καθόλου μά- 2
λιστα θετέον περὶ ἧς ἤδη τυγχάνομεν εἰρηκότες. οἱ μὲν
γὰρ ἰσότητος ἐφιέμενοι στασιάζουσιν, ἂν νομίζωσιν ἔλαττον
ἔχειν ὄντες ἴσοι τοῖς πλεονεκτοῦσιν, οἱ δὲ τῆς ἀνισότητος
καὶ τῆς ὑπεροχῆς, ἂν ὑπολαμβάνωσιν ὄντες ἄνισοι μὴ πλέον
ἔχειν ἀλλ' ἴσον ἢ ἔλαττον. τούτων δ' ἔστι μὲν ὀρέγεσθαι 3
δικαίως, ἔστι δὲ καὶ ἀδίκως· ἐλάττους τε γὰρ ὄντες ὅπως
ἴσοι ὦσι στασιάζουσι, καὶ ἴσοι ὄντες ὅπως μείζους. πῶς
μὲν οὖν ἔχοντες στασιάζουσιν, εἴρηται. Περὶ ὧν δὲ στα-
σιάζουσιν, ἐστὶ κέρδος καὶ τιμὴ καὶ τἀναντία τούτοις· καὶ
γὰρ ἀτιμίαν φεύγοντες καὶ ζημίαν, ἢ ὑπὲρ αὑτῶν ἢ τῶν
φίλων, στασιάζουσιν ἐν ταῖς πόλεσιν. Αἱ δ' αἰτίαι καὶ 4
ἀρχαὶ τῶν κινήσεων, ὅθεν αὐτοί τε διατίθενται τὸν εἰρημένον
τρόπον καὶ περὶ τῶν λεχθέντων, ἔστι μὲν ὡς τὸν ἀριθμὸν
ἑπτὰ τυγχάνουσιν οὖσαι, ἔστι δ' ὡς πλείους. ὧν δύο μὲν 5
ἐστι ταὐτὰ τοῖς εἰρημένοις, ἀλλ' οὐχ ὡσαύτως· διὰ κέρδος

καθ' αὑτάς] 'by themselves,' without any explanation attached, clear from any admixture of matter, the matter in this case being the instances from history,

πῶς τε ἔχοντες] 'The state of feeling in which men are led into political quarrels, the objects for which, and thirdly, what are the causes and beginnings, the whole antecedent circumstances and the particular one which may be the occasion.' Such seems in the fullest extent to be the meaning of *ἀρχαί*. Of course, when I say the whole antecedent circumstances, I except the two specified previously, the state of feeling and the objects aimed at, which might be thought to constitute two of them.

2 *ἔχειν πως*] 'being affected in one manner or another.'

τοῖς πλεονεκτοῦσιν] simply 'to those who have advantages over them.'

3 *ἐλάττους*] 'unfairly depressed.'

ἴσοι ὄντες ὅπως μείζους] 'really equal, they strive to raise themselves above their fair position.' This interpretation seems required by the *γάρ*.

4 *ὅθεν*] Compare *Eth.* VI. ii. 4, p. 1139. 31, *ἀρχὴ προαίρεσις, ὅθεν ἡ κίνησις ἀλλ' οὐχ οὗ ἕνεκα.* So here it is not the object aimed at,—that is given just before, *περὶ ὧν*,—that is meant by *ἀρχαί*, but the more immediate impulses that set people in motion.

5 *διὰ κέρδος*] Compare note on I. 7. It is not with any view to secure gain for themselves, but from a sense of

The causes and occasions of disturbance generally.

γὰρ καὶ διὰ τιμὴν παροξύνονται πρὸς ἀλλήλους οὐχ ἵνα κτήσωνται σφίσιν αὐτοῖς, ὥσπερ εἴρηται πρότερον, ἀλλ' ἑτέρους ὁρῶντες τοὺς μὲν δικαίως τοὺς δ' ἀδίκως πλεονεκτοῦν-
1302 b 6 τας τούτων. ἔτι διὰ ὕβριν, διὰ φόβον, διὰ ὑπεροχήν, διὰ καταφρόνησιν, διὰ αὔξησιν τὴν παρὰ τὸ ἀνάλογον. ἔτι δὲ ἄλλον τρόπον δι' ἐριθείαν, δι' ὀλιγωρίαν, διὰ μικρότητα, δι'
3 ἀνομοιότητα. Τούτων δὲ ὕβρις μὲν καὶ κέρδος τίνα ἔχουσι

Explanation of the causes indicated.

δύναμιν καὶ πῶς αἴτια, σχεδόν ἐστι φανερόν· ὑβριζόντων τε γὰρ τῶν ἐν ταῖς ἀρχαῖς καὶ πλεονεκτούντων στασιάζουσι καὶ πρὸς ἀλλήλους καὶ πρὸς τὰς πολιτείας τὰς διδούσας τὴν ἐξουσίαν· ἡ δὲ πλεονεξία γίνεται ὁτὲ μὲν ἀπὸ τῶν ἰδίων, ὁτὲ
2 δὲ ἀπὸ τῶν κοινῶν. Δῆλον δὲ καὶ ἡ τιμή, καὶ τί δύναται καὶ πῶς αἴτια στάσεως· καὶ γὰρ αὐτοὶ ἀτιμαζόμενοι καὶ ἄλλους ὁρῶντες τιμωμένους στασιάζουσιν· ταῦτα δὲ ἀδίκως μὲν γίνεται, ὅταν παρὰ τὴν ἀξίαν ἢ τιμῶνταί τινες ἢ ἀτι-
3 μάζωνται, δικαίως δέ, ὅταν κατὰ τὴν ἀξίαν. Δι' ὑπεροχὴν δέ, ὅταν τις ᾖ τῇ δυνάμει μείζων, ἢ εἷς ἢ πλείους, ἢ κατὰ τὴν πόλιν καὶ τὴν δύναμιν τοῦ πολιτεύματος· γίνεσθαι γὰρ εἴωθεν ἐκ τῶν τοιούτων μοναρχία ἢ δυναστεία. διὸ ἐνιαχοῦ εἰώθασιν ὀστρακίζειν, οἷον ἐν Ἄργει καὶ Ἀθήνησιν.

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discontent with the existing arrangements. They wish to remedy an injustice which they see.

ἑτέρους ὁρῶντες] 'because they see others.'

6 **ἐριθείαν**] For the explanation of this term we must look to what Aristotle says below, III. 9, **διὰ τὰς ἐριθείας, ὅτι ᾑροῦντο τοὺς ἐριθευομένους.** Compare De Wette, *Handbuch zum neuen Testament*, Rom. ii. 9, where he speaks of the senses of the word in the various passages in which it occurs in St. Paul's Epistles, and of the sense of 'party-spirit' which since Aristotle had been its usual one; and this is the sense in which Liddell and Scott take word.

III. 1 **πρὸς τὰς πολιτείας**] 'against the constitutions which afford them scope.'

ἀπὸ τῶν ἰδίων] 'from private property,' 'at the expense of individuals.'

2 **ἄλλους ὁρῶντες**] Comp. Niebuhr, *Rom. Hist.* II. 602, on the character of M. Manlius, and the feelings with which he beheld the honours heaped on Camillus.

3 **ἢ κατὰ τὴν πόλιν, κ.τ.λ.**] 'More powerful than is consistent either with the state of which he is a member, or with the power vested in its government.'

ἐν Ἄργει] For this see Grote IV. 216. For ostracism generally, above, III. XIII.

Explanation of the causes indicated.

καίτοι βέλτιον ἐξ ἀρχῆς ὁρᾶν ὅπως μὴ ἐνέσονται τοσοῦτον
ὑπερέχοντες, ἢ ἐάσαντας γενέσθαι ἰᾶσθαι ὕστερον. Διὰ δὲ
φόβον στασιάζουσιν οἵ τε ἠδικηκότες, δεδιότες μὴ δῶσι
δίκην, καὶ οἱ μέλλοντες ἀδικεῖσθαι, βουλόμενοι φθάσαι πρὶν 4
ἀδικηθῆναι, ὥσπερ ἐν Ῥόδῳ συνέστησαν οἱ γνώριμοι ἐπὶ
τὸν δῆμον διὰ τὰς ἐπιφερομένας δίκας. Διὰ καταφρόνησιν 5
δὲ καὶ στασιάζουσι καὶ ἐπιτίθενται, οἷον ἔν τε ταῖς ὀλιγαρ-
χίαις, ὅταν πλείους ὦσιν οἱ μὴ μετέχοντες τῆς πολιτείας
(κρείττους γὰρ οἴονται εἶναι), καὶ ἐν ταῖς δημοκρατίαις οἱ
εὔποροι καταφρονήσαντες τῆς ἀταξίας καὶ ἀναρχίας, οἷον
καὶ ἐν Θήβαις μετὰ τὴν ἐν Οἰνοφύτοις μάχην κακῶς πο-
λιτευομένων ἡ δημοκρατία διεφθάρη, καὶ ἡ Μεγαρέων δι'
ἀταξίαν καὶ ἀναρχίαν ἡττηθέντων, καὶ ἐν Συρακούσαις πρὸ
τῆς Γέλωνος τυραννίδος, καὶ ἐν Ῥόδῳ ὁ δῆμος πρὸ τῆς
ἐπαναστάσεως. Γίνονται δὲ καὶ δι' αὔξησιν τὴν παρὰ τὸ 6
ἀνάλογον μεταβολαὶ τῶν πολιτειῶν. ὥσπερ γὰρ σῶμα
ἐκ μερῶν σύγκειται καὶ δεῖ αὐξάνεσθαι ἀνάλογον, ἵνα μένῃ
συμμετρία, εἰ δὲ μή, φθείρεται, ὅταν ὁ μὲν πους τεττά-

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4 Ῥόδῳ] Compare Ch. V. 2. Nieb. *über alte Gesch.*, Vol. IV. "There followed a time of internal dissension, with regard to which the accounts that remain are obscure." I translate from the German.

διὰ τὰς ἐπιφερομένας δίκας] 'on account of the suits with which they were threatened.' The Corcyrean Sedition (Thuc. III. 70) is a case in point.

5 πλείους οἱ μὴ μετέχοντες] Compare in Xenoph. *Hell.* II. 3, § 38, et sqq., the argument of Theramenes as to the dangerous policy adopted by Critias and the extreme party.

ἐν Θήβαις] Grote, v. 466, Thuc. I. 113, we have the fact of the change in Bœotia given us as the result of the battle of Coronea. The internal causes are not given.

Μεγαρέων] Grote, III. 59, 60. No dates or details. Thuc. I. 103, we have the alliance of Megara with Athens, and in 114, the withdrawal of Megara from that alliance. And from the context it is not improbable that it is to these facts that Aristotle's remarks apply.

Συρακούσαις] Grote, v. 286, note. It is there suggested that Aristotle's memory may have proved treacherous, and that Gelo's name has been substituted for that of Dionysius.

πρὸ τῆς ἐπαναστάσεως] 'previous to the rising of the oligarchical party against them,' the fact given above in the words συνέστησαν οἱ γνώριμοι ἐπὶ τὸν δῆμον.

6 τὴν παρά, κ.τ.λ.] Not all increase, but 'that increase which is disproportionate,' the unequal growth of the parts of the state, or the growth of one whilst the others remained stationary.

Explanation of the causes indicated.

ρων πηχῶν ᾖ, τὸ δ' ἄλλο σῶμα δυοῖν σπιθαμαῖν, ἐνίοτε
δὲ κἂν εἰς ἄλλου ζῴου μεταβάλλοι μορφήν, εἰ μὴ μόνον
κατὰ τὸ ποσὸν ἀλλὰ καὶ κατὰ τὸ ποιὸν αὐξάνοιτο παρὰ
1303 τὸ ἀνάλογον, οὕτω καὶ πόλις σύγκειται ἐκ μερῶν, ὧν
πολλάκις λανθάνει τι αὐξανόμενον, οἷον τὸ τῶν ἀπόρων
7 πλῆθος ἐν ταῖς δημοκρατίαις καὶ πολιτείαις. συμβαίνει
δ' ἐνίοτε τοῦτο καὶ διὰ τύχας, οἷον ἐν Τάραντι ἡττη-
θέντων καὶ ἀπολομένων πολλῶν γνωρίμων ὑπὸ τῶν Ἰαπύ-
γων μικρὸν ὕστερον τῶν Μηδικῶν δημοκρατία ἐγένετο ἐκ
πολιτείας, καὶ ἐν Ἄργει τῶν ἐν τῇ ἑβδόμῃ ἀπολομένων ὑπὸ
Κλεομένους τοῦ Λάκωνος ἠναγκάσθησαν παραδέξασθαι τῶν
περιοίκων τινάς, καὶ ἐν Ἀθήναις ἀτυχούντων πεζῇ οἱ γνώ-
ριμοι ἐλάττους ἐγένοντο διὰ τὸ ἐκ καταλόγου στρατεύεσθαι
8 ὑπὸ τὸν Λακωνικὸν πόλεμον. συμβαίνει δὲ τοῦτο καὶ ἐν
ταῖς δημοκρατίαις, ἧττον δέ· πλειόνων γὰρ τῶν ἀπόρων

7 διὰ τύχας] 'some sudden accidents.'

Τάραντι] Herod. VI. 83, VII. 170; Grote, III. 519, V. 320, and note. Mr Grote remarks justly, "that the expression gives reason to suppose that even before this event the constitution had been popular."

Ἄργει] Herod. VI. 78–82, Hermann, *Pol. Ant.* 33.

ἑβδόμῃ] The origin and meaning of this name was, says Stahr, unknown even to the later Greeks.

περιοίκων] The language of Herodotus is, Ἄργος ἀνδρῶν ἐχηρώθη οὕτω ὥστε οἱ δοῦλοι αὐτέων ἔσχον πάντα τὰ πρήγματα ἄρχοντές τε καὶ διέποντες. The Argive Periœci, Hermann, *Pol. Ant.* § 19, conjectures, were called Orneatæ.

ἀτυχούντων πεζῇ] Does this refer to their losses at Tanagra, Coronea, and similar battles, taking, that is, a range of about thirty years, as expressed by the phrase ὑπὸ τὸν Λακωνικὸν πόλεμον.

ἐκ καταλόγου] 'from the register of Athenian citizens.' Incidentally it illustrates our historical accounts and the language of Demosthenes for the period of Aristotle's own experience. Compare on this the first *Philippic*. Mercenaries had entirely superseded the native Athenian forces.

8 ἀπόρων] This word is doubtful. Several MSS. read εὐπόρων, and some editions. In a note on Ch. I. 14, I have stated why I think one of these words may do duty for both. But it is not for that reason that I would here keep ἀπόρων. It is, I believe, the word which gives the best sense. An increase in the number of wealthy would have a tendency to mitigate any oligarchy, and transpose it into a πολιτεία. At any rate, where the wealth is diffused, the oligarchy is in its mildest form. At worst, the tendency in a democracy of a large increase of the holders of wealth, would be to temper the evils to which a democracy is liable, and, by making it a good mixture, make it a πολιτεία. But an increase in the number of the poor would be a sound ground for inferring that wealth was becoming

Explanation of the causes indicated.

γινομένων ἢ τῶν οὐσιῶν αὐξανομένων μεταβάλλουσιν εἰς
ὀλιγαρχίας καὶ δυναστείας. Μεταβάλλουσι δ' αἱ πολιτεῖαι
καὶ ἄνευ στάσεως διά τε τὰς ἐριθείας, ὥσπερ ἐν Ἡραίᾳ (ἐξ
αἱρετῶν γὰρ διὰ τοῦτο ἐποίησαν κληρωτάς, ὅτι ᾑροῦντο τοὺς 9
ἐριθευομένους), καὶ δι' ὀλιγωρίαν, ὅταν ἐάσωσιν εἰς τὰς ἀρχὰς
τὰς κυρίας παριέναι τοὺς μὴ τῆς πολιτείας φίλους, ὥσπερ
ἐν Ὠρεῷ κατελύθη ἡ ὀλιγαρχία τῶν ἀρχόντων γενομένου
Ἡρακλεοδώρου, ὃς ἐξ ὀλιγαρχίας πολιτείαν καὶ δημοκρατίαν
κατεσκεύασεν. Ἔτι διὰ τὸ παρὰ μικρόν· λέγω δὲ παρὰ 10
μικρόν, ὅτι πολλάκις λανθάνει μεγάλη γινομένη μετάβασις
τῶν νομίμων, ὅταν παρορῶσι τὸ μικρόν, ὥσπερ ἐν Ἀμβρα-
κίᾳ μικρὸν ἦν τὸ τίμημα, τέλος δ' οὐθενὸς ἦρχον, ὡς ἔγγιον
ἢ μηθὲν διαφέρον τοῦ μηθὲν τὸ μικρόν. Στασιωτικὸν δὲ 11
καὶ τὸ μὴ ὁμόφυλον, ἕως ἂν συμπνεύσῃ· ὥσπερ γὰρ οὐδ' ἐκ
τοῦ τυχόντος πλήθους πόλις γίγνεται, οὕτως οὐδ' ἐν τῷ τυ-
χόντι χρόνῳ. διὸ ὅσοι ἤδη συνοίκους ἐδέξαντο ἢ ἐποίκους,

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more concentrated in a few hands, that the distinction between rich and poor, as classes, was not becoming effaced, but growing sharper; that the middle class was disappearing, and the two extremes taking up a position of more marked opposition to one another. Such a condition of things would lead to an oligarchy, and gradually to its closest and narrowest form (*δυναστείαν*).

τῶν οὐσιῶν αὐξανομένων] The increase of the poor, or the increase of the standard of wealth in the case of the wealthy, are but two sides of the same condition of things. As the poor grow poorer, the rich grow richer. Their numbers do not increase, but the wealth gets enormous in the hands of the few who share it. Compare Arnold, *Rom. Hist.* Vol. I. p. 141.

9 *καὶ ἄνευ στάσεως*] 'even without any open rupture.'

Ἡραίᾳ] In Arcadia.

ᾑροῦντο] 'They were in the habit of choosing the members of the same party.'

τὰς κυρίας] 'the supreme,' those in which the government really lay.

Ὠρεῷ] Founded in the place of Histiæa, in the time of Pericles. Grote, VI. 469, Niebuhr, *über alte Gesch.* Vol. IV. 179. The object was to keep Eubœa under control. Of Heracleodorus nothing is known.

10 *τῶν νομίμων*] of the 'institutions.'

παρορῶσι] This word occurs III. VIII. I.

Ἀμβρακίᾳ] This town was a colony of Corinth, and later the capital of Pyrrhus, but is little known so far as its internal history is concerned.

ἔγγιον] 'quite close.'

11 *ἕως ἂν συμπνεύσῃ*] 'until the alien element shall have become amalgamated with the other,' 'coaluerit.'

τυχόντι χρόνῳ] Compare VII. (VI.) V. I.

συνοίκους] expresses nothing more

The object of the book.

νόντων, ὥσπερ εἴρηται καὶ πρότερον. δῆμος μὲν γὰρ ἐγένετο ἐκ τοῦ ἴσους ὁτιοῦν ὄντας οἴεσθαι ἁπλῶς ἴσους εἶναι
3 (ὅτι γὰρ ἐλεύθεροι πάντες ὁμοίως, ἁπλῶς ἴσοι εἶναι νομίζουσιν), ὀλιγαρχία δὲ ἐκ τοῦ ἀνίσους ἕν τι ὄντας ὅλως εἶναι ἀνίσους ὑπολαμβάνειν (κατ' οὐσίαν γὰρ ἄνισοι ὄντες ἁπλῶς
4 ἄνισοι ὑπολαμβάνουσιν εἶναι). εἶτα οἱ μὲν ὡς ἴσοι ὄντες πάντων τῶν ἴσων ἀξιοῦσι μετέχειν, οἱ δ' ὡς ἄνισοι ὄντες
5 πλεονεκτεῖν ζητοῦσιν· τὸ γὰρ πλεῖον ἄνισον. ἔχουσι μὲν οὖν τι πᾶσαι δίκαιον, ἡμαρτημέναι δ' ἁπλῶς εἰσίν· καὶ διὰ ταύτην τὴν αἰτίαν, ὅταν μὴ κατὰ τὴν ὑπόληψιν ἣν ἑκάτεροι τυγχάνουσιν ἔχοντες μετέχωσι τῆς πολιτείας, στασιάζουσιν.
6 πάντων δὲ δικαιότατα μὲν ἂν στασιάζοιεν, ἥκιστα δὲ τοῦτο
1301 B πράττουσιν οἱ κατ' ἀρετὴν διαφέροντες· μάλιστα γὰρ
7 εὔλογον ἀνίσους ἁπλῶς εἶναι τούτους μόνον. εἰσὶ δέ τινες οἳ κατὰ γένος ὑπερέχοντες οὐκ ἀξιοῦσι τῶν ἴσων αὑτοὺς διὰ τὴν ἀνισότητα ταύτην· εὐγενεῖς γὰρ εἶναι δοκοῦσιν οἷς ὑπάρχει προγόνων ἀρετὴ καὶ πλοῦτος. Ἀρχαὶ μὲν οὖν ὡς εἰπεῖν αὗται καὶ πηγαὶ τῶν στάσεών εἰσιν, ὅθεν στασιάζουσιν.
8 Διὸ καὶ αἱ μεταβολαὶ γίγνονται διχῶς· ὁτὲ μὲν γὰρ πρὸς

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and what is equal proportionately, but fail in attaining justice, in realising this their idea of what is equal and just. Their agreement goes no further than their language, as soon as they come to action, they are at issue as to the practical application of the language in which they agree. This leaves a definite and good sense for Bekker's text, which I have therefore not altered.

3 *κατ' οὐσίαν*] 'in property.'

4 *πάντων τῶν ἴσων*] 'equality in all things.'

πλεονεκτεῖν ζητοῦσιν] So *Eth.* v. 2. 10, 11, p. 1129, b 9, *δοκεῖ πλεονέκτης εἶναι. ἔστι δ' ἄνισος· τοῦτο γὰρ περιέχει καὶ κοινόν*, "denn wer mehr sei, müsse auch mehr haben," Stahr. The *γάρ* I take to be inserted simply as a justification of his use of *πλεονεκτεῖν*.

5 *ἡμαρτημέναι δ' ἁπλῶς*] Spengel in the passage quoted above would read here *ἡμαρτηκυῖαι δὲ τοῦ ἁπλῶς*, but the reading in the text seems to be quite defensible.

κατὰ τὴν ὑπόληψιν] 'according to the view which they respectively entertain.'

6 *πάντων δέ*] For all this language compare III. xii. 13.

7 *εὐγενεῖς*] Compare VI. (IV.) viii. 9, *ἀρχαῖος πλοῦτος καὶ ἀρετή*.

ὅθεν στασιάζουσιν] not in the sense of *ὅθεν ἡ κίνησις*, but *οὗ ἕνεκα*, *Eth.* vi. 2. 4[2], p. 1139, 31.

8 *Διὸ καὶ αἱ μεταβολαί, κ. τ. λ.*] *καὶ αἱ μεταβολαί*, the revolutions, the changes of the government, as well as the dissensions whilst the

The two forms of revolution.

τὴν πολιτείαν, ὅπως ἐκ τῆς καθεστηκυίας ἄλλην μεταστή-
σωσιν, οἷον ἐκ δημοκρατίας ὀλιγαρχίαν ἢ δημοκρατίαν ἐξ
ὀλιγαρχίας, ἢ πολιτείαν καὶ ἀριστοκρατίαν ἐκ τούτων, ἢ
ταύτας ἐξ ἐκείνων· ὁτὲ δ' οὐ πρὸς τὴν καθεστηκυῖαν πολι-
τείαν, ἀλλὰ τὴν μὲν κατάστασιν προαιροῦνται τὴν αὐτήν,
δι' αὐτῶν δ' εἶναι βούλονται ταύτην, οἷον τὴν ὀλιγαρχίαν
ἢ τὴν μοναρχίαν. ἔτι περὶ τοῦ μᾶλλον καὶ ἧττον, οἷον ἢ 9
ὀλιγαρχίαν οὖσαν εἰς τὸ μᾶλλον ὀλιγαρχεῖσθαι ἢ εἰς τὸ
ἧττον, ἢ δημοκρατίαν οὖσαν εἰς τὸ μᾶλλον δημοκρατεῖσθαι
ἢ εἰς τὸ ἧττον· ὁμοίως δὲ καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν λοιπῶν πολιτειῶν, ἢ
ἵνα ἐπιταθῶσιν ἢ ἀνεθῶσιν. ἔτι πρὸς τὸ μέρος τι κινῆσαι 10
τῆς πολιτείας, οἷον ἀρχήν τινα καταστῆσαι ἢ ἀνελεῖν,
ὥσπερ ἐν Λακεδαίμονί φασι Λύσανδρόν τινες ἐπιχειρῆσαι
καταλῦσαι τὴν βασιλείαν καὶ Παυσανίαν τὸν βασιλέα τὴν
ἐφορείαν. καὶ ἐν Ἐπιδάμνῳ δὲ μετέβαλεν ἡ πολιτεία

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government remains unchanged; this last is *στάσις*. The connexion which *διό* is meant to indicate is not so clear. It seems to be this: inequality is the great cause of dissension, and dissension leads to revolution. The inequality to be remedied exists either with reference to the two parties which divide the state, the many and the wealthy, or with reference to the members of those parties within themselves, or more specifically of that one which is in actual possession of the government. If, then, the inequality may be of two kinds, the dissension may also be of two kinds, and if the dissension is of two kinds, the revolution to which it leads may also assume one of two forms. I do not see any other way, though not satisfied with this.

ὁτὲ μὲν γάρ, κ. τ. λ.] 'At one time it assumes the form of an attack on the existing constitution.' It is a question of the form of government.

πολιτείαν καὶ ἀριστοκρατίαν] Compare II. XI. 5, and VI. (IV.) Ch. VII. VIII.

δι' αὐτῶν] It is a personal question. They accept the constitution, they wish it to be placed in their own hands to administer.

9 *ἔτι*] It is a question of degree. Victorius looks on the two cases indicated by *ἔτι* in §§ 9, 10 as varieties of the second form of revolution, *ὅτε δ' οὐ πρός, κ.τ.λ.*, and finds in this view the justification of the *διχῶς γίγνονται αἱ μεταβολαί*. I rather look on them as proceeding from his careful attention to all distinctions, his wish to exhaust the cases. They are simply subsidiary.

10 *μέρος τι*] 'Some one part.'

ὥσπερ ἐν Λακεδαίμονι] Mr Grote, IX. 330, considers that Lysander's object was to make the kingly office elective, not hereditary; to introduce something very similar to the method adopted at Carthage, II. XI. 4.

Παυσανίαν] On this see Grote, II. 464, 467, V. 362.

Ἐπιδάμνῳ] Of Epidamnus, we have had notices, II. VII. 23, III. XVI. 1.

κατὰ μόριον· ἀντὶ γὰρ τῶν φυλάρχων βουλὴν ἐποίησαν.
11 εἰς δὲ τὴν Ἡλιαίαν ἐπάναγκές ἐστιν ἔτι τῶν ἐν τῷ πολιτεύματι βαδίζειν τὰς ἀρχάς, ὅταν ἐπιψηφίζηται ἀρχή τις. ὀλιγαρχικὸν δὲ καὶ ὁ ἄρχων ὁ εἷς ἦν ἐν τῇ πολιτείᾳ ταύτῃ· πανταχοῦ γὰρ διὰ τὸ ἄνισον ἡ στάσις· οὐ μὴν τοῖς ἀνίσοις ὑπάρχει ἀνάλογον· ἀΐδιος γὰρ βασιλεία ἄνισος, ἐὰν ᾖ ἐν
12 ἴσοις· ὅλως γὰρ τὸ ἴσον ζητοῦντες στασιάζουσιν. ἔστι δὲ διττὸν τὸ ἴσον· τὸ μὲν γὰρ ἀριθμῷ τὸ δὲ κατ' ἀξίαν ἐστίν.

Inequality the ground of political disturbance.

Mr Grote, iii. 542, remarks on them, that they are so brief as to convey little knowledge. There is a notice later Ch. IV. 7.

κατὰ μόριον] 'by a change in one part.'

11 *εἰς δὲ τὴν Ἡλιαίαν, κ.τ.λ.*] As in so many other passages, what we want here for the interpretation is a greater knowledge of facts. The mere Greek tells us nothing. Compare for the expression *τοὺς εἰς τὸ πολίτευμα βαδίζοντας*, VI. (IV.) vi. 9. 'It is compulsory that, of those who are within the limits of the governing body, the magistrates should go to the Heliæa,' the "occasional public assembly" mentioned by Mr Grote in the passage above quoted.

ἐπιψηφίζηται] Is this active or passive in sense? "Appointed by vote." L. and S. quoting this passage.

ἄρχων ὁ εἷς] "still retaining the original single-headed archon." Compare III. xvi. 1.

πανταχοῦ γάρ, κ. τ. λ.] There are few harder passages than this in the Politics. For the connection, I should consider all since *στασιάζουσιν*, § 7, as a parenthesis, and connect *πανταχοῦ γὰρ* immediately with that section. These are the sources of dissension, 'for in all cases alike it is from inequality that dissension proceeds.'

τοῖς ἀνίσοις. ὑπάρχει ἀνάλογον] I do not mean to say that there will be dissension if citizens unequal in position have their rights proportioned to that inequality. In one sense it is true this case presents an inequality, but it is an inequality which is really just. There is no violation of proportion. So I would paraphrase the passage, agreeing with Stahr in the sense I attach to it, but allowing that it is simply conjectural. The only other way I can suggest is: in all cases alike where there is dissension, inequality is the cause of that dissension, but it is not in all cases that inequality produces dissension; people may be unequal and yet not quarrel, for though unequal, in the distribution of political power or privileges, a proportionate equality may be preserved. The cases in which inequality results in dissension are, then, those where over and above the inequality, there is in the distribution above mentioned, a violation of this proportionate equality. This second paraphrase supplies more, but does not change the sense of the words *οὐ μὴν* so much as the other. And the general basis of the two is pretty much the same. I suspect the passage of being altogether disturbed. The *ἀΐδιος βασιλεία* seems to refer especially to the cases of Sparta and Epidamnus. If it does it would seem more appropriate before the general remark *πανταχοῦ γάρ*.

12 *τὸ μὲν γὰρ ἀριθμῷ, κ.τ.λ.*] *Eth.*

Inequality the ground of political disturbance.

λέγω δὲ ἀριθμῷ μὲν τὸ πλήθει ἢ μεγέθει ταὐτὸ καὶ ἴσον,
κατ' ἀξίαν δὲ τὸ τῷ λόγῳ, οἷον ὑπερέχει κατ' ἀριθμὸν μὲν
ἴσον τὰ τρία τοῖν δυοῖν καὶ ταῦτα τοῦ ἑνός, λόγῳ δὲ τέτ-
ταρα τοῖν δυοῖν καὶ ταῦτα τοῦ ἑνός· ἴσον γὰρ μέρος τὰ δύο
τῶν τεττάρων καὶ τὸ ἓν τῶν δυοῖν· ἄμφω γὰρ ἡμίση. ὁμο- 13

Idea of equality.

λογοῦντες δὲ τὸ ἁπλῶς εἶναι δίκαιον τὸ κατ' ἀξίαν, διαφέ-
ρονται, καθάπερ ἐλέχθη πρότερον, οἱ μὲν ὅτι, ἐὰν κατά τι
ἴσοι ὦσιν, ὅλως ἴσοι νομίζουσιν εἶναι, οἱ δ' ὅτι, ἐὰν κατά τι
ἄνισοι, πάντων ἀνίσων ἀξιοῦσιν ἑαυτούς. διὸ καὶ μάλιστα 14
δύο γίνονται πολιτεῖαι, δῆμος καὶ ὀλιγαρχία· εὐγένεια γὰρ 1302
καὶ ἀρετὴ ἐν ὀλίγοις, ταῦτα δ' ἐν πλείοσιν· εὐγενεῖς γὰρ
καὶ ἀγαθοὶ οὐδαμοῦ ἑκατόν, ἄποροι δὲ πολλοὶ πολλαχοῦ.
τὸ δὲ ἁπλῶς πάντῃ καθ' ἑκατέραν τετάχθαι τὴν ἰσότητα

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v. x. 4, p. 1134, 27, ἐλευθέρων καὶ ἴσων, ἢ κατ' ἀναλογίαν ἢ κατ' ἀριθμόν. The two passages compared show, as does also § 13 compared with § 2 in this chapter, that κατ' ἀναλογίαν is equivalent to κατ' ἀξίαν. Numerical is opposed to proportionate equality.

13 ὁμολογοῦντες δέ, κ. τ. λ.] The text as I have given it differs from Bekker's in its view of the article τό before ἁπλῶς, and in its stopping—Bekker places a comma after δίκαιον. 'Whilst agreeing in the statement,' such I make the force of τό, 'that abstractedly justice consists in the observance of the fair claim of all parties, they differ, as was said before, in this that the one, &c.' See above in § 2.

14 διὸ καὶ μάλιστα] Again the connection, as in § 8, is not quite clear. The claims of various parties are the cause of difference. These claims may be either that of superior numbers, or superior wealth, or superior birth, or superior goodness. But practically it is the first two that are important. Superiority of birth and goodness is found in so few as not to make their claim a cause of disturbance. Add to this that superiority in goodness is generally accompanied by the indisposition to assert the claim which it gives. The two remaining claims, that of numbers and wealth, are the bases respectively of the two common forms of government, democracy, and oligarchy, and these two claims are really the only ones that in common political life are found to be the ground of political dissensions. Hence, also, to speak generally, there are two, and only two constitutions.

ταῦτα δ' ἐν πλείοσιν] The elements of these, δῆμος καὶ ὀλιγαρχία.

ἄποροι] Some MSS. read εὔποροι. Stahr conjectures that the text originally included both. It would be better if it did. εὔποροι δὲ καὶ ἄποροι πολλοὶ πολλαχοῦ. But it may stand as it is; either involves the other. Compare VI. (IV.) IV. 18, 19. The existence of a large class of poor renders their claim inevitable, their objection to the rule of the rich inevitable, if they are subject; the objection of the rich inevitable if the poor are dominant.

καθ' ἑκατέραν ἰσότητα] 'according to either of the two equalities.'

Idea of equality.

φαῦλον. φανερὸν δ' ἐκ τοῦ συμβαίνοντος· οὐδεμία γὰρ μόνιμος ἐκ τῶν τοιούτων πολιτειῶν. τούτου δ' αἴτιον ὅτι
15 ἀδύνατον ἀπὸ τοῦ πρώτου καὶ τοῦ ἐν ἀρχῇ ἡμαρτημένου μὴ ἀπαντᾶν εἰς τὸ τέλος κακόν τι. διὸ δεῖ τὰ μὲν ἀριθμητικῇ ἰσότητι χρῆσθαι, τὰ δὲ τῇ κατ' ἀξίαν. ὅμως δὲ ἀσφαλε-
16 στέρα καὶ ἀστασίαστος μᾶλλον ἡ δημοκρατία τῆς ὀλιγαρχίας. ἐν μὲν γὰρ ταῖς ὀλιγαρχίαις ἐγγίνονται δύο, ἥ τε πρὸς ἀλλήλους στάσις καὶ ἔτι ἡ πρὸς τὸν δῆμον, ἐν δὲ ταῖς δημοκρατίαις ἡ πρὸς τὴν ὀλιγαρχίαν μόνον· αὐτῷ δὲ πρὸς αὐτόν, ὅ τι καὶ ἄξιον εἰπεῖν, οὐκ ἐγγίγνεται τῷ δήμῳ στάσις. ἔτι δὲ ἡ ἐκ τῶν μέσων πολιτεία ἐγγυτέρω τοῦ δήμου ἢ ἡ τῶν ὀλίγων, ἥπερ ἐστὶν ἀσφαλεστάτη τῶν τοιού-
2 των πολιτειῶν.

Ἐπεὶ δὲ σκοποῦμεν ἐκ τίνων αἵ τε στάσεις γίγνονται καὶ αἱ μεταβολαὶ περὶ τὰς πολιτείας, ληπτέον καθόλου πρῶτον τὰς ἀρχὰς καὶ τὰς αἰτίας αὐτῶν. εἰσὶ δὲ[a] σχεδὸν

[a] δὴ Bekker.

ἐκ τοῦ συμβαίνοντος] 'from that which is habitually the result.'

15 μὴ ἀπαντᾶν] 'There should not result in the end.'

τὰ μὲν ἀριθμητικῇ, κ.τ.λ.] The principle of absolute or numerical equality ought to be mixed with the principle of proportionate equality, according, that is, to personal worth. Lewis *on Opinion*, 273.

ὅμως δέ] This refers to the οὐδεμία γὰρ μόνιμος. Still, though no such form is permanent, there is more safety and less liability to quarrels in democracy than in oligarchy.

ὅμως δὲ ἀσφαλεστέρα] Instances are not difficult to find, if we wish to verify the truth of Aristotle's remark. It deserves attention in itself, and from the contrast it offers to the general estimate of these forms of ...nment, which the influence of ...ympathies has made popular in England, not less in contempt of historical evidence, than of this, the deliberate judgment of the greatest political writer of his own or of any age. The simplest instance in Greek political experience would be that of the Thirty Tyrants at Athens, whose internal dissensions we have an opportunity of studying.

16 ὅ τι καὶ ἄξιον εἰπεῖν] This expression occurred II. XI. 2.

ἥπερ] 'and this,' ἡ τῶν μέσων, 'it is that is the most secure.'

τῶν τοιούτων πολιτειῶν] 'of such forms of government as we are now discussing,' the actual and imperfect forms.

II. 1 καθόλου] as opposed to Ch. V. 1, καθ' ἕκαστον εἶδος μερίζοντας. So that Chaps. II. III. IV. form one division of the book.

δέ] I prefer this reading of one MS. to Bekker's reading, δή.

ὡς εἰπεῖν τρεῖς τὸν ἀριθμόν, ἃς διοριστέον καθ' αὐτὰς τύπῳ πρῶτον. δεῖ γὰρ λαβεῖν πῶς τε ἔχοντες στασιάζουσι καὶ τίνων ἕνεκεν, καὶ τρίτον τίνες ἀρχαὶ γίνονται τῶν πολιτικῶν ταραχῶν καὶ τῶν πρὸς ἀλλήλους στάσεων. Τοῦ μὲν οὖν αὐτοὺς ἔχειν πως πρὸς τὴν μεταβολὴν αἰτίαν καθόλου μά- 2
λιστα θετέον περὶ ἧς ἤδη τυγχάνομεν εἰρηκότες. οἱ μὲν γὰρ ἰσότητος ἐφιέμενοι στασιάζουσιν, ἂν νομίζωσιν ἔλαττον ἔχειν ὄντες ἴσοι τοῖς πλεονεκτοῦσιν, οἱ δὲ τῆς ἀνισότητος καὶ τῆς ὑπεροχῆς, ἂν ὑπολαμβάνωσιν ὄντες ἄνισοι μὴ πλέον ἔχειν ἀλλ' ἴσον ἢ ἔλαττον. τούτων δ' ἔστι μὲν ὀρέγεσθαι 3
δικαίως, ἔστι δὲ καὶ ἀδίκως· ἐλάττους τε γὰρ ὄντες ὅπως ἴσοι ὦσι στασιάζουσι, καὶ ἴσοι ὄντες ὅπως μείζους. πῶς μὲν οὖν ἔχοντες στασιάζουσιν, εἴρηται. Περὶ ὧν δὲ στασιάζουσιν, ἐστὶ κέρδος καὶ τιμὴ καὶ τἀναντία τούτοις· καὶ γὰρ ἀτιμίαν φεύγοντες καὶ ζημίαν, ἢ ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν ἢ τῶν φίλων, στασιάζουσιν ἐν ταῖς πόλεσιν. Αἱ δ' αἰτίαι καὶ 4
ἀρχαὶ τῶν κινήσεων, ὅθεν αὐτοί τε διατίθενται τὸν εἰρημένον τρόπον καὶ περὶ τῶν λεχθέντων, ἔστι μὲν ὡς τὸν ἀριθμὸν ἑπτὰ τυγχάνουσιν οὖσαι, ἔστι δ' ὡς πλείους. ὧν δύο μὲν 5
ἐστι ταὐτὰ τοῖς εἰρημένοις, ἀλλ' οὐχ ὡσαύτως· διὰ κέρδος

The causes and occasions of disturbance generally.

καθ' αὑτάς] 'by themselves,' without any explanation attached, clear from any admixture of matter, the matter in this case being the instances from history.

πῶς τε ἔχοντες] 'The state of feeling in which men are led into political quarrels, the objects for which, and thirdly, what are the causes and beginnings, the whole antecedent circumstances and the particular one which may be the occasion.' Such seems in the fullest extent to be the meaning of ἀρχαί. Of course, when I say the whole antecedent circumstances, I except the two specified previously, the state of feeling and the objects aimed at, which might be thought to constitute two of them.

2 ἔχειν πως] 'being affected in one manner or another.'

τοῖς πλεονεκτοῦσιν] simply 'to those who have advantages over them.'

3 ἐλάττους] 'unfairly depressed.'

ἴσοι ὄντες ὅπως μείζους] 'really equal, they strive to raise themselves above their fair position.' This interpretation seems required by the γάρ.

4 ὅθεν] Compare *Eth.* VI. ii. 4, p. 1139. 31, ἀρχὴ προαίρεσις, ὅθεν ἡ κίνησις ἀλλ' οὐχ οὗ ἕνεκα. So here it is not the object aimed at,—that is given just before, περὶ ὧν,—that is meant by ἀρχαί, but the more immediate impulses that set people in motion.

5 διὰ κέρδος] Compare note on I. 7. It is not with any view to secure gain for themselves, but from a sense of

The causes and occasions of disturbance generally.

γὰρ καὶ διὰ τιμὴν παροξύνονται πρὸς ἀλλήλους οὐχ ἵνα
κτήσωνται σφίσιν αὐτοῖς, ὥσπερ εἴρηται πρότερον, ἀλλ'
ἑτέρους ὁρῶντες τοὺς μὲν δικαίως τοὺς δ' ἀδίκως πλεονεκτοῦν-
1302 B 6 τας τούτων. ἔτι διὰ ὕβριν, διὰ φόβον, διὰ ὑπεροχήν, διὰ
καταφρόνησιν, διὰ αὔξησιν τὴν παρὰ τὸ ἀνάλογον. ἔτι δὲ
ἄλλον τρόπον δι' ἐριθείαν, δι' ὀλιγωρίαν, διὰ μικρότητα, δι'
3 ἀνομοιότητα. Τούτων δὲ ὕβρις μὲν καὶ κέρδος τίνα ἔχουσι

Explanation of the causes indicated.

δύναμιν καὶ πῶς αἴτια, σχεδόν ἐστι φανερόν· ὑβριζόντων τε
γὰρ τῶν ἐν ταῖς ἀρχαῖς καὶ πλεονεκτούντων στασιάζουσι
καὶ πρὸς ἀλλήλους καὶ πρὸς τὰς πολιτείας τὰς διδούσας τὴν
ἐξουσίαν· ἡ δὲ πλεονεξία γίνεται ὁτὲ μὲν ἀπὸ τῶν ἰδίων, ὁτὲ
2 δὲ ἀπὸ τῶν κοινῶν. Δῆλον δὲ καὶ ἡ τιμὴ καὶ τί δύναται
καὶ πῶς αἰτία στάσεως· καὶ γὰρ αὐτοὶ ἀτιμαζόμενοι καὶ
ἄλλους ὁρῶντες τιμωμένους στασιάζουσιν· ταῦτα δὲ ἀδίκως
μὲν γίνεται, ὅταν παρὰ τὴν ἀξίαν ἢ τιμῶνταί τινες ἢ ἀτι-
3 μάζωνται, δικαίως δέ, ὅταν κατὰ τὴν ἀξίαν. Δι' ὑπεροχὴν
δέ, ὅταν τις ᾖ τῇ δυνάμει μείζων, ἢ εἷς ἢ πλείους, ἢ κατὰ
τὴν πόλιν καὶ τὴν δύναμιν τοῦ πολιτεύματος· γίνεσθαι γὰρ
εἴωθεν ἐκ τῶν τοιούτων μοναρχία ἢ δυναστεία. διὸ ἐνια-
χοῦ εἰώθασιν ὀστρακίζειν, οἷον ἐν Ἄργει καὶ Ἀθήνησιν.

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discontent with the existing arrangements. They wish to remedy an injustice which they see.

ἑτέρους ὁρῶντες] 'because they see others.'

6 ἐριθείαν] For the explanation of this term we must look to what Aristotle says below, III. 9, διὰ τὰς ἐριθείας, ὅτι ᾑροῦντο τοὺς ἐριθευομένους. Compare De Wette, *Handbuch zum neuen Testament*, Rom. ii. 9, where he speaks of the senses of the word in the various passages in which it occurs in St. Paul's Epistles, and of the sense of 'party-spirit' which since Aristotle had been its usual one; and this is the sense in which Liddell and Scott take the word

III. 1 πρὸς τὰς πολιτείας] 'against the constitutions which afford them scope.'

ἀπὸ τῶν ἰδίων] 'from private property,' 'at the expense of individuals.'

2 ἄλλους ὁρῶντες] Comp. Niebuhr, *Rom. Hist.* II. 602, on the character of M. Manlius, and the feelings with which he beheld the honours heaped on Camillus.

3 ἢ κατὰ τὴν πόλιν, κ.τ.λ.] 'More powerful than is consistent either with the state of which he is a member, or with the power vested in its government.'

ἐν Ἄργει] For this see Grote IV. 216. For ostracism generally, above, III. XIII.

Explanation of the causes indicated.

καίτοι βέλτιον ἐξ ἀρχῆς ὁρᾶν ὅπως μὴ ἐνέσονται τοσοῦτον
ὑπερέχοντες, ἢ ἐάσαντας γενέσθαι ἰᾶσθαι ὕστερον. Διὰ δὲ
φόβον στασιάζουσιν οἵ τε ἠδικηκότες, δεδιότες μὴ δῶσι
δίκην, καὶ οἱ μέλλοντες ἀδικεῖσθαι, βουλόμενοι φθάσαι πρὶν 4
ἀδικηθῆναι, ὥσπερ ἐν Ῥόδῳ συνέστησαν οἱ γνώριμοι ἐπὶ
τὸν δῆμον διὰ τὰς ἐπιφερομένας δίκας. Διὰ καταφρόνησιν 5
δὲ καὶ στασιάζουσι καὶ ἐπιτίθενται, οἷον ἔν τε ταῖς ὀλιγαρ-
χίαις, ὅταν πλείους ὦσιν οἱ μὴ μετέχοντες τῆς πολιτείας
(κρείττους γὰρ οἴονται εἶναι), καὶ ἐν ταῖς δημοκρατίαις οἱ
εὔποροι καταφρονήσαντες τῆς ἀταξίας καὶ ἀναρχίας, οἷον
καὶ ἐν Θήβαις μετὰ τὴν ἐν Οἰνοφύτοις μάχην κακῶς πο-
λιτευομένων ἡ δημοκρατία διεφθάρη, καὶ ἡ Μεγαρέων δι'
ἀταξίαν καὶ ἀναρχίαν ἡττηθέντων, καὶ ἐν Συρακούσαις πρὸ
τῆς Γέλωνος τυραννίδος, καὶ ἐν Ῥόδῳ ὁ δῆμος πρὸ τῆς
ἐπαναστάσεως. Γίνονται δὲ καὶ δι' αὔξησιν τὴν παρὰ τὸ 6
ἀνάλογον μεταβολαὶ τῶν πολιτειῶν. ὥσπερ γὰρ σῶμα
ἐκ μερῶν σύγκειται καὶ δεῖ αὐξάνεσθαι ἀνάλογον, ἵνα μένῃ
συμμετρία, εἰ δὲ μή, φθείρεται, ὅταν ὁ μὲν ποὺς τεττά-

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4 Ῥόδῳ] Compare Ch. V. 2. Nieb. *über alte Gesch.*, Vol. IV. "There followed a time of internal dissension, with regard to which the accounts that remain are obscure." I translate from the German.

διὰ τὰς ἐπιφερομένας δίκας], 'on account of the suits with which they were threatened.' The Corcyrean Sedition (Thuc. III. 70) is a case in point.

5 **πλείους οἱ μὴ μετέχοντες**] Compare in Xenoph. *Hell.* II. 3, § 38, et sqq., the argument of Theramenes as to the dangerous policy adopted by Critias and the extreme party.

ἐν Θήβαις] Grote, v. 466, Thuc. I. 113, we have the fact of the change in Bœotia given us as the result of the battle of Coronea. The internal causes are not given.

Μεγαρέων] Grote, III. 59, 60. No dates or details. Thuc. I. 103, we have the alliance of Megara with Athens, and in 114, the withdrawal of Megara from that alliance. And from the context it is not improbable that it is to these facts that Aristotle's remarks apply.

Συρακούσαις] Grote, v. 286, note. It is there suggested that Aristotle's memory may have proved treacherous, and that Gelo's name has been substituted for that of Dionysius.

πρὸ τῆς ἐπαναστάσεως] 'previous to the rising of the oligarchical party against them,' the fact given above in the words *συνέστησαν οἱ γνώριμοι ἐπὶ τὸν δῆμον*.

6 **τὴν παρά, κ.τ. λ.**] Not all increase, but 'that increase which is disproportionate,' the unequal growth of the parts of the state, or the growth of one whilst the others remained stationary.

Explanation of the causes instanced. ρων πηχῶν ᾖ, τὸ δ' ἄλλο σῶμα δυοῖν σπιθαμαῖν, ἐνίοτε δὲ κἂν εἰς ἄλλου ζῴου μεταβάλλοι μορφήν, εἰ μὴ μόνον κατὰ τὸ ποσὸν ἀλλὰ καὶ κατὰ τὸ ποιὸν αὐξάνοιτο παρὰ

1303 τὸ ἀνάλογον, οὕτω καὶ πόλις σύγκειται ἐκ μερῶν, ὧν πολλάκις λανθάνει τι αὐξανόμενον, οἷον τὸ τῶν ἀπόρων

7 πλῆθος ἐν ταῖς δημοκρατίαις καὶ πολιτείαις. συμβαίνει δ' ἐνίοτε τοῦτο καὶ διὰ τύχας, οἷον ἐν Τάραντι ἡττηθέντων καὶ ἀπολομένων πολλῶν γνωρίμων ὑπὸ τῶν Ἰαπύγων μικρὸν ὕστερον τῶν Μηδικῶν δημοκρατία ἐγένετο ἐκ πολιτείας, καὶ ἐν Ἄργει τῶν ἐν τῇ ἑβδόμῃ ἀπολομένων ὑπὸ Κλεομένους τοῦ Λάκωνος ἠναγκάσθησαν παραδέξασθαι τῶν περιοίκων τινάς, καὶ ἐν Ἀθήναις ἀτυχούντων πεζῇ οἱ γνώριμοι ἐλάττους ἐγένοντο διὰ τὸ ἐκ καταλόγου στρατεύεσθαι

8 ὑπὸ τὸν Λακωνικὸν πόλεμον. συμβαίνει δὲ τοῦτο καὶ ἐν ταῖς δημοκρατίαις, ἧττον δέ· πλειόνων γὰρ τῶν ἀπόρων

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7 *διὰ τύχας*] 'some sudden accidents.'

Τάραντι] Herod. VI. 83, VII. 170; Grote, III. 519, V. 320, and note. Mr Grote remarks justly, "that the expression gives reason to suppose that even before this event the constitution had been popular."

Ἄργει] Herod. VI. 78–82, Hermann, *Pol. Ant.* 33.

ἑβδόμῃ] The origin and meaning of this name was, says Stahr, unknown even to the later Greeks.

περιοίκων] The language of Herodotus is, Ἄργος ἀνδρῶν ἐχηρώθη οὕτω ὥστε οἱ δοῦλοι αὐτῶν ἔσχον πάντα τὰ πρήγματα ἄρχοντές τε καὶ διέποντες. The Argive Perioeci, Hermann, *Pol. Ant.* § 19, conjectures, were called Orneatae.

ἀτυχούντων πεζῇ] Does this refer to their losses at Tanagra, Coronea, and similar battles, taking, that is, a range of about thirty years, as expressed by the phrase *ὑπὸ τὸν Λακωνικὸν πόλεμον*.

[ἐκ κα]ταλόγου] 'from the register of [c]itizens.' Incidentally it il[lustrates …] historical accounts and the language of Demosthenes for the period of Aristotle's own experience. Compare on this the first *Philippic*. Mercenaries had entirely superseded the native Athenian forces.

8 *ἀπόρων*] This word is doubtful. Several MSS. read *εὐπόρων*, and some editions. In a note on Ch. I. 14, I have stated why I think one of these words may do duty for both. But it is not for that reason that I would here keep *ἀπόρων*. It is, I believe, the word which gives the best sense. An increase in the number of wealthy would have a tendency to mitigate any oligarchy, and transpose it into a *πολιτεία*. At any rate, where the wealth is diffused, the oligarchy is in its mildest form. At worst, the tendency in a democracy of a large increase of the holders of wealth, would be to temper the evils to which a democracy is liable, and, by making it a good mixture, make it a *πολιτεία*. But an increase in the number of the poor would be a sound ground for inferring that wealth was becoming

Explanation of the causes indicated.

γινομένων ἢ τῶν οὐσιῶν αὐξανομένων μεταβάλλουσιν εἰς
ὀλιγαρχίας καὶ δυναστείας. Μεταβάλλουσι δ' αἱ πολιτεῖαι
καὶ ἄνευ στάσεως διά τε τὰς ἐριθείας, ὥσπερ ἐν Ἡραίᾳ (ἐξ
αἱρετῶν γὰρ διὰ τοῦτο ἐποίησαν κληρωτάς, ὅτι ᾑροῦντο τοὺς 9
ἐριθευομένους), καὶ δι' ὀλιγωρίαν, ὅταν ἐάσωσιν εἰς τὰς ἀρχὰς
τὰς κυρίας παριέναι τοὺς μὴ τῆς πολιτείας φίλους, ὥσπερ
ἐν Ὠρεῷ κατελύθη ἡ ὀλιγαρχία τῶν ἀρχόντων γενομένου
Ἡρακλεοδώρου, ὃς ἐξ ὀλιγαρχίας πολιτείαν καὶ δημοκρατίαν
κατεσκεύασεν. Ἔτι διὰ τὸ παρὰ μικρόν· λέγω δὲ παρὰ 10
μικρόν, ὅτι πολλάκις λανθάνει μεγάλη γινομένη μετάβασις
τῶν νομίμων, ὅταν παρορῶσι τὸ μικρόν, ὥσπερ ἐν Ἀμβρα-
κίᾳ μικρὸν ἦν τὸ τίμημα, τέλος δ' οὐθενὸς ἦρχον, ὡς ἔγγιον
ἢ μηθὲν διαφέρον τοῦ μηθὲν τὸ μικρόν. Στασιωτικὸν δὲ 11
καὶ τὸ μὴ ὁμόφυλον, ἕως ἂν συμπνεύσῃ· ὥσπερ γὰρ οὐδ' ἐκ
τοῦ τυχόντος πλήθους πόλις γίγνεται, οὕτως οὐδ' ἐν τῷ τυ-
χόντι χρόνῳ. διὸ ὅσοι ἤδη συνοίκους ἐδέξαντο ἢ ἐποίκους,

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more concentrated in a few hands, that the distinction between rich and poor, as classes, was not becoming effaced, but growing sharper; that the middle class was disappearing, and the two extremes taking up a position of more marked opposition to one another. Such a condition of things would lead to an oligarchy, and gradually to its closest and narrowest form (δυναστείαν).

τῶν οὐσιῶν αὐξανομένων] The increase of the poor, or the increase of the standard of wealth in the case of the wealthy, are but two sides of the same condition of things. As the poor grow poorer, the rich grow richer. Their numbers do not increase, but the wealth gets enormous in the hands of the few who share it. Compare Arnold, *Rom. Hist.* Vol. I. p. 141.

9 καὶ ἄνευ στάσεως] 'even without any open rupture.'

Ἡραίᾳ] In Arcadia.

ᾑροῦντο] 'They were in the habit of choosing the members of the same party.'

τὰς κυρίας] 'the supreme,' those in which the government really lay.

Ὠρεῷ] Founded in the place of Histiæa, in the time of Pericles. Grote, VI. 469, Niebuhr, *über alte Gesch.* Vol. IV. 179. The object was to keep Eubœa under control. Of Heracleodorus nothing is known.

10 τῶν νομίμων] of the 'institutions.'

παρορῶσι] This word occurs III. VIII. 1.

Ἀμβρακίᾳ] This town was a colony of Corinth, and later the capital of Pyrrhus, but is little known so far as its internal history is concerned.

ἔγγιον] 'quite close.'

11 ἕως ἂν συμπνεύσῃ] 'until the alien element shall have become amalgamated with the other,' 'coaluerit.'

τυχόντι χρόνῳ] Compare VII. (VI.) V. 1.

συνοίκους] expresses nothing more

Explanation of the causes indicated.

οἱ πλεῖστοι ἐστασίασαν, οἷον Τροιζηνίοις Ἀχαιοὶ συνῴ-
κησαν Σύβαριν, εἶτα πλείους οἱ Ἀχαιοὶ γενόμενοι ἐξέβαλον
τοὺς Τροιζηνίους· ὅθεν τὸ ἄγος συνέβη τοῖς Συβαρίταις.
12 Καὶ ἐν Θουρίοις Συβαρῖται τοῖς συνοικήσασιν· πλεονεκτεῖν
γὰρ ἀξιοῦντες ὡς σφετέρας τῆς χώρας ἐξέπεσον· καὶ Βυ-
ζαντίοις οἱ ἔποικοι ἐπιβουλεύοντες φωραθέντες ἐξέπεσον διὰ
μάχης, καὶ Ἀντισσαῖοι τοὺς Χίων φυγάδας εἰσδεξάμενοι
διὰ μάχης ἐξέβαλον, Ζαγκλαῖοι δὲ Σαμίους ὑποδεξάμενοι
13 ἐξέπεσον καὶ αὐτοί. Καὶ Ἀπολλωνιᾶται οἱ ἐν τῷ Εὐξείνῳ
πόντῳ ἐποίκους ἐπαγαγόμενοι ἐστασίασαν, καὶ Συρακούσιοι
1303 B μετὰ τὰ τυραννικὰ τοὺς ξένους καὶ τοὺς μισθοφόρους πολίτας
ποιησάμενοι ἐστασίασαν καὶ εἰς μάχην ἦλθον, καὶ Ἀμφι-
πολῖται δεξάμενοι Χαλκιδέων ἀποίκους ἐξέπεσον ὑπὸ τού-
14 των οἱ πλεῖστοι αὐτῶν. Στασιάζουσι δ' ἐν μὲν ταῖς ὀλι-
γαρχίαις οἱ πολλοὶ ὡς ἀδικούμενοι, ὅτι οὐ μετέχουσι τῶν

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than the fact that the new settlers join with the old.

Ἐποίκους] means here 'a fresh band of immigrants from the mother country.'

Τροιζηνίοις] For this see Grote, III. 499. Niebuhr, *über alte Geschichte*, III. 218. The foundation of Sybaris was probably a result of the Dorian conquest of Peloponnesus.

12 Θουρίοις] Thurii was founded on the site of Sybaris. The old inhabitants looked on the land as their own; they could not forget their old position, Grote, VI. 17.

Βυζαντίοις] A second colony was sent from Megara in the year B.C. 628. For its internal changes, see Smith, *Geogr. Dict.* 659, b, Grote, IX. 508. Antissa, one of the Lesbian towns.

Ζαγκλαῖοι] Compare Herod. VI. 23, Mr Grote, v. 284, note, considers this brief notice in Aristotle not to be set against the perspicuous narrative of Herodotus.

13 Ἀπολλωνιᾶται ἐν τῷ Εὐξείνῳ] Apollonia was so common a name, that it was necessary to add some distinctive epithet. This one was a Milesian colony, and of no historical importance.

Συρακούσιοι] Grote, v. 314. "The whole body of new citizens were declared ineligible to magistracy or honour." Mr. Grote considers the instance badly chosen. See his note.

μετὰ τὰ τυραννικά] "after the Gelonian dynasty." The results of this quarrel and battle are not known. The new citizens were defeated, and "probably" expelled.

Ἀμφιπολῖται] Niebuhr *üb. a. Gesch.* IV. 234. "To protect themselves against the Edonians, the Athenian colonists invited in as fellow-citizens, the Chalcidians. These became the majority," and hence Amphipolis joined Sparta. See Thuc. IV. 103, Grote, VI. 555.

αὐτῶν] Is this to be taken with ὑπὸ τούτων, 'by these very men,' "selbst von diesen," or is it not better to take

ἴσων, καθάπερ εἴρηται πρότερον, ἴσοι ὄντες, ἐν δὲ ταῖς δη-
μοκρατίαις οἱ γνώριμοι, ὅτι μετέχουσι τῶν ἴσων οὐκ ἴσοι
ὄντες. Στασιάζουσι δὲ ἐνίοτε αἱ πόλεις καὶ διὰ τοὺς τό- 15 Locality a cause.
πους, ὅταν μὴ εὐφυῶς ἔχῃ ἡ χώρα πρὸς τὸ μίαν εἶναι πόλιν,
οἷον ἐν Κλαζομεναῖς οἱ ἐπὶ Χύτρῳ πρὸς τοὺς ἐν νήσῳ, καὶ
Κολοφώνιοι καὶ Νοτιεῖς· καὶ Ἀθήνησιν οὐχ ὁμοίως εἰσίν,
ἀλλὰ μᾶλλον δημοτικοὶ οἱ τὸν Πειραιᾶ οἰκοῦντες τῶν τὸ
ἄστυ. ὥσπερ γὰρ ἐν τοῖς πολέμοις αἱ διαβάσεις τῶν ὀχε- 16
τῶν, καὶ τῶν πάνυ σμικρῶν, διασπῶσι τὰς φάλαγγας, οὕτως
ἔοικε πᾶσα διαφορὰ ποιεῖν διάστασιν. Μεγίστη μὲν οὖν
ἴσως διάστασις ἀρετὴ καὶ μοχθηρία, εἶτα πλοῦτος καὶ πενία,
καὶ οὕτω δὴ ἑτέρα ἑτέρας μᾶλλον· ὧν μία καὶ ἡ εἰρημένη
ἐστίν. Γίγνονται μὲν οὖν αἱ στάσεις οὐ περὶ μικρῶν ἀλλ' 4 Distinction between the occasion and the object.
ἐκ μικρῶν, στασιάζουσι δὲ περὶ μεγάλων. μάλιστα δὲ καὶ
αἱ μικραὶ ἰσχύουσιν, ὅταν ἐν τοῖς κυρίοις γένωνται, οἷον

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it as dependent on πλεῖστοι, 'The greater number of them?'

15 καὶ διὰ τοὺς τόπους] 'even from mere local causes, from difference of place.'

μὴ εὐφυῶς ἔχῃ] 'is not naturally favourable.'

οἱ ἐπὶ Χύτρῳ] Smith, *Geogr. Dict.* art. Clazomenæ, p. 632.

Κολοφώνιοι] Grote, III. 245. "So difficult was it in the Greek mind to keep up a permanent feeling of political amalgamation beyond the circle of the town walls." Add VI. 326.

Νοτιεῖς] Thuc. III. 34.

οὐχ ὁμοίως, κ. τ. λ.] The statement is familiar to all readers of Athenian history. The opposition is prominent in the policy of Themistocles.

16 ποιεῖν διάστασιν] 'Any difference whatever seems to have a tendency to produce opposition.'

διάστασις] This is even more active. 'It is the greatest cause of division, of opposition.'

καὶ οὕτω δὴ] and so on in order, one is more efficacious than another.

ἡ εἰρημένη] sc. ἡ διὰ τοὺς τόπους, "la cause toute physique," St. Hilaire.

IV. 1 After enumerating the causes, and making clear by examples what he means by each, he remarks generally with regard to political disturbances, that there is a wide distinction between their causes and occasions, or the real and the apparent causes. The occasions, the beginnings, to superficial observers the causes of a revolution, may often be extremely trivial, the real causes are not so. The immediate impulse may be something small or accidental, the real object aimed at of the highest importance. Aristotle's remark is one which should never be lost sight of in the study of history.

καὶ αἱ μικραὶ] 'even where the cause is really slight.'

Distinction between the occasion and the object.

συνέβη καὶ ἐν Συρακούσαις ἐν τοῖς ἀρχαίοις χρόνοις· μετέβαλε γὰρ ἡ πολιτεία ἐκ δύο νεανίσκων στασιασάντων, ἐν ταῖς ἀρχαῖς ὄντων, περὶ ἐρωτικὴν αἰτίαν. θατέρου γὰρ
2 ἀποδημοῦντος ἑταῖρος ὤν τις τὸν ἐρώμενον αὐτοῦ ὑπεποιήσατο, πάλιν δ' ἐκεῖνος τούτῳ χαλεπήνας τὴν γυναῖκα αὐτοῦ ἀνέπεισεν ὡς αὐτὸν ἐλθεῖν· ὅθεν προσλαμβάνοντες τοὺς ἐν
3 τῷ πολιτεύματι διεστασίασαν πάντας. διόπερ ἀρχομένων εὐλαβεῖσθαι δεῖ τῶν τοιούτων, καὶ διαλύειν τὰς τῶν ἡγεμόνων καὶ δυναμένων στάσεις· ἐν ἀρχῇ γὰρ γίγνεται τὸ ἁμάρτημα, ἡ δ' ἀρχὴ λέγεται ἥμισυ εἶναι παντός, ὥστε καὶ τὸ ἐν αὐτῇ μικρὸν ἁμάρτημα ἀνάλογόν ἐστι πρὸς τὰ ἐν τοῖς
4 ἄλλοις μέρεσιν. ὅλως δὲ αἱ τῶν γνωρίμων στάσεις συναπολαύειν ποιοῦσι καὶ τὴν ὅλην πόλιν, οἷον ἐν Ἑστιαίᾳ συνέβη

Instances of political disturbances.

μετὰ τὰ Μηδικά, δύο ἀδελφῶν περὶ τῆς τῶν πατρῴων νομῆς διενεχθέντων· ὁ μὲν γὰρ ἀπορώτερος, ὡς οὐκ ἀποφαίνοντος θατέρου τὴν οὐσίαν οὐδὲ τὸν θησαυρὸν ὃν εὗρεν ὁ πατήρ, προσήγετο τοὺς δημοτικούς, ὁ δ' ἕτερος, ἔχων οὐσίαν πολλήν,
5 τοὺς εὐπόρους. καὶ ἐν Δελφοῖς ἐκ κηδείας γενομένης δια-
1304 φορᾶς ἀρχὴ πασῶν ἐγένετο τῶν στάσεων τῶν ὕστερον· ὁ μὲν γὰρ οἰωνισάμενός τι σύμπτωμα, ὡς ἦλθεν ἐπὶ τὴν νύμφην, οὐ λαβὼν ἀπῆλθεν, οἱ δ' ὡς ὑβρισθέντες ἐνέβαλον τῶν ἱερῶν

καὶ ἐν Συρακούσαις] The conjunction has no meaning, as far as I can see.

ἐν τοῖς ἀρχαίοις χρόνοις] I can find nothing to throw light on this statement.

2 ὑπεποιήσατο] 'gained by underhand tricks,' Demosth. 365.

ἐκεῖνος] is the same as the ἀποδημῶν.

ὅθεν προσλαμβάνοντες] 'From this beginning they proceeded to associate with themselves the members of the government, until they ranged them entirely in two factions.'

3 ἐν ἀρχῇ γάρ] *Eth.* I. 7, 21. p. 1098. b. 7.

τὸ ἐν αὐτῇ, κ.τ.λ.] 'is proportionally more important than a fault in any other.'

4 συναπολαύειν] Stahr quotes not inaptly from Hesiod, πολλάκι καὶ ξυμπᾶσα πόλις κακοῦ ἀνδρὸς ἐπαυρεῖ.

Ἑστιαίᾳ] see note on III. 9.

οὐκ ἀποφαίνοντος] 'on the ground that he did not produce fully, set clearly forth.'

τοὺς δημοτικούς] 'The democratical party.'

5 ἐκ κηδείας] 'on a marriage question.'

τῶν ὕστερον] 'which followed at a later period.'

οἰωνισάμενός τι σύμπτωμα] 'having taken some chance occurrence as an unfavourable omen.' The expression, neutral in itself, is by usage limited as in the translation.

ἐνέβαλον, κ. τ. λ.] 'put in some

χρημάτων θύοντος, κἄπειτα ὡς ἱερόσυλον ἀπέκτειναν. καὶ περὶ Μιτυλήνην δὲ ἐξ ἐπικλήρων στάσεως γενομένης πολλῶν ἐγένετο ἀρχὴ κακῶν καὶ τοῦ πολέμου τοῦ πρὸς Ἀθηναίους, ἐν ᾧ Πάχης ἔλαβε τὴν πόλιν αὐτῶν· Τιμοφάνους γὰρ τῶν 6 εὐπόρων τινὸς καταλιπόντος δύο θυγατέρας, ὁ περιωσθεὶς καὶ οὐ λαβὼν τοῖς υἱέσιν αὐτοῦ Δόξανδρος ἦρξε τῆς στάσεως καὶ τοὺς Ἀθηναίους παρώξυνε, πρόξενος ὢν τῆς πόλεως.

Instances of political disturbances.

καὶ ἐν Φωκεῦσιν ἐξ ἐπικλήρου στάσεως γενομένης περὶ Μνα- 7 σέαν τὸν Μνήσωνος πατέρα καὶ Εὐθυκράτη τὸν Ὀνομάρχου, ἡ στάσις αὕτη ἀρχὴ τοῦ ἱεροῦ πολέμου κατέστη τοῖς Φωκεῦσιν. μετέβαλε δὲ καὶ ἐν Ἐπιδάμνῳ ἡ πολιτεία ἐκ γαμικῶν· ὑπομνηστευσάμενος γάρ τις θυγατέρα, ὡς ἐζημίωσεν αὐτὸν ὁ τοῦ ὑπομνηστευθέντος πατὴρ γενόμενος τῶν ἀρχόντων, ἅτερος συμπαρέλαβε τοὺς ἐκτὸς τῆς πολιτείας ὡς ἐπηρεασθείς. μεταβάλλουσι δὲ καὶ εἰς ὀλιγαρχίαν καὶ εἰς δῆμον 8 καὶ εἰς πολιτείαν ἐκ τοῦ εὐδοκιμῆσαί τι ἢ αὐξηθῆναι ἢ ἀρχεῖον ἢ μόριον τῆς πόλεως, οἷον ἡ ἐν Ἀρείῳ πάγῳ βουλὴ εὐδοκιμήσασα ἐν τοῖς Μηδικοῖς ἔδοξε συντονωτέραν ποιῆσαι τὴν πολιτείαν, καὶ πάλιν ὁ ναυτικὸς ὄχλος γενόμενος αἴτιος τῆς

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of the sacred property when he was sacrificing.'

6 Μιτυλήνην] For the Mitylenian revolt see Thuc. III. 2, and foll. On this passage Mr Grote (VI. 299) remarks that the fact may be true, but the conception of it as a cause is incorrect. Yet I cannot see why Aristotle's account may not be consistent with that of Thucydides, if we throw back the transaction Aristotle gives some few years earlier than the revolt.

ἦρξε τῆς στάσεως] 'began the dissension,' and when the quarrel had broken out, then, as Thucydides says, ἰδίᾳ κατὰ στάσιν μηνυτὴς ἐγένετο.

7 Φωκεῦσιν] Bp. Thirlwall, VI. 263, 275, remarks that of the sacred or Phocian war, the main causes are more clear than the immediate occasion.

τὸν Ὀνομάρχου] sc. πατέρα.

ὑπομνηστευσάμενος] 'having betrothed underhand or beforehand.' This latter meaning suits the context best.

ἐζημίωσεν] 'fined him.'

8 ἡ ἐν Ἀρείῳ πάγῳ] Grote, V. 148.

συντονωτέραν ποιῆσαι] 'to have strained tighter the constitution,' given greater vigour and intensity to its anti-democratical element. Comp. VI. (IV.) III. 8.

ὁ ναυτικὸς ὄχλος] Grote, V. 360, 483. "Here, then, were two forces, not only distinct, but opposite and conflicting, both put into increased action at the same time."

Instances of political changes.

περὶ Σαλαμῖνα νίκης καὶ διὰ ταύτης τῆς ἡγεμονίας διὰ τὴν κατὰ θάλατταν δύναμιν τὴν δημοκρατίαν ἰσχυροτέραν ἐποί-
9 ησεν. καὶ ἐν Ἄργει οἱ γνώριμοι εὐδοκιμήσαντες περὶ τὴν ἐν Μαντινείᾳ μάχην τὴν πρὸς Λακεδαιμονίους ἐπεχείρησαν καταλύειν τὸν δῆμον, καὶ ἐν Συρακούσαις ὁ δῆμος αἴτιος γενόμενος τῆς νίκης τοῦ πολέμου τοῦ πρὸς Ἀθηναίους ἐκ πολιτείας εἰς δημοκρατίαν μετέβαλεν, καὶ ἐν Χαλκίδι Φόξον τὸν τύραννον, μετὰ τῶν γνωρίμων ὁ δῆμος ἀνελὼν εὐθὺς εἴχετο τῆς πολιτείας, καὶ ἐν Ἀμβρακίᾳ πάλιν ὡσαύτως Περίανδρον συνεκβαλὼν τοῖς ἐπιθεμένοις ὁ δῆμος τὸν τύ-
10 ραννον εἰς ἑαυτὸν περιέστησε τὴν πολιτείαν. καὶ ὅλως δὴ δεῖ τοῦτο μὴ λανθάνειν, ὡς οἱ δυνάμεως αἴτιοι γενόμενοι, καὶ ἰδιῶται καὶ ἀρχαὶ καὶ φυλαὶ καὶ ὅλως μέρος καὶ ὁποιονοῦν πλῆθος, στάσιν κινοῦσιν· ἢ γὰρ οἱ τούτοις φθονοῦντες τιμωμένοις, ἄρχουσι τῆς στάσεως, ἢ οὗτοι διὰ τὴν ὑπεροχὴν
11 οὐ θέλουσι μένειν ἐπὶ τῶν ἴσων. κινοῦνται δ' αἱ πολιτεῖαι
1304 B καὶ ὅταν τἀναντία εἶναι δοκοῦντα μέρη τῆς πόλεως ἰσάζῃ ἀλλήλοις, οἷον οἱ πλούσιοι καὶ ὁ δῆμος, μέσον δ' ᾖ μικρὸν ἢ μηθὲν πάμπαν· ἂν γὰρ πολὺ ὑπερέχῃ ὁποτερονοῦν τῶν μερῶν πρὸς τὸ φανερῶς κρεῖττον, τὸ λοιπὸν οὐ θέλει κινδυνεύειν.
12 διὸ καὶ οἱ κατ' ἀρετὴν διαφέροντες οὐ ποιοῦσι στάσιν ὡς εἰπεῖν· ὀλίγοι γὰρ γίγνονται πρὸς πολλούς. Καθόλου μὲν οὖν περὶ πάσας τὰς πολιτείας αἱ ἀρχαὶ καὶ αἰτίαι τῶν στα-

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διὰ ταύτης] 'and by this victory been the founder of the supremacy of Athens.' τῆς ἡγεμονίας depends on αἴτιος.

9 ἐν Ἄργει] Grote, VII. 124.

Συρακούσαις] Grote, X. 539.

Χαλκίδι] For the early greatness of Chalcis, see Niebuhr *ü. a. Gesch.* IV. 177, Grote, III. 220.

εἴχετο τῆς πολιτείας] 'grasped the government.' The government of Chalcis was oligarchical very early; a tyranny was the natural result of this; but of Phoxus I can find nothing.

Ἀμβρακίᾳ] occurs again Ch. x. 16. Grote (III. 538) considers this Periander as probably related to the Corinthian tyrant.

10 καὶ ὅλως δή] 'It follows, then, as a general rule from these particular instances.'

στάσιν κινοῦσιν] 'are a cause of disturbance,' either direct or indirect.

11 ἰσάζῃ] 'be just balanced.'

πρὸς τὸ φανερῶς κρεῖττον] 'on the side of an evident superiority of strength.'

12 καθόλου μὲν οὖν] returns on II. 1.

σεων καὶ τῶν μεταβολῶν τοῦτον ἔχουσι τὸν τρόπον. Κινοῦσι δὲ τὰς πολιτείας ὁτὲ μὲν διὰ βίας ὁτὲ δὲ δι' ἀπάτης, διὰ βίας μὲν ἢ εὐθὺς ἐξ ἀρχῆς ἢ ὕστερον ἀναγκάζοντες. καὶ γὰρ ἡ 13
ἀπάτη διττή· ὁτὲ μὲν γὰρ ἐξαπατήσαντες τὸ πρῶτον ἑκόντων μεταβάλλουσι τὴν πολιτείαν, εἶθ' ὕστερον βίᾳ κατέχουσιν ἀκόντων, οἷον ἐπὶ τῶν τετρακοσίων τὸν δῆμον ἐξηπάτησαν, φάσκοντες τὸν βασιλέα χρήματα παρέξειν πρὸς τὸν πόλεμον τὸν πρὸς Λακεδαιμονίους, ψευσάμενοι δὲ κατέχειν ἐπειρῶντο τὴν πολιτείαν· ὁτὲ δὲ ἐξ ἀρχῆς τε πείσαντες καὶ ὕστερον πάλιν πεισθέντων ἑκόντων ἄρχουσιν αὐτῶν. Ἁπλῶς μὲν οὖν περὶ πάσας τὰς πολιτείας ἐκ τῶν εἰρημένων συμβέβηκε γίγνεσθαι τὰς μεταβολάς.

Modes of effecting the change.

Κινοῦσι δέ] He has stated generally the causes and beginnings of disturbance and revolution. He adds a few remarks on the modes in which they are effected; they are the two simple and permanent ones of force and fraud. The first may be applied at once, or had recourse to later, when the other is seen through.

13 **ἡ ἀπάτη διττή**] The second form of **ἀπάτη** hardly comes under our ideas of deceit. It is 'persuasion' rather.

ἐπὶ τῶν τετρακοσίων] Grote, VIII. 35. Thuc. VIII. 53, 54, **ὁ δῆμος τὸ πρῶτον χαλεπῶς ἔφερε· σαφῶς δὲ διδασκόμενος, κ.τ.λ.**

κατέχειν] 'keep it firm in their hands, and that against the will of the people awake to the deceit practised on them.'

ὁτὲ δὲ ἐξ ἀρχῆς, κ.τ.λ.] If Aristotle really means this to be a form of deceit, it then is that worst form by which a people deceived at first is so trained and governed as to acquiesce in the result. For a nation, like an individual, may be blinded and demoralised, and ultimately accept, and even glory in a state which at another time it would reject as evil. The rulers under whom such demoralisation takes place may point with complacency to the result, which, properly viewed, is their strongest condemnation.

That he degraded, rather than improved, the character of his countrymen, has been justly selected by Arnold as the crowning point in the infamy of the elder Dionysius,—that which in the highest degree justifies the brand of tyrant. But such a sentence is not to be reserved solely for the Greek ruler,—it has been justly deserved by many governments of more recent times. It is, if we rightly consider them, that which constitutes in our own country's history the peculiar disgrace of the miserable Stuart kings. It is the stigma which rests on the later Bourbons in France before the revolution; in Spain and Naples in the present time. It is a point for other governments to consider, our own not excepted, whether their acceptance by the nation they govern is the result of a sound judgment or of the acquiescence which is the offspring of a low state of public morality.

The causes and occasions of disturbance generally.

γὰρ καὶ διὰ τιμὴν παροξύνονται πρὸς ἀλλήλους οὐχ ἵνα
κτήσωνται σφίσιν αὐτοῖς, ὥσπερ εἴρηται πρότερον, ἀλλ'
ἑτέρους ὁρῶντες τοὺς μὲν δικαίως τοὺς δ' ἀδίκως πλεονεκτοῦν-
1302 B 6 τας τούτων. ἔτι διὰ ὕβριν, διὰ φόβον, διὰ ὑπεροχήν, διὰ
καταφρόνησιν, διὰ αὔξησιν τὴν παρὰ τὸ ἀνάλογον. ἔτι δὲ
ἄλλον τρόπον δι' ἐριθείαν, δι' ὀλιγωρίαν, διὰ μικρότητα, δι'
3 ἀνομοιότητα. Τούτων δὲ ὕβρις μὲν καὶ κέρδος τίνα ἔχουσι

Explanation of the causes indicated.

δύναμιν καὶ πῶς αἴτια, σχεδόν ἐστι φανερόν· ὑβριζόντων τε
γὰρ τῶν ἐν ταῖς ἀρχαῖς καὶ πλεονεκτούντων στασιάζουσι
καὶ πρὸς ἀλλήλους καὶ πρὸς τὰς πολιτείας τὰς διδούσας τὴν
ἐξουσίαν· ἡ δὲ πλεονεξία γίνεται ὁτὲ μὲν ἀπὸ τῶν ἰδίων, ὁτὲ
2 δὲ ἀπὸ τῶν κοινῶν. Δῆλον δὲ καὶ ἡ τιμὴ καὶ τί δύναται
καὶ πῶς αἰτία στάσεως· καὶ γὰρ αὐτοὶ ἀτιμαζόμενοι καὶ
ἄλλους ὁρῶντες τιμωμένους στασιάζουσιν· ταῦτα δὲ ἀδίκως
μὲν γίνεται, ὅταν παρὰ τὴν ἀξίαν ἢ τιμῶνταί τινες ἢ ἀτι-
3 μάζωνται, δικαίως δέ, ὅταν κατὰ τὴν ἀξίαν. Δι' ὑπεροχὴν
δέ, ὅταν τις ᾖ τῇ δυνάμει μείζων, ἢ εἷς ἢ πλείους, ἢ κατὰ
τὴν πόλιν καὶ τὴν δύναμιν τοῦ πολιτεύματος· γίνεσθαι γὰρ
εἴωθεν ἐκ τῶν τοιούτων μοναρχία ἢ δυναστεία. διὸ ἐνια-
χοῦ εἰώθασιν ὀστρακίζειν, οἷον ἐν Ἄργει καὶ Ἀθήνησιν.

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discontent with the existing arrangements. They wish to remedy an injustice which they see.

ἑτέρους ὁρῶντες] 'because they see others.'

6 ἐριθείαν] For the explanation of this term we must look to what Aristotle says below, III. 9, διὰ τὰς ἐριθείας, ὅτι ᾑροῦντο τοὺς ἐριθευομένους. Compare De Wette, *Handbuch zum neuen Testament*, Rom. ii. 9, where he speaks of the senses of the word in the various passages in which it occurs in St. Paul's Epistles, and of the sense of 'party-spirit' which since Aristotle had been its usual one; and this is the sense in which Liddell and Scott take the word.

III. 1 πρὸς τὰς πολιτείας]. 'against the constitutions which afford them scope.'

ἀπὸ τῶν ἰδίων] 'from private property,' 'at the expense of individuals.'

2 ἄλλους ὁρῶντες] Comp. Niebuhr, *Rom. Hist.* II. 602, on the character of M. Manlius, and the feelings with which he beheld the honours heaped on Camillus.

3 ἢ κατὰ τὴν πόλιν, κ.τ.λ.] 'More powerful than is consistent either with the state of which he is a member, or with the power vested in its government.'

ἐν Ἄργει] For this see Grote IV. 216. For ostracism generally, above, III. XIII.

Explanation of the causes indicated.

καίτοι βέλτιον ἐξ ἀρχῆς ὁρᾶν ὅπως μὴ ἐνέσονται τοσοῦτον
ὑπερέχοντες, ἢ ἐάσαντας γενέσθαι, ἰᾶσθαι ὕστερον. Διὰ δὲ
φόβον στασιάζουσιν οἵ τε ἠδικηκότες, δεδιότες μὴ δῶσι
δίκην, καὶ οἱ μέλλοντες ἀδικεῖσθαι, βουλόμενοι φθάσαι πρὶν 4
ἀδικηθῆναι, ὥσπερ ἐν Ῥόδῳ συνέστησαν οἱ γνώριμοι ἐπὶ
τὸν δῆμον διὰ τὰς ἐπιφερομένας δίκας. Διὰ καταφρόνησιν 5
δὲ καὶ στασιάζουσι καὶ ἐπιτίθενται, οἷον ἔν τε ταῖς ὀλιγαρ-
χίαις, ὅταν πλείους ὦσιν οἱ μὴ μετέχοντες τῆς πολιτείας
(κρείττους γὰρ οἴονται εἶναι), καὶ ἐν ταῖς δημοκρατίαις οἱ
εὔποροι καταφρονήσαντες τῆς ἀταξίας καὶ ἀναρχίας, οἷον
καὶ ἐν Θήβαις μετὰ τὴν ἐν Οἰνοφύτοις μάχην κακῶς πο-
λιτευομένων ἡ δημοκρατία διεφθάρη, καὶ ἡ Μεγαρέων δι'
ἀταξίαν καὶ ἀναρχίαν ἡττηθέντων, καὶ ἐν Συρακούσαις πρὸ
τῆς Γέλωνος τυραννίδος, καὶ ἐν Ῥόδῳ ὁ δῆμος πρὸ τῆς
ἐπαναστάσεως. Γίνονται δὲ καὶ δι' αὔξησιν τὴν παρὰ τὸ 6
ἀνάλογον μεταβολαὶ τῶν πολιτειῶν. ὥσπερ γὰρ σῶμα
ἐκ μερῶν σύγκειται καὶ δεῖ αὐξάνεσθαι ἀνάλογον, ἵνα μένῃ
συμμετρία, εἰ δὲ μή, φθείρεται, ὅταν ὁ μὲν ποὺς τεττά-

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4 Ῥόδῳ] Compare Ch. V. 2. Nieb. *über alte Gesch.*, Vol. IV. "There followed a time of internal dissension, with regard to which the accounts that remain are obscure." I translate from the German.

διὰ τὰς ἐπιφερομένας δίκας] 'on account of the suits with which they were threatened.' The Corcyrean Sedition (Thuc. III. 70) is a case in point.

5 πλείους οἱ μὴ μετέχοντες] Compare in Xenoph. *Hell.* II. 3, § 38, et sqq., the argument of Theramenes as to the dangerous policy adopted by Critias and the extreme party.

ἐν Θήβαις] Grote, v. 466, Thuc. I. 113, we have the fact of the change in Bœotia given us as the result of the battle of Coronea. The internal causes are not given.

Μεγαρέων] Grote, III. 59, 60. No dates or details. Thuc. I. 103, we have the alliance of Megara with Athens, and in 114, the withdrawal of Megara from that alliance. And from the context it is not improbable that it is to these facts that Aristotle's remarks apply.

Συρακούσαις] Grote, v. 286, note. It is there suggested that Aristotle's memory may have proved treacherous, and that Gelo's name has been substituted for that of Dionysius.

πρὸ τῆς ἐπαναστάσεως] 'previous to the rising of the oligarchical party against them,' the fact given above in the words συνέστησαν οἱ γνώριμοι ἐπὶ τὸν δῆμον.

6 τὴν παρά, κ.τ.λ.] Not all increase, but 'that increase which is disproportionate,' the unequal growth of the parts of the state, or the growth of one whilst the others remained stationary.

Explanation of the causes indicated.

ρων πηχῶν ἢ τὸ δ' ἄλλο σῶμα δυοῖν σπιθαμαῖν, ἐνίοτε δὲ κἂν εἰς ἄλλου ζῴου μεταβάλλοι μορφήν, εἰ μὴ μόνον κατὰ τὸ ποσὸν ἀλλὰ καὶ κατὰ τὸ ποιὸν αὐξάνοιτο παρὰ
1303 τὸ ἀνάλογον, οὕτω καὶ πόλις σύγκειται ἐκ μερῶν, ὧν πολλάκις λανθάνει τι αὐξανόμενον, οἷον τὸ τῶν ἀπόρων
7 πλῆθος ἐν ταῖς δημοκρατίαις καὶ πολιτείαις. συμβαίνει δ' ἐνίοτε τοῦτο καὶ διὰ τύχας, οἷον ἐν Τάραντι ἡττηθέντων καὶ ἀπολομένων πολλῶν γνωρίμων ὑπὸ τῶν Ἰαπύγων μικρὸν ὕστερον τῶν Μηδικῶν δημοκρατία ἐγένετο ἐκ πολιτείας, καὶ ἐν Ἄργει τῶν ἐν τῇ ἑβδόμῃ ἀπολομένων ὑπὸ Κλεομένους τοῦ Λάκωνος ἠναγκάσθησαν παραδέξασθαι τῶν περιοίκων τινάς, καὶ ἐν Ἀθήναις ἀτυχούντων πεζῇ οἱ γνώριμοι ἐλάττους ἐγένοντο διὰ τὸ ἐκ καταλόγου στρατεύεσθαι
8 ὑπὸ τὸν Λακωνικὸν πόλεμον. συμβαίνει δὲ τοῦτο καὶ ἐν ταῖς δημοκρατίαις, ἧττον δέ· πλειόνων γὰρ τῶν ἀπόρων

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7 **διὰ τύχας**] 'some sudden accidents.'

Τάραντι] Herod. VI. 83, VII. 170; Grote, III. 519, V. 320, and note. Mr Grote remarks justly, "that the expression gives reason to suppose that even before this event the constitution had been popular."

Ἄργει] Herod. VI. 78–82, Hermann, *Pol. Ant.* 33.

ἑβδόμῃ] The origin and meaning of this name was, says Stahr, unknown even to the later Greeks.

περιοίκων] The language of Herodotus is, Ἄργος ἀνδρων ἐχηρώθη οὕτω ὥστε οἱ δοῦλοι αὐτέων ἔσχον πάντα τὰ πρήγματα ἄρχοντές τε καὶ διέποντες. The Argive Periœci, Hermann, *Pol. Ant.* § 19, conjectures, were called Orneatæ.

ἀτυχούντων πεζῇ] Does this refer to their losses at Tanagra, Coronea, and similar battles, taking, that is, a range of about thirty years, as expressed by the phrase ὑπὸ τὸν Λακωνικὸν πόλεμον.

ἐκ καταλόγου] 'from the register of Athenian citizens.' Incidentally it illustrates our historical accounts and the language of Demosthenes for the period of Aristotle's own experience. Compare on this the first *Philippic*. Mercenaries had entirely superseded the native Athenian forces.

8 **ἀπόρων**] This word is doubtful. Several MSS. read εὐπόρων, and some editions. In a note on Ch. I. 14, I have stated why I think one of these words may do duty for both. But it is not for that reason that I would here keep ἀπόρων. It is, I believe, the word which gives the best sense. An increase in the number of wealthy would have a tendency to mitigate any oligarchy, and transpose it into a πολιτεία. At any rate, where the wealth is diffused, the oligarchy is in its mildest form. At worst, the tendency in a democracy of a large increase of the holders of wealth, would be to temper the evils to which a democracy is liable, and, by making it a good mixture, make it a πολιτεία. But an increase in the number of the poor would be a sound ground for inferring that wealth was becoming

Explanation of the causes indicated.

γινομένων ἢ τῶν οὐσιῶν αὐξανομένων μεταβάλλουσιν εἰς
ὀλιγαρχίας καὶ δυναστείας. Μεταβάλλουσι δ' αἱ πολιτεῖαι
καὶ ἄνευ στάσεως διά τε τὰς ἐριθείας, ὥσπερ ἐν Ἡραίᾳ (ἐξ
αἱρετῶν γὰρ διὰ τοῦτο ἐποίησαν κληρωτάς, ὅτι ᾑροῦντο τοὺς 9
ἐριθευομένους), καὶ δι' ὀλιγωρίαν, ὅταν ἐάσωσιν εἰς τὰς ἀρχὰς
τὰς κυρίας παριέναι τοὺς μὴ τῆς πολιτείας φίλους, ὥσπερ
ἐν Ὠρεῷ κατελύθη ἡ ὀλιγαρχία τῶν ἀρχόντων γενομένου
Ἡρακλεοδώρου, ὃς ἐξ ὀλιγαρχίας πολιτείαν καὶ δημοκρατίαν
κατεσκεύασεν. Ἔτι διὰ τὸ παρὰ μικρόν· λέγω δὲ παρὰ 10
μικρόν, ὅτι πολλάκις λανθάνει μεγάλη γινομένη μετάβασις
τῶν νομίμων, ὅταν παρορῶσι τὸ μικρόν, ὥσπερ ἐν Ἀμβρα-
κίᾳ μικρὸν ἦν τὸ τίμημα, τέλος δ' οὐθενὸς ἦρχον, ὡς ἔγγιον
ἢ μηθὲν διαφέρον τοῦ μηθὲν τὸ μικρόν. Στασιωτικὸν δὲ 11
καὶ τὸ μὴ ὁμόφυλον, ἕως ἂν συμπνεύσῃ· ὥσπερ γὰρ οὐδ' ἐκ
τοῦ τυχόντος πλήθους πόλις γίγνεται, οὕτως οὐδ' ἐν τῷ τυ-
χόντι χρόνῳ. διὸ ὅσοι ἤδη συνοίκους ἐδέξαντο ἢ ἐποίκους,

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more concentrated in a few hands, that the distinction between rich and poor, as classes, was not becoming effaced, but growing sharper; that the middle class was disappearing, and the two extremes taking up a position of more marked opposition to one another. Such a condition of things would lead to an oligarchy, and gradually to its closest and narrowest form (*δυναστείαν*).

τῶν οὐσιῶν αὐξανομένων] The increase of the poor, or the increase of the standard of wealth in the case of the wealthy, are but two sides of the same condition of things. As the poor grow poorer, the rich grow richer. Their numbers do not increase, but the wealth gets enormous in the hands of the few who share it. Compare Arnold, *Rom. Hist.* Vol. I. p. 141.

9 *καὶ ἄνευ στάσεως*] 'even without any open rupture.'

Ἡραίᾳ] In Arcadia.

ᾑροῦντο] 'They were in the habit of choosing the members of the same party.'

τὰς κυρίας] 'the supreme,' those in which the government really lay.

Ὠρεῷ] Founded in the place of Histiæa, in the time of Pericles. Grote, VI. 469, Niebuhr, *über alte Gesch.* Vol. IV. 179. The object was to keep Eubœa under control. Of Heracleodorus nothing is known.

10 *τῶν νομίμων*] of the 'institutions.'

παρορῶσι] This word occurs III. VIII. 1.

Ἀμβρακίᾳ] This town was a colony of Corinth, and later the capital of Pyrrhus, but is little known so far as its internal history is concerned.

ἔγγιον] 'quite close.'

11 *ἕως ἂν συμπνεύσῃ*] 'until the alien element shall have become amalgamated with the other,' 'coaluerit.'

τυχόντι χρόνῳ] Compare VII. (VI.) V. 1.

συνοίκους] expresses nothing more

Explanation of the causes indicated.

οἱ πλεῖστοι ἐστασίασαν, οἷον Τροιζηνίοις Ἀχαιοὶ συνῴκησαν Σύβαριν, εἶτα πλείους οἱ Ἀχαιοὶ γενόμενοι ἐξέβαλον τοὺς Τροιζηνίους· ὅθεν τὸ ἄγος συνέβη τοῖς Συβαρίταις.
12 Καὶ ἐν Θουρίοις Συβαρῖται τοῖς συνοικήσασιν· πλεονεκτεῖν γὰρ ἀξιοῦντες ὡς σφετέρας τῆς χώρας ἐξέπεσον· καὶ Βυζαντίοις οἱ ἔποικοι ἐπιβουλεύοντες φωραθέντες ἐξέπεσον διὰ μάχης, καὶ Ἀντισσαῖοι τοὺς Χίων φυγάδας εἰσδεξάμενοι διὰ μάχης ἐξέβαλον, Ζαγκλαῖοι δὲ Σαμίους ὑποδεξάμενοι
13 ἐξέπεσον καὶ αὐτοί. Καὶ Ἀπολλωνιᾶται οἱ ἐν τῷ Εὐξείνῳ πόντῳ ἐποίκους ἐπαγαγόμενοι ἐστασίασαν, καὶ Συρακούσιοι
1303 b μετὰ τὰ τυραννικὰ τοὺς ξένους καὶ τοὺς μισθοφόρους πολίτας ποιησάμενοι ἐστασίασαν καὶ εἰς μάχην ἦλθον, καὶ Ἀμφιπολῖται δεξάμενοι Χαλκιδέων ἀποίκους ἐξέπεσον ὑπὸ τού-
14 των οἱ πλεῖστοι αὐτῶν. Στασιάζουσι δ' ἐν μὲν ταῖς ὀλιγαρχίαις οἱ πολλοὶ ὡς ἀδικούμενοι, ὅτι οὐ μετέχουσι τῶν

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than the fact that the new settlers join with the old.

Ἐποίκους] means here 'a fresh band of immigrants from the mother country.'

Τροιζηνίους] For this see Grote, III. 490. Niebuhr, *über alte Geschichte*, III. 218. The foundation of Sybaris was probably a result of the Dorian conquest of Peloponnesus.

12 Θουρίοις] Thurii was founded on the site of Sybaris. The old inhabitants looked on the land as their own; they could not forget their old position, Grote, VI. 17.

Βυζαντίοις] A second colony was sent from Megara in the year B.C. 628. For its internal changes, see Smith, *Geogr. Dict.* 659, b, Grote, IX. 508. Antissa, one of the Lesbian towns.

Ζαγκλαῖοι] Compare Herod. VI. 23. Mr Grote, V. 284. note, considers this brief notice in Aristotle not to be set [illegible] the perspicuous narrative of [illegible].

…λλωνιᾶται ἐν τῷ Εὐξείνῳ] Apollonia was so common a name, that it was necessary to add some distinctive epithet. This one was a Milesian colony, and of no historical importance.

Συρακούσιοι] Grote, V. 314. "The whole body of new citizens were declared ineligible to magistracy or honour." Mr. Grote considers the instance badly chosen. See his note.

μετὰ τὰ τυραννικὰ] "after the Gelonian dynasty." The results of this quarrel and battle are not known. The new citizens were defeated, and "probably" expelled.

Ἀμφιπολῖται] Niebuhr *üb. a. Gesch.* IV. 234. "To protect themselves against the Edonians, the Athenian colonists invited in as fellow-citizens, the Chalcidians. These became the majority," and hence Amphipolis joined Sparta. See Thuc. IV. 103, Grote, VI. 555.

αὐτῶν] Is this to be taken with ὑπὸ τούτων, 'by these very men,' "selbst von diesen," or is it not better to take

ἴσων, καθάπερ εἴρηται πρότερον, ἴσοι ὄντες, ἐν δὲ ταῖς δη-
μοκρατίαις οἱ γνώριμοι, ὅτι μετέχουσι τῶν ἴσων οὐκ ἴσοι
ὄντες. Στασιάζουσι δὲ ἐνίοτε αἱ πόλεις καὶ διὰ τοὺς τό- 15
πους, ὅταν μὴ εὐφυῶς ἔχῃ ἡ χώρα πρὸς τὸ μίαν εἶναι πόλιν,
οἷον ἐν Κλαζομεναῖς οἱ ἐπὶ Χύτρῳ πρὸς τοὺς ἐν νήσῳ, καὶ
Κολοφώνιοι καὶ Νοτιεῖς· καὶ Ἀθήνησιν οὐχ ὁμοίως εἰσίν,
ἀλλὰ μᾶλλον δημοτικοὶ οἱ τὸν Πειραιᾶ οἰκοῦντες τῶν τὸ
ἄστυ. ὥσπερ γὰρ ἐν τοῖς πολέμοις αἱ διαβάσεις τῶν ὀχε- 16
τῶν, καὶ τῶν πάνυ σμικρῶν, διασπῶσι τὰς φάλαγγας, οὕτως
ἔοικε πᾶσα διαφορὰ ποιεῖν διάστασιν. Μεγίστη μὲν οὖν
ἴσως διάστασις ἀρετὴ καὶ μοχθηρία, εἶτα πλοῦτος καὶ πενία,
καὶ οὕτω δὴ ἑτέρα ἑτέρας μᾶλλον· ὧν μία καὶ ἡ εἰρημένη
ἐστίν. Γίγνονται μὲν οὖν αἱ στάσεις οὐ περὶ μικρῶν ἀλλ' 4
ἐκ μικρῶν, στασιάζουσι δὲ περὶ μεγάλων. μάλιστα δὲ καὶ
αἱ μικραὶ ἰσχύουσιν, ὅταν ἐν τοῖς κυρίοις γένωνται, οἷον

Locality a cause.

Distinction between the occasion and the object.

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it as dependent on πλεῖστοι, 'The greater number of them?'

15 καὶ διὰ τοὺς τόπους] 'even from mere local causes, from difference of place.'

μὴ εὐφυῶς ἔχῃ] 'is not naturally favourable.'

οἱ ἐπὶ Χύτρῳ] Smith, *Geogr. Dict.* art. Clazomenæ, p. 632.

Κολοφώνιοι] Grote, III. 245. "So difficult was it in the Greek mind to keep up a permanent feeling of political amalgamation beyond the circle of the town walls." Add VI. 326.

Νοτιεῖς] Thuc. III. 34.

οὐχ ὁμοίως, κ. τ. λ.] The statement is familiar to all readers of Athenian history. The opposition is prominent in the policy of Themistocles.

16 ποιεῖν διάστασιν] 'Any difference whatever seems to have a tendency to produce opposition.'

διάστασις] This is even more active. 'It is the greatest cause of division, of opposition.'

καὶ οὕτω δή] and so on in order, one is more efficacious than another.

ἡ εἰρημένη] sc. ἡ διὰ τοὺς τόπους, "la cause toute physique," St. Hilaire.

IV. 1 After enumerating the causes, and making clear by examples what he means by each, he remarks generally with regard to political disturbances, that there is a wide distinction between their causes and occasions, or the real and the apparent causes. The occasions, the beginnings, to superficial observers the causes of a revolution, may often be extremely trivial, the real causes are not so. The immediate impulse may be something small or accidental, the real object aimed at of the highest importance. Aristotle's remark is one which should never be lost sight of in the study of history.

καὶ αἱ μικραί] 'even where the cause is really slight.'

[illegible margin note: Quarrels between the ... and the ...] συνέβη καὶ ἐν Συρακούσαις ἐν τοῖς ἀρχαίοις χρόνοις· μετέβαλε γὰρ ἡ πολιτεία ἐκ δύο νεανίσκων στασιασάντων, ἐν ταῖς ἀρχαῖς ὄντων, περὶ ἐρωτικὴν αἰτίαν. θατέρου γὰρ
2 ἀποδημοῦντος ἑταῖρος ὤν τις τὸν ἐρώμενον αὐτοῦ ὑπεποιήσατο, πάλιν δ' ἐκεῖνος τούτῳ χαλεπήνας τὴν γυναῖκα αὐτοῦ ἀνέπεισεν ὡς αὐτὸν ἐλθεῖν· ὅθεν προσλαμβάνοντες τοὺς ἐν
3 τῷ πολιτεύματι διεστασίασαν πάντας. διόπερ ἀρχομένων εὐλαβεῖσθαι δεῖ τῶν τοιούτων, καὶ διαλύειν τὰς τῶν ἡγεμόνων καὶ δυναμένων στάσεις· ἐν ἀρχῇ γὰρ γίγνεται τὸ ἁμάρτημα, ἡ δ' ἀρχὴ λέγεται ἥμισυ εἶναι παντός, ὥστε καὶ τὸ ἐν αὐτῇ μικρὸν ἁμάρτημα ἀνάλογόν ἐστι πρὸς τὰ ἐν τοῖς
4 ἄλλοις μέρεσιν. ὅλως δὲ αἱ τῶν γνωρίμων στάσεις συναπολαύειν ποιοῦσι καὶ τὴν ὅλην πόλιν, οἷον ἐν Ἑστιαίᾳ συνέβη μετὰ τὰ Μηδικά, δύο ἀδελφῶν περὶ τῆς τῶν πατρῴων νομῆς διενεχθέντων· ὁ μὲν γὰρ ἀπορώτερος, ὡς οὐκ ἀποφαίνοντος θατέρου τὴν οὐσίαν οὐδὲ τὸν θησαυρὸν ὃν εὗρεν ὁ πατήρ, προσηγάγετο τοὺς δημοτικούς, ὁ δ' ἕτερος, ἔχων οὐσίαν πολλήν,
5 τοὺς εὐπόρους. καὶ ἐν Δελφοῖς ἐκ κηδείας γενομένης δια-
1304 φορᾶς ἀρχὴ πασῶν ἐγένετο τῶν στάσεων τῶν ὕστερον· ὁ μὲν γὰρ οἰωνισάμενός τι σύμπτωμα, ὡς ἦλθεν ἐπὶ τὴν νύμφην, οὐ λαβὼν ἀπῆλθεν, οἱ δ' ὡς ὑβρισθέντες ἐνέβαλον τῶν ἱερῶν

[illegible margin note: Instances of political disturbances.]

καὶ ἐν Συρακούσαις] The conjunction has no meaning, as far as I can see.

ἐν τοῖς ἀρχαίοις χρόνοις] I can find nothing to throw light on this statement.

2 ὑπεποιήσατο] 'gained by underhand tricks,' Demosth. 365.

ἐκεῖνος] is the same as the ἀποδημῶν.

ὅθεν προσλαμβάνοντες] 'From this beginning they proceeded to associate with themselves the members of the government, until they ranged them entirely in two factions.'

3 ἐν ἀρχῇ γάρ] Eth. I. 7. 21. p. [illegible]

ὥστε καὶ τὸ κ.τ.λ.] 'is proportionally [illegible] important than a fault in any

4 συναπολαύειν] Stahr quotes not inaptly from Hesiod, πολλάκι καὶ ξυμπᾶσα πόλις κακοῦ ἀνδρὸς ἐπαυρεῖ.

Ἑστιαίᾳ] see note on III. 9.

οὐκ ἀποφαίνοντος] 'on the ground that he did not produce fully, set clearly forth.'

τοὺς δημοτικούς] 'The democratical party.'

5 ἐκ κηδείας] 'on a marriage question.'

τῶν ὕστερον] 'which followed at a later period.'

οἰωνισάμενός τι σύμπτωμα] 'having taken some chance occurrence as an unfavourable omen.' The expression, neutral in itself, is by usage limited as in the translation.

ἐνέβαλον, κ. τ. λ.] 'put in some

Instances of political disturbances.

χρημάτων θύοντος, κἄπειτα ὡς ἱερόσυλον ἀπέκτειναν. καὶ περὶ Μιτυλήνην δὲ ἐξ ἐπικλήρων στάσεως γενομένης πολλῶν ἐγένετο ἀρχὴ κακῶν καὶ τοῦ πολέμου τοῦ πρὸς Ἀθηναίους, 6
ἐν ᾧ Πάχης ἔλαβε τὴν πόλιν αὐτῶν· Τιμοφάνους γὰρ τῶν εὐπόρων τινὸς καταλιπόντος δύο θυγατέρας, ὁ περιωσθεὶς καὶ οὐ λαβὼν τοῖς υἱέσιν αὐτοῦ Δόξανδρος ἦρξε τῆς στάσεως καὶ τοὺς Ἀθηναίους παρώξυνε, πρόξενος ὢν τῆς πόλεως. καὶ ἐν Φωκεῦσιν ἐξ ἐπικλήρου στάσεως γενομένης περὶ Μνα- 7
σέαν τὸν Μνήσωνος πατέρα καὶ Εὐθυκράτη τὸν Ὀνομάρχου, ἡ στάσις αὕτη ἀρχὴ τοῦ ἱεροῦ πολέμου κατέστη τοῖς Φωκεῦσιν. μετέβαλε δὲ καὶ ἐν Ἐπιδάμνῳ ἡ πολιτεία ἐκ γαμικῶν· ὑπομνηστευσάμενος γάρ τις θυγατέρα, ὡς ἐζημίωσεν αὐτὸν ὁ τοῦ ὑπομνηστευθέντος πατὴρ γενόμενος τῶν ἀρχόντων, ἅτερος συμπαρέλαβε τοὺς ἐκτὸς τῆς πολιτείας ὡς ἐπηρεασθείς. μεταβάλλουσι δὲ καὶ εἰς ὀλιγαρχίαν καὶ εἰς δῆμον 8
καὶ εἰς πολιτείαν ἐκ τοῦ εὐδοκιμῆσαί τι ἢ αὐξηθῆναι ἢ ἀρχεῖον ἢ μόριον τῆς πόλεως, οἷον ἡ ἐν Ἀρείῳ πάγῳ βουλὴ εὐδοκιμήσασα ἐν τοῖς Μηδικοῖς ἔδοξε συντονωτέραν ποιῆσαι τὴν πολιτείαν, καὶ πάλιν ὁ ναυτικὸς ὄχλος γενόμενος αἴτιος τῆς

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of the sacred property when he was sacrificing.'

6 **Μιτυλήνην**] For the Mitylenian revolt see Thuc. III. 2, and foll. On this passage Mr Grote (VI. 299) remarks that the fact may be true, but the conception of it as a cause is incorrect. Yet I cannot see why Aristotle's account may not be consistent with that of Thucydides, if we throw back the transaction Aristotle gives some few years earlier than the revolt.

ἦρξε τῆς στάσεως] 'began the dissension,' and when the quarrel had broken out, then, as Thucydides says, *ἰδίᾳ κατὰ στάσιν μηνυτὴς ἐγένετο.*

7 **Φωκεῦσιν**] Bp. Thirlwall, VI. 263, 275, remarks that of the sacred or Phocian war, the main causes are more clear than the immediate occasion.

τὸν Ὀνομάρχου] sc. *πατέρα.*

ὑπομνηστευσάμενος] 'having betrothed underhand or beforehand.' This latter meaning suits the context best.

ἐζημίωσεν] 'fined him.'

8 *ἡ ἐν Ἀρείῳ πάγῳ*] Grote, V. 148.

συντονωτέραν ποιῆσαι] 'to have strained tighter the constitution,' given greater vigour and intensity to its anti-democratical element. Comp. VI. (IV.) III. 8.

ὁ ναυτικὸς ὄχλος] Grote, V. 369, 483. "Here, then, were two forces, not only distinct, but opposite and conflicting, both put into increased action at the same time."

Instances of political changes.

περὶ Σαλαμῖνα νίκης καὶ διὰ ταύτης τῆς ἡγεμονίας διὰ τὴν
κατὰ θάλατταν δύναμιν τὴν δημοκρατίαν ἰσχυροτέραν ἐποί-
9 ησεν. καὶ ἐν Ἄργει οἱ γνώριμοι εὐδοκιμήσαντες περὶ τὴν
ἐν Μαντινείᾳ μάχην τὴν πρὸς Λακεδαιμονίους ἐπεχείρησαν
καταλύειν τὸν δῆμον, καὶ ἐν Συρακούσαις ὁ δῆμος αἴτιος
γενόμενος τῆς νίκης τοῦ πολέμου τοῦ πρὸς Ἀθηναίους ἐκ
πολιτείας εἰς δημοκρατίαν μετέβαλεν, καὶ ἐν Χαλκίδι Φόξον
τὸν τύραννον, μετὰ τῶν γνωρίμων ὁ δῆμος ἀνελὼν εὐθὺς
εἴχετο τῆς πολιτείας, καὶ ἐν Ἀμβρακίᾳ πάλιν ὡσαύτως
Περίανδρον συνεκβαλὼν τοῖς ἐπιθεμένοις ὁ δῆμος τὸν τύ-
10 ραννον εἰς ἑαυτὸν περιέστησε τὴν πολιτείαν. καὶ ὅλως δὴ
δεῖ τοῦτο μὴ λανθάνειν, ὡς οἱ δυνάμεως αἴτιοι γενόμενοι, καὶ
ἰδιῶται καὶ ἀρχαὶ καὶ φυλαὶ καὶ ὅλως μέρος καὶ ὁποιονοῦν
πλῆθος, στάσιν κινοῦσιν· ἢ γὰρ οἱ τούτοις φθονοῦντες τι-
μωμένοις, ἄρχουσι τῆς στάσεως, ἢ οὗτοι διὰ τὴν ὑπεροχὴν
11 οὐ θέλουσι μένειν ἐπὶ τῶν ἴσων. κινοῦνται δ' αἱ πολιτεῖαι
1304 B καὶ ὅταν τἀναντία εἶναι δοκοῦντα μέρη τῆς πόλεως ἰσάζῃ
ἀλλήλοις, οἷον οἱ πλούσιοι καὶ ὁ δῆμος, μέσον δ' ᾖ μικρὸν ἢ
μηθὲν πάμπαν· ἂν γὰρ πολὺ ὑπερέχῃ ὁποτερονοῦν τῶν μερῶν
πρὸς τὸ φανερῶς κρεῖττον, τὸ λοιπὸν οὐ θέλει κινδυνεύειν.
12 διὸ καὶ οἱ κατ' ἀρετὴν διαφέροντες οὐ ποιοῦσι στάσιν ὡς
εἰπεῖν· ὀλίγοι γὰρ γίγνονται πρὸς πολλούς. Καθόλου μὲν
οὖν περὶ πάσας τὰς πολιτείας αἱ ἀρχαὶ καὶ αἰτίαι τῶν στά-

διὰ ταύτης] 'and by this victory been the founder of the supremacy of Athens.' *τῆς ἡγεμονίας* depends on *αἴτιος*.

9 *ἐν Ἄργει*] Grote, VII. 124.

Συρακούσαις] Grote, X. 539.

Χαλκίδι] For the early greatness of Chalcis, see Niebuhr *ü. a. Gesch.* IV. 177, Grote, III. 220.

εἴχετο τῆς πολιτείας] 'grasped the government.' The government of Chalcis was oligarchical very early; a tyranny was the natural result of th[illegible] [illegible]ut of Phoxus I can find no-

Ἀμβρακίᾳ] occurs again Ch. x. 16. Grote (III. 538) considers this Periander as probably related to the Corinthian tyrant.

10 *καὶ ὅλως δή*] 'It follows, then, as a general rule from these particular instances.'

στάσιν κινοῦσιν] 'are a cause of disturbance,' either direct or indirect.

11 *ἰσάζῃ*] 'be just balanced.'

πρὸς τὸ φανερῶς κρεῖττον] 'on the side of an evident superiority of strength.'

12 *καθόλου μὲν οὖν*] returns on II. I.

σεων καὶ τῶν μεταβολῶν τοῦτον ἔχουσι τὸν τρόπον. Κινοῦσι δὲ τὰς πολιτείας ὁτὲ μὲν διὰ βίας ὁτὲ δὲ δι᾽ ἀπάτης, διὰ βίας μὲν ἢ εὐθὺς ἐξ ἀρχῆς ἢ ὕστερον ἀναγκάζοντες. καὶ γὰρ ἡ 13 ἀπάτη διττή· ὁτὲ μὲν γὰρ ἐξαπατήσαντες τὸ πρῶτον ἑκόντων μεταβάλλουσι τὴν πολιτείαν, εἶθ᾽ ὕστερον βίᾳ κατέχουσιν ἀκόντων, οἷον ἐπὶ τῶν τετρακοσίων τὸν δῆμον ἐξηπάτησαν, φάσκοντες τὸν βασιλέα χρήματα παρέξειν πρὸς τὸν πόλεμον τὸν πρὸς Λακεδαιμονίους, ψευσάμενοι δὲ κατέχειν ἐπειρῶντο τὴν πολιτείαν· ὁτὲ δὲ ἐξ ἀρχῆς τε πείσαντες καὶ ὕστερον πάλιν πεισθέντων ἑκόντων ἄρχουσιν αὐτῶν. Ἁπλῶς μὲν οὖν περὶ πάσας τὰς πολιτείας ἐκ τῶν εἰρημένων συμβέβηκε γίγνεσθαι τὰς μεταβολάς.

Modes of effecting the change.

Κινοῦσι δέ] He has stated generally the causes and beginnings of disturbance and revolution. He adds a few remarks on the modes in which they are effected; they are the two simple and permanent ones of force and fraud. The first may be applied at once, or had recourse to later, when the other is seen through.

13 **ἡ ἀπάτη διττή]** The second form of ἀπάτη hardly comes under our ideas of deceit. It is 'persuasion' rather.

ἐπὶ τῶν τετρακοσίων] Grote, VIII. 35. Thuc. VIII. 53. 54. ὁ δῆμος τὸ πρῶτον χαλεπῶς ἔφερε· σαφῶς δὲ διδασκόμενος, κ.τ.λ.

κατέχειν] 'keep it firm in their hands, and that against the will of the people awake to the deceit practised on them.'

ὁτὲ δὲ ἐξ ἀρχῆς, κ.τ.λ.] If Aristotle really means this to be a form of deceit, it then is that worst form by which a people deceived at first is so trained and governed as to acquiesce in the result. For a nation, like an individual, may be blinded and demoralised, and ultimately accept, and even glory in a state which at another time it would reject as evil. The rulers under whom such demoralisation takes place may point with complacency to the result, which, properly viewed, is their strongest condemnation.

That he degraded, rather than improved, the character of his countrymen, has been justly selected by Arnold as the crowning point in the infamy of the elder Dionysius,—that which in the highest degree justifies the brand of tyrant. But such a sentence is not to be reserved solely for the Greek ruler,—it has been justly deserved by many governments of more recent times. It is, if we rightly consider them, that which constitutes in our own country's history the peculiar disgrace of the miserable Stuart kings. It is the stigma which rests on the later Bourbons in France before the revolution; in Spain and Naples in the present time. It is a point for other governments to consider, our own not excepted, whether their acceptance by the nation they govern is the result of a sound judgment or of the acquiescence which is the offspring of a low state of public morality.

Revolutions in democracies.

Καθ' ἕκαστον δ' εἶδος πολιτείας ἐκ τούτων μερίζοντας
τὰ συμβαίνοντα δεῖ θεωρεῖν. Αἱ μὲν οὖν δημοκρατίαι
μάλιστα μεταβάλλουσι διὰ τὴν τῶν δημαγωγῶν ἀσέλγειαν·
τὰ μὲν γὰρ ἰδίᾳ συκοφαντοῦντες τοὺς τὰς οὐσίας ἔχοντας
2 συστρέφουσιν αὐτούς (συνάγει γὰρ καὶ τοὺς ἐχθίστους ὁ
κοινὸς φόβος), τὰ δὲ κοινῇ τὸ πλῆθος ἐπάγοντες. καὶ
τοῦτο ἐπὶ πολλῶν ἄν τις ἴδοι γιγνόμενον οὕτως. καὶ γὰρ
ἐν Κῷ ἡ δημοκρατία μετέβαλε πονηρῶν ἐγγενομένων
δημαγωγῶν (οἱ γὰρ γνώριμοι συνέστησαν) καὶ ἐν Ῥόδῳ.
μισθοφοράν τε γὰρ οἱ δημαγωγοὶ ἐπόριζον, καὶ ἐκώλυον
3 ἀποδιδόναι τὰ ὀφειλόμενα τοῖς τριηράρχοις· οἱ δὲ διὰ τὰς
ἐπιφερομένας δίκας ἠναγκάσθησαν συστάντες καταλῦσαι
τὸν δῆμον. κατελύθη δὲ καὶ ἐν Ἡρακλείᾳ ὁ δῆμος μετὰ
4 τὸν ἀποικισμὸν εὐθὺς διὰ τοὺς δημαγωγούς· ἀδικούμενοι γὰρ
ὑπ' αὐτῶν οἱ γνώριμοι ἐξέπιπτον, ἔπειτα ἀθροισθέντες οἱ
ἐκπίπτοντες καὶ κατελθόντες κατέλυσαν τὸν δῆμον. παρα-
πλησίως δὲ καὶ ἡ ἐν Μεγάροις κατελύθη δημοκρατία· οἱ
γὰρ δημαγωγοί, ἵνα χρήματα ἔχωσι δημεύειν, ἐξέβαλλον

CHAP. V. 1 **Καθ' ἕκαστον δ' εἶδος**] 'We must now take each form of government, and see what happens, availing ourselves of the principles laid down above, and dividing them so as to suit the particular case.'

μερίζοντας] Demosth. 1297. 21, **κατὰ μέρος**, the exact opposite to **καθόλου**, would be nearly equivalent to **μερίζοντας**.

τὰ συμβαίνοντα] "das in ihnen wirklich vorkommende," Stahr.

ἀσέλγειαν] 'intemperate conduct,' 'importunitas,' or 'libido.

ἰδίᾳ] 'as individuals.'

συστρέφουσιν] 'They force them to combine.'

κοινῇ] 'on them as a body,' "ihnen allen," Stahr.

2 **Κῷ**] The internal history does not seem to be known.

Ῥόδῳ] See [illegible] III. 4.

μισθοφοράν] pay for the people as members of the ecclesia or the courts of justice. Compare Thuc. VIII. 67, **μήτε μισθοφοράν**, the proposal of the oligarchical conspirators, that no civil functions hereafter should be salaried. Grote, VIII. 41, and foll.

ἐπόριζον] 'wished to furnish.'

τοῖς τριηράρχοις] These would be from the wealthier classes.

3 **Ἡρακλείᾳ**] Of the numerous towns of this name, the one on the Pontus Euxinus seems the one here meant. Nieb. *ü. a. Gesch.* IV. 252. Smith, *Geogr. Dict.*

ἀποικισμόν] 'soon after the foundation of the colony.' So Stahr translates it. The result of these dissensions was a permanent tyranny; but this does not appear from Aristotle.

4 **Μεγάροις**] Compare III. 5 and VI. (IV.) XV. 15. The three allusions seem to refer to the same events.

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πολλοὺς τῶν γνωρίμων, ἕως πολλοὺς ἐποίησαν τοὺς
φεύγοντας· οἱ δὲ κατιόντες ἐνίκησαν μαχόμενοι τὸν δῆμον
καὶ κατέστησαν τὴν ὀλιγαρχίαν. συνέβη δὲ ταὐτὸν καὶ
περὶ Κύμην ἐπὶ τῆς δημοκρατίας ἣν κατέλυσε Θρασύμαχος. 1305
σχεδὸν δὲ καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν ἄλλων ἄν τις ἴδοι θεωρῶν τὰς μετα- 5
βολὰς τοῦτον ἐχούσας τὸν τρόπον. ὁτὲ μὲν γάρ, ἵνα
χαρίζωνται, ἀδικοῦντες τοὺς γνωρίμους συνιστᾶσιν, ἢ τὰς
οὐσίας ἀναδάστους ποιοῦντες ἢ τὰς προσόδους ταῖς
λειτουργίαις· ὁτὲ δὲ διαβάλλοντες, ἵν' ἔχωσι δημεύειν τὰ
κτήματα τῶν πλουσίων. ἐπὶ δὲ τῶν ἀρχαίων, ὅτε γένοιτο 6
ὁ αὐτὸς δημαγωγὸς καὶ στρατηγός, εἰς τυραννίδα μετέ-
βαλλον. σχεδὸν γὰρ οἱ πλεῖστοι τῶν ἀρχαίων τυράννων ἐκ
δημαγωγῶν γεγόνασιν. αἴτιον δὲ τοῦ τότε μὲν γίγνεσθαι 7
νῦν δὲ μή, ὅτι τότε μὲν οἱ δημαγωγοὶ ἦσαν ἐκ τῶν στρα-
τηγούντων (οὐ γάρ πω δεινοὶ ἦσαν λέγειν), νῦν δὲ τῆς
ῥητορικῆς ηὐξημένης οἱ δυνάμενοι λέγειν δημαγωγοῦσι μέν,
δι' ἀπειρίαν δὲ τῶν πολεμικῶν οὐκ ἐπιτίθενται, πλὴν εἴ
που βραχύ τι γέγονε τοιοῦτον. ἐγίγνοντο δὲ τυραννίδες 8

Κύμην] The Campanian city of that name, partly of Chalcidian origin, partly of Æolian, was early powerful. The decline of its power is attributed by Mr. Grote, III. 473, first to the growth of hostile powers in the interior, the Tuscans and Samnites, next to violent intestine dissensions and a destructive despotism. The particular fact in the text is obscure.

5 ἀναδάστους] Compare the expression, ἐπὶ γῆς ἀναδασμῷ.

τὰς προσόδους] 'Their incomes.'

ταῖς λειτουργίαις] 'by the various public offices which they have to serve at their own expense.'

6 ὅτε γένοιτο ὁ αὐτός] 'Whenever the same man happened to be. Nor was this a rare case.' Such seems the force of the optative.

τῶν ἀρχαίων τυράννων] For some considerable period of Greek experience, despots or tyrants were unknown in Greece proper. Prior to that period, they looked back on an age of despots or tyrants, and their actual experience of later, more Aristotelian times, had revived their dislike of this form of government, though in many essential features the spirit was changed, and changed for the worse. The word tyrant in its full sense is only applicable as a general rule to the later rulers who bore that name. On this distinction between the earlier and later tyrants, see Niebuhr, *ü. a. Gesch.* I. 328.

7 On this separation of civil and military powers, compare Heeren's *Political History of Greece.*

οὐκ ἐπιτίθενται] 'They do not attempt to seize power,' as a general rule, that is; there may be some few instances of their doing so.

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πρότερον μᾶλλον ἢ νῦν καὶ διὰ τὸ μεγάλας ἀρχὰς ἐγχειρίζεσθαί τισιν, ὥσπερ ἐν Μιλήτῳ ἐκ τῆς πρυτανείας· πολλῶν γὰρ ἦν καὶ μεγάλων κύριος ὁ πρύτανις. ἔτι δὲ διὰ τὸ μὴ μεγάλας εἶναι τότε τὰς πόλεις, ἀλλ' ἐπὶ τῶν ἀγρῶν οἰκεῖν τὸν δῆμον ἄσχολον ὄντα πρὸς τοῖς ἔργοις, οἱ προστάται τοῦ δήμου, ὅτε πολεμικοὶ γένοιντο, τυραννίδι ἐπετίθεντο.
9 πάντες δὲ τοῦτο ἔδρων ὑπὸ τοῦ δήμου πιστευθέντες, ἡ δὲ πίστις ἦν ἡ ἀπέχθεια ἡ πρὸς τοὺς πλουσίους, οἷον Ἀθήνησί τε Πεισίστρατος στασιάσας πρὸς τοὺς πεδιακούς, καὶ Θεαγένης ἐν Μεγάροις τῶν εὐπόρων τὰ κτήνη ἀποσφάξας,
10 λαβὼν παρὰ τὸν ποταμὸν ἐπινέμοντας. καὶ Διονύσιος κατηγορῶν Δαφναίου καὶ τῶν πλουσίων ἠξιώθη τῆς τυραννίδος, διὰ τὴν ἔχθραν πιστευθεὶς ὡς δημοτικὸς ὤν. μεταβάλλουσι δὲ καὶ ἐκ τῆς πατρίας δημοκρατίας εἰς τὴν νεωτάτην· ὅπου γὰρ αἱρεταὶ μὲν αἱ ἀρχαί, μὴ ἀπὸ τιμημάτων δέ, αἱρεῖται δὲ ὁ δῆμος, δημαγωγοῦντες οἱ σπουδαρχιῶντες εἰς τοῦτο καθιστᾶσιν ὡς κύριον εἶναι τὸν
11 δῆμον καὶ τῶν νόμων. ἄκος δὲ τοῦ ἢ μὴ γίνεσθαι ἢ τοῦ

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8 *ἐγχειρίζεσθαι*] 'being placed in the hands of.'

ἐκ τῆς πρυτανείας] 'was the result of the Prytaneia.' This abuse of the executive power has been in all periods common. The latest and most notorious instance is that of Louis Napoleon.

ἔτι δέ] The Greek of this passage is easy, but I do not feel clear as to the meaning. Was it that the absence of the people, their supporters, made it in the first place easier to seize a despotic power, as in consequence there was removed the check that the presence of that people would have placed on them, and next, that the same absence made such a power more an object of their desire, as they were not safe without it? The force of this latter consideration may be seen from the case of th[illegible]cchi, who fell by the necessary absence of their supporters. Niebuhr, *Lect. Rom. Hist.* II. p. 334, Lect. 27.

9 *Πεισίστρατος*] Grote, III. 206.

Θεαγένης] Grote, III. 59.

λαβών, κ.τ.λ.] 'Having caught them turning them out to graze on the river side.' For *ἐπινέμοντας*, compare Demosth. 1274.

10 *Διονύσιος*] Grote, X. 539, 608.

πατρίας δημοκρατίας] I am inclined to read *μετρίας*. If *πατρίας* be kept, it must have somewhat of the same meaning, "from the old, constitutional, moderate form of democracy, such as our wiser fathers enjoyed." See note on II. XII. 4.

σπουδαρχιῶντες] 'ambitious of office,' Aristoph. *Ach.* 595.

11 *τὰς φυλάς*] 'The people,' that is, 'in divisions, and not collectively.'

γίνεσθαι ἧττον τὸ τὰς φυλὰς φέρειν τοὺς ἄρχοντας, ἀλλὰ μὴ πάντα τὸν δῆμον. Τῶν μὲν οὖν δημοκρατιῶν αἱ μεταβολαὶ γίγνονται πᾶσαι σχεδὸν διὰ ταύτας τὰς αἰτίας.

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Αἱ δ' ὀλιγαρχίαι μεταβάλλουσι διὰ δύο μάλιστα 6
τρόπους τοὺς φανερωτάτους, ἕνα μὲν ἐὰν ἀδικῶσι τὸ
πλῆθος· πᾶς γὰρ ἱκανὸς γίνεται προστάτης, μάλιστα δ'
ὅταν ἐξ αὐτῆς συμβῇ τῆς ὀλιγαρχίας γίνεσθαι τὸν ἡγεμόνα,
καθάπερ ἐν Νάξῳ Λύγδαμις, ὃς καὶ ἐτυράννησεν ὕστερον
τῶν Ναξίων. ἔχει δὲ καὶ ἡ ἐξ αὐτῶν[a] ἀρχὴ στάσεως 2 1305 b
διαφοράς. ὁτὲ μὲν γὰρ ἐξ αὐτῶν τῶν εὐπόρων, οὐ τῶν
ὄντων δ' ἐν ταῖς ἀρχαῖς, γίγνεται κατάλυσις, ὅταν ὀλίγοι
σφόδρα ὦσιν οἱ ἐν ταῖς τιμαῖς, οἷον ἐν Μασσαλίᾳ καὶ ἐν

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[a] ἄλλων Bekker.

φέρειν τοὺς ἄρχοντας] "wählen," Stahr, 'create the requisite magistrates,' 'provide them.' The smaller bodies are more amenable to local and traditional influences.

VI. 1 Νάξῳ] Niebuhr, *ü. a. Gesch.* IV. 189. Grote, IV. 143.

2 ἔχει δέ] Is it here that we find the second form of revolution or destruction of an oligarchy? Does ἔχει δέ answer to ἕνα μέν? One cause of revolution lies in their misconduct towards the people they govern. So far is clear. The other is internal, from within the body itself of the oligarchy. But this second form is not simple, it admits of different cases, which he proceeds to enumerate. If we do not adopt this interpretation, it is not easy to find the second form, the ἄλλος τρόπος answering to the first clearly marked one. Schneider finds the answer to ἕνα μέν in μάλιστα δέ, and Schneider's view is very defensible. The one plain cause of the overthrow of the oligarchy is their injuring the people. Such injury rouses the parties injured, and leads to the overthrow in any case. A second cause is in the existence of dissensions within the oligarchical body itself, whether there be or be not misgovernment of the many. But grant that these two coincide, and that simultaneously with the sense of injustice prevailing in the great body, there is some powerful leader ready to their hands amongst the oligarchs, then the overthrow is more certain and easy. This view runs the two causes into one another, and is not inconsistent with Aristotle's very concise method of statement.

αὐτῶν] I prefer this reading to the one Bekker retains, ἄλλων. He mentions another, αὑτῶν, but I follow Nickes in substituting αὐτῶν. 'When the origin of the disturbance is from within their own body,—viz. the oligarchs—and this is not a rare case—it takes different forms.' So I would translate the καὶ ἡ ἐξ αὐτῶν.

ἐν ταῖς ἀρχαῖς] = ἐν ταῖς τιμαῖς. The two words are here evidently used indiscriminately.

Ἴστρῳ καὶ ἐν Ἡρακλείᾳ καὶ ἐν ἄλλαις πόλεσι συμβέβηκεν. οἱ γὰρ μὴ μετέχοντες τῶν ἀρχῶν ἐκίνουν ἕως μετέλαβον οἱ πρότερον πρεσβύτεροι τῶν ἀδελφῶν, ὕστερον δ' οἱ νεώτεροι
3 πάλιν· οὐ γὰρ ἄρχουσιν ἐνιαχοῦ μὲν ἅμα πατήρ τε καὶ υἱός, ἐνιαχοῦ δὲ ὁ πρεσβύτερος καὶ ὁ νεώτερος ἀδελφός. καὶ ἔνθα μὲν πολιτικωτέρα ἐγένετο ἡ ὀλιγαρχία, ἐν Ἴστρῳ δ' εἰς δῆμον ἀπετελεύτησεν, ἐν Ἡρακλείᾳ δ' ἐξ ἐλαττόνων
4 εἰς ἑξακοσίους ἦλθεν. μετέβαλε δὲ καὶ ἐν Κνίδῳ ἡ ὀλιγαρχία στασιασάντων τῶν γνωρίμων αὐτῶν πρὸς αὐτοὺς διὰ τὸ ὀλίγους μετέχειν καὶ καθάπερ εἴρηται, εἰ πατήρ, υἱὸν μὴ μετέχειν, μηδ' εἰ πλείους ἀδελφοί, ἀλλ' ἢ τὸν πρεσβύτατον· ἐπιλαβόμενος γὰρ στασιαζόντων ὁ δῆμος, καὶ λαβὼν προστάτην ἐκ τῶν γνωρίμων, ἐπιθέμενος ἐκρά-
5 τησεν· ἀσθενὲς γὰρ τὸ στασιάζον. καὶ ἐν Ἐρυθραῖς δὲ ἐπὶ τῆς τῶν Βασιλιδῶν ὀλιγαρχίας ἐν τοῖς ἀρχαίοις χρόνοις, καίπερ καλῶς ἐπιμελομένων τῶν ἐν τῇ πολιτείᾳ, ὅμως διὰ τὸ ὑπ' ὀλίγων ἄρχεσθαι ἀγανακτῶν ὁ δῆμος μετέβαλε τὴν πολιτείαν. κινοῦνται δ' αἱ ὀλιγαρχίαι ἐξ αὑτῶν καὶ
6 διὰ φιλονεικίαν δημαγωγούντων. ἡ δημαγωγία δὲ διττή, ἡ μὲν ἐν αὐτοῖς τοῖς ὀλίγοις (ἐγγίνεται γὰρ δημαγωγὸς κἂν

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2 Ἴστρῳ] Istros on the Borysthenes [illegible], incidentally, extremely obscure.

2 ἐκίνουν] 'kept agitating.'

ἔνθα μὲν] 'At Marseilles.' Niebuhr ii. [illegible] Gesch. iv. 639, speaks of its "reputation for good order." Grote, III. [illegible], and note. "The senate was originally a body completely close, which gave rise to discontent on the part of the wealthy men not included in it. A mitigation took place by admitting into it, occasionally, men selected from the latter."

ἀπετελεύτησεν] 'finally ended.'

4 Κνίδῳ] its internal history unknown.

[illegible] μετέχειν] 'but only [illegible]

5 Ἐρυθραῖς] but little known, Grote, III. 243, note 2.

τῶν ἐν τῇ πολιτείᾳ] is the subject to ἐπιμελομένων, 'although those in the government exercised their power well.'

φιλονεικίαν] 'from personal rivalry.'

6 οἱ περὶ Χαρικλέα] This allusion to Charicles, for we may limit the expression to him, is endorsed in *Biogr. Dict.*, art Charicles. In the passage there quoted from Lysias, *contr. Eratosth.* p. 125, the expression Χαρικλεῖ καὶ Κριτίᾳ καὶ τῇ ἐκείνων ἑταιρείᾳ supports Aristotle's remark, and after the death of Critias, he is considered by Mr Grote as the leader of the more violent party, VIII. 370.

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πάνυ ὀλίγοι ὦσιν, οἷον ἐν τοῖς τριάκοντα Ἀθήνησιν οἱ περὶ Χαρικλέα ἴσχυσαν τοὺς τριάκοντα δημαγωγοῦντες, καὶ ἐν τοῖς τετρακοσίοις οἱ περὶ Φρύνιχον τὸν αὐτὸν τρόπον), ἢ ὅταν τὸν ὄχλον δημαγωγῶσιν οἱ ἐν τῇ ὀλιγαρχίᾳ ὄντες, οἷον ἐν Λαρίσσῃ οἱ πολιτοφύλακες διὰ τὸ αἱρεῖσθαι αὐτοὺς τὸν ὄχλον ἐδημαγώγουν· καὶ ἐν ὅσαις ὀλιγαρχίαις οὐχ οὗτοι αἱροῦνται τὰς ἀρχὰς ἐξ ὧν οἱ ἄρχοντές εἰσιν, ἀλλ' αἱ μὲν ἀρχαὶ ἐκ τιμημάτων μεγάλων εἰσὶν ἢ ἑταιριῶν, αἱροῦνται δ' οἱ ὁπλῖται ἢ ὁ δῆμος, ὅπερ ἐν Ἀβύδῳ συνέβαινεν.
καὶ ὅπου τὰ δικαστήρια μὴ ἐκ τοῦ πολιτεύματός ἐστιν· 7
δημαγωγοῦντες γὰρ πρὸς τὰς κρίσεις μεταβάλλουσι τὴν πολιτείαν, ὅπερ καὶ ἐν Ἡρακλείᾳ ἐγένετο τῇ ἐν τῷ Πόντῳ. ἔτι δ' ὅταν ἔνιοι εἰς ἐλάττους ἕλκωσι τὴν ὀλιγαρχίαν· οἱ γὰρ τὸ ἴσον ζητοῦντες ἀναγκάζονται βοηθὸν ἐπαγαγέσθαι τὸν δῆμον. γίγνονται δὲ μεταβολαὶ τῆς ὀλιγαρχίας καὶ 8
ὅταν ἀναλώσωσι τὰ ἴδια ζῶντες ἀσελγῶς· καὶ γὰρ οἱ τοιοῦτοι καινοτομεῖν ζητοῦσι, καὶ ἢ τυραννίδι ἐπιτίθενται αὐτοὶ 1306
ἢ κατασκευάζουσιν ἕτερον, ὥσπερ Ἱππαρῖνος Διονύσιον ἐν Συρακούσαις. καὶ ἐν Ἀμφιπόλει, ᾧ ὄνομα ἦν Κλεότιμος, τοὺς ἐποίκους τοὺς Χαλκιδέων ἤγαγε, καὶ ἐλθόντων

οἱ περὶ Φρύνιχον] Mr Grote, VIII. 85, takes this expression as singular 'Phrynichus.' As in the last case, we should from Xenophon have considered Critias as the more prominent member of the Thirty, so, from Thucydides, Antiphon would here have taken the place of Phrynichus, yet the assassination of this latter seems to show that, in the common opinion, the leadership assigned him by Aristotle was correctly assigned him.

Λαρίσσῃ] Herm. *Pol. Ant.* § 178. Compare also III. 2, 2, a passage which bears witness to internal disputes.

πολιτοφύλακες] The word occurs again II. 8, 9, as one of the forms of superior magistrates.

Ἀβύδῳ] Little else known of Abydos' internal history. It was a colony of Miletus, Herm. *Pol. Ant.* § 78.

7 μὴ ἐκ τοῦ πολιτεύματος] 'are not formed of members of the government.'

πρὸς τὰς κρίσεις] 'with a view to influence decisions.'

8 ἀσελγῶς] 'dissolutely,' Ch. V. 1. This is the great point urged in Plato, *Repub.* VIII., and almost the only one dwelt on.

Ἱππαρῖνος] Grote, X. 599, XI. 69, 76. Arnold, *Rome*, Vol. I. Ch. 21. He was father of Dion. It appears that he completely re-established his fortune.

Ἀμφιπόλει] Ch. III. 4, where those whom he here calls ἐποίκους, are called ἀποίκους. Cleotimus not known.

κατέλυσαν αὐτῶν τὴν ὀλιγαρχίαν. καὶ ἐν Αἰγίνῃ ὁ τὴν πρᾶξιν τὴν πρὸς Χάρητα πράξας ἐνεχείρησε μεταβαλεῖν τὴν πολιτείαν διὰ τοιαύτην αἰτίαν. ὁτὲ μὲν οὖν ἐπιχειροῦσί τι κινεῖν, ὁτὲ δὲ κλέπτουσι τὰ κοινά· ὅθεν πρὸς αὑτοὺς στασιάζουσιν ἢ οὗτοι ἢ οἱ πρὸς τούτους μαχόμενοι κλέπτοντας, ὅπερ ἐν Ἀπολλωνίᾳ συνέβη τῇ ἐν τῷ Πόντῳ. ὁμονοοῦσα δὲ ὀλιγαρχία οὐκ εὐδιάφθορος ἐξ αὑτῆς. σημεῖον δὲ ἡ ἐν Φαρσάλῳ πολιτεία· ἐκεῖνοι γὰρ ὀλίγοι ὄντες πολλῶν κύριοί εἰσι διὰ τὸ χρῆσθαι σφίσιν αὐτοῖς καλῶς. καταλύονται δὲ καὶ ὅταν ἐν τῇ ὀλιγαρχίᾳ ἑτέραν ὀλιγαρχίαν ἐμποιῶσιν. τοῦτο δ' ἐστὶν ὅταν τοῦ παντὸς πολιτεύματος ὀλίγου ὄντος τῶν μεγίστων ἀρχῶν μὴ μετέχωσιν οἱ ὀλίγοι πάντες, ὅπερ ἐν Ἤλιδι συνέβη ποτέ· τῆς πολιτείας γὰρ δι' ὀλίγων οὔσης τῶν γερόντων ὀλίγοι πάμπαν ἐγίνοντο διὰ τὸ ἀιδίους εἶναι ἐνενήκοντα ὄντας, τὴν δ' αἵρεσιν δυναστευτικὴν εἶναι καὶ ὁμοίαν τῇ τῶν ἐν Λακεδαίμονι γερόντων.

ἐν Αἰγίνῃ τὴν πρᾶξιν] I can find no allusion to this apparently well known transaction.

τι κινεῖν] 'to effect some political change.'

πρὸς αὑτούς] "unter sich," Stahr, referring it and αὑτοῖς to the same people. Yet the Greek hardly warrants this, however much the sense may require it.

κλέπτοντας] "The thieves."

Ἀπολλωνίᾳ] See above, III. 13.

ὁμονοοῦσα δέ, κ.τ.λ.] 'An oligarchy if it do but avoid dissension, and act in concert, is not easily destroyed by any fault of its own.' Such is the view Stahr takes of the passage, "wird nicht leicht durch ihre eigene Schuld zu Grunde gerichtet." There is much in the context to favour this view. There is another admissible, I think. 'Is not easily destroyed from [illegible] causes.' The [illegible] the chapter on ὁμόνοια, *Eth.* IX. 6, p. 1167, b. 2 where he calls it πολιτικὴ φιλία. In both views the great point for our oligarchical government is to secure internal union, where the two separate is in this. In Stahr's it will, if united, bear up against the evil effects of its own faults; in the other view it will be proof against dangers from without.

11 Ἤλιδι] The political history of Elis is not well known. Whilst connected with Sparta, its government would, of course, be oligarchical. Later we hear of factions as in the other Greek states.

ὀλίγοι πάμπαν, κ.τ.λ.] 'Very few were admitted into the gerusia because the members were life members, and only ninety in number, and those few were chosen only from certain families, and in a manner similar to that of the Gerontes at Lacedaemon.' Müller, *Dorians*, II. 100.

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γίγνεται δὲ μεταβολὴ τῶν ὀλιγαρχιῶν[a] καὶ ἐν πολέμῳ καὶ ἐν
εἰρήνῃ, ἐν μὲν πολέμῳ διὰ τὴν πρὸς τὸν δῆμον ἀπιστίαν στρα-
τιώταις ἀναγκαζομένων χρῆσθαι (ᾧ γὰρ ἂν ἐγχειρίσωσιν, 12
οὗτος πολλάκις γίγνεται τύραννος, ὥσπερ ἐν Κορίνθῳ Τιμο-
φάνης· ἂν δὲ πλείους, οὗτοι αὑτοῖς περιποιοῦνται δυναστείαν)·
ὁτὲ δὲ ταῦτα δεδιότες μεταδιδόασι τῷ πλήθει τῆς πολιτείας
διὰ τὸ ἀναγκάζεσθαι τῷ δήμῳ χρῆσθαι. ἐν δὲ τῇ εἰρήνῃ διὰ 13
τὴν ἀπιστίαν τὴν πρὸς ἀλλήλους ἐγχειρίζουσι τὴν φυλακὴν
στρατιώταις καὶ ἄρχοντι μεσιδίῳ, ὃς ἐνίοτε γίνεται κύριος
ἀμφοτέρων, ὅπερ συνέβη ἐν Λαρίσσῃ ἐπὶ τῆς τῶν Ἀλευα-
δῶν ἀρχῆς τῶν περὶ Σῖμον καὶ ἐν Ἀβύδῳ ἐπὶ τῶν ἑταιριῶν
ὧν ἦν μία ἡ Ἰφιάδου. γίνονται δὲ στάσεις καὶ ἐκ τοῦ 14
περιωθεῖσθαι ἑτέρους ὑφ' ἑτέρων τῶν ἐν τῇ ὀλιγαρχίᾳ
αὐτῶν καὶ καταστασιάζεσθαι κατὰ γάμους ἢ δίκας, οἷον ἐκ
γαμικῆς μὲν αἰτίας αἱ εἰρημέναι πρότερον, καὶ τὴν ἐν
Ἐρετρίᾳ δ' ὀλιγαρχίαν τὴν τῶν ἱππέων Διαγόρας [δὲ]

[a] ὀλιγαρχικῶν Bekker.

12 **ὀλιγαρχιῶν**] I see no objection to adopting with Stahr this change for Bekker's ὀλιγαρχικῶν. Not that in the other case there is any difficulty. It is so easy to supply πολιτειῶν.

στρατιώταις] 'Mercenaries,' 'professional soldiers,' such as those maintained by the Spartan government at Athens, under the Thirty.

ᾧ γὰρ ἄν, κ.τ.λ.] 'He in whose hand they place the command.' Compare Grote, XI. 194.

Τιμοφάνης] The brother of Timoleon, commanded the Corinthian troops in the war against Argos. He "stood forth as despot, taking the whole government into his own hands."

13 **μεσιδίῳ**] 'An arbiter between the two factions.' "From experience, as we must presume, of the partiality which their domestic factions carried into the administration of justice, it became a general practice to elect, by the name of podestà, a citizen of some neighbouring state as their general, their criminal judge and preserver of the peace." Hallam, *Middle Ages*, I. 395, 6.

τῶν περὶ Σῖμον] unknown really, as the doubts on the name seem to show.

Ἰφιάδου] Grote, X. 521, note, with the conjecture there given.

14 **περιωθεῖσθαι**] passive, 'repulsam ferre.'

αὐτῶν] Coray suggests ὄντων, and the proposal is attractive, as αὐτῶν seems not at all wanted. Stahr retains αὐτῶν. 'Themselves also of the oligarchy.'

καταστασιάζεσθαι] 'being borne down by party.'

Ἐρετρίᾳ] Like its neighbour and rival Chalcis, Eretria in the period of its prosperity was oligarchical. Compare Ch. IV. 9, and the references there given for Chalcis. Diagoras is unknown.

Revolutions in oligarchies.

κατέλυσεν ἀδικηθεὶς περὶ γάμον. ἐκ δὲ δικαστηρίου κρίσεως ἡ ἐν Ἡρακλείᾳ στάσις ἐγένετο καὶ ἐν Θήβαις, ἐπ' αἰτίᾳ μοιχείας δικαίως μὲν στασιωτικῶς δὲ ποιησαμένων τὴν
15 κόλασιν τῶν μὲν ἐν Ἡρακλείᾳ κατ' Εὐρυτίωνος, τῶν δ' ἐν
1306 b Θήβαις κατ' Ἀρχίου· ἐφιλονείκησαν γὰρ αὐτοὺς οἱ ἐχθροὶ
16 ὥστε δεθῆναι ἐν ἀγορᾷ ἐν τῷ κύφωνι. πολλαὶ δὲ καὶ διὰ τὸ ἄγαν δεσποτικὰς εἶναι τὰς ὀλιγαρχίας ὑπὸ τῶν ἐν τῇ πολιτείᾳ τινῶν δυσχερανάντων κατελύθησαν, ὥσπερ ἡ ἐν Κνίδῳ καὶ ἡ ἐν Χίῳ ὀλιγαρχία. γίγνονται δὲ καὶ ἀπὸ συμπτώματος μεταβολαὶ καὶ τῆς καλουμένης πολιτείας καὶ τῶν ὀλιγαρχιῶν ἐν ὅσαις ἀπὸ τιμήματος βουλεύουσι καὶ
17 δικάζουσι καὶ τὰς ἄλλας ἀρχὰς ἄρχουσιν. πολλάκις γὰρ τὸ ταχθὲν πρῶτον τίμημα πρὸς τοὺς παρόντας καιρούς, ὥστε μετέχειν ἐν μὲν τῇ ὀλιγαρχίᾳ ὀλίγους ἐν δὲ τῇ πολιτείᾳ τοὺς μέσους, εὐετηρίας γιγνομένης δι' εἰρήνην ἢ δι' ἄλλην τιν' εὐτυχίαν συμβαίνει πολλαπλασίου γίγνεσθαι τιμήματος ἀξίας τὰς αὐτὰς κτήσεις, ὥστε πάντας πάντων μετέχειν, ὁτὲ μὲν ἐκ προσαγωγῆς καὶ κατὰ μικρὸν γινομένης τῆς μεταβολῆς καὶ λανθανούσης, ὁτὲ δὲ καὶ θᾶττον.
18 Αἱ μὲν οὖν ὀλιγαρχίαι μεταβάλλουσι καὶ στασιάζουσι διὰ τοιαύτας αἰτίας. ὅλως δὲ [a] αἱ δημοκρατίαι καὶ ὀλιγαρχίαι ἐξίστανται ἐνίοτε οὐκ εἰς τὰς ἐναντίας πολιτείας ἀλλ' εἰς

[a] καὶ Bekker.

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15 Θήβαις] The name of Archias is prominent in Theban history, but Mr Grote, x. 118, does not seem able to connect the anecdote here given with the history of Thebes.

στασιωτικῶς] 'in a factious spirit.'

ἐφιλονείκησαν] 'They carried so far their desire for personal or party vengeance on them.'

κυφῶνι] 'pillory.'

16 Χίῳ] To what period does this refer? for the oligarchy at Chios, before its revolt from Athens, B.C. 412, is mentioned as singularly pru-de-

ἀπὸ συμπτώματος] 'from an accident.'

τὰς ἄλλας ἀρχάς] Compare the language in III. 1, 6, 7.

17 πρὸς τοὺς παρόντας καιρούς] 'For the time being,' 'to suit the then circumstances.'

πολλαπλασίου, κ. τ. λ.] 'That the property which was rated at a given sum so increases in value as to be capable of being rated at a sum many times as great.' The sentence is not quite regular in construction.

ἐκ προσαγωγῆς] 'by degrees.'

18 I have omitted καί. Bekker

τὰς ἐν τῷ αὐτῷ γένει, οἷον ἐκ τῶν ἐννόμων δημοκρατιῶν καὶ ὀλιγαρχιῶν εἰς τὰς κυρίους καὶ ἐκ τούτων εἰς ἐκείνας.

Revolutions in aristocracies.

'Εν δὲ ταῖς ἀριστοκρατίαις γίγνονται αἱ στάσεις αἱ 7
μὲν διὰ τὸ ὀλίγους τῶν τιμῶν μετέχειν, ὅπερ εἴρηται κινεῖν καὶ τὰς ὀλιγαρχίας διὰ τὸ καὶ τὴν ἀριστοκρατίαν ὀλιγαρχίαν εἶναί πως· ἐν ἀμφοτέραις γὰρ ὀλίγοι οἱ ἄρχοντες, οὐ μέντοι διὰ ταὐτὸν ὀλίγοι, ἐπεὶ δοκεῖ γε διὰ ταῦτα καὶ ἡ ἀριστοκρατία ὀλιγαρχία εἶναι. μάλιστα δὲ τοῦτο συμβαίνειν ἀναγκαῖον, ὅταν ᾖ τι[a] πλῆθος τῶν πεφρονηματισμέ- 2
νων ὡς ὅμοιον κατ' ἀρετήν, οἷον ἐν Λακεδαίμονι οἱ λεγόμενοι Παρθενίαι (ἐκ τῶν ὁμοίων γὰρ ἦσαν), οὓς φωράσαντες ἐπιβουλεύσαντας ἀπέστειλαν Τάραντος οἰκιστάς. ἢ ὅταν τινὲς ἀτιμάζωνται μεγάλοι ὄντες καὶ μηθενὸς ἥττους κατ' ἀρετὴν ὑπὸ τινῶν ἐντιμοτέρων, οἷον Λύσανδρος ὑπὸ τῶν βασιλέων. ἢ ὅταν ἀνδρώδης τις ὢν μὴ μετέχῃ τῶν τιμῶν, 3
οἷον Κινάδων ὁ τὴν ἐπ' Ἀγησιλάῳ συστήσας ἐπίθεσιν ἐπὶ τοὺς Σπαρτιάτας. ἔτι ὅταν οἱ μὲν ἀπορῶσι λίαν, οἱ δ' εὐπορῶσιν· καὶ μάλιστα ἐν τοῖς πολέμοις τοῦτο γίνεται. συνέβη δὲ καὶ τοῦτο ἐν Λακεδαίμονι ὑπὸ τὸν Μεσσηνιακὸν

[a] τὸ Bekker.

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mentions its omission by one MS.

κυρίους] 'despotical,' 'absolute,' "willkührliche," forms in which their respective principles are developed without any check, when the law is set aside. Compare his division of democracies and oligarchies in VI. (VI.) Chaps. IV. and V.

VII. 1 *διὰ τὸ καὶ τήν, κ.τ.λ.*] Of course, so far as they agree, they would be liable to the same influences.

δοκεῖ γε] 'seems,' 'and yet is not.'

2 *τι πλῆθος*] This change I consider imperatively required by the sense, as in VII. (VI.) VIII. 12. 'When there be a number of high-spirited men, men confident in themselves as being equal in merit to their governors.' I should greatly prefer *ὁμοίων* to *ὅμοιον* as far as sense goes, and it is adopted by Coray. But *ὅμοιον* may be referred to *πλῆθος*, and the change is not absolutely necessary.

Παρθενίαι] Müller, *Dorians*, II. 85, Grote, III. 512.

ἐκ τῶν ὁμοίων γὰρ ἦσαν] If this is genuine, I am at a loss to understand it. It must, I think, be the addition of some ignorant commentator.

Λύσανδρος] See Ch. I. 10, note.

3 *ἐπ' Ἀγησιλάῳ*] This must mean 'in the reign of Agesilaus,' but I should prefer to read *Ἀγησιλάω*, the genitive. This is the commoner construction of *ἐπί*, when it is used to mark time. Schneider reads *Ἀγησιλάου*. For Cinadon's conspiracy, see Xenophon, *Hell.* III. 3.

Revolutions in aristocracies.

πόλεμον. δῆλον δὲ καὶ τοῦτο ἐκ τῆς Τυρταίου ποιήσεως
τῆς καλουμένης Εὐνομίας· θλιβόμενοι γάρ τινες διὰ τὸν
πόλεμον ἠξίουν ἀνάδαστον ποιεῖν τὴν χώραν. ἔτι ἐάν τις
1307 4 μέγας ᾖ καὶ δυνάμενος ἔτι μείζων εἶναι, ἵνα μοναρχῇ, ὥσπερ
ἐν Λακεδαίμονι δοκεῖ Παυσανίας ὁ στρατηγήσας κατὰ τὸν
5 Μηδικὸν πόλεμον καὶ ἐν Καρχηδόνι Ἄννων. λύονται δὲ
μάλιστα αἵ τε πολιτεῖαι καὶ αἱ ἀριστοκρατίαι διὰ τὴν ἐν
αὐτῇ τῇ πολιτείᾳ τοῦ δικαίου παρέκβασιν. ἀρχὴ γὰρ τὸ
μὴ μεμῖχθαι καλῶς ἐν μὲν τῇ πολιτείᾳ δημοκρατίαν καὶ
ὀλιγαρχίαν, ἐν δὲ τῇ ἀριστοκρατίᾳ ταῦτά τε καὶ τὴν ἀρε-
τήν, μάλιστα δὲ τὰ δύο· λέγω δὲ τὰ δύο δῆμον καὶ ὀλιγαρ-
χίαν· ταῦτα γὰρ αἱ πολιτεῖαί τε πειρῶνται μιγνύναι καὶ
6 αἱ πολλαὶ τῶν καλουμένων ἀριστοκρατιῶν. διαφέρουσι γὰρ
τῶν ὀνομαζομένων πολιτειῶν αἱ ἀριστοκρατίαι τούτῳ, καὶ
διὰ τοῦτ' εἰσὶν αἱ μὲν ἧττον αἱ δὲ μᾶλλον μόνιμοι αὐτῶν.
τὰς γὰρ ἀποκλινούσας μᾶλλον πρὸς τὴν ὀλιγαρχίαν ἀριστο-
κρατίας καλοῦσιν, τὰς δὲ πρὸς τὸ πλῆθος πολιτείας. διό-
περ ἀσφαλέστεραι αἱ τοιαῦται τῶν ἑτέρων εἰσίν· κρεῖττόν
τε γὰρ τὸ πλεῖον, καὶ μᾶλλον ἀγαπῶσιν ἴσον ἔχοντες.
7 οἱ δ' ἐν ταῖς εὐπορίαις, ἂν ἡ πολιτεία διδῷ τὴν ὑπεροχήν,
ὑβρίζειν ζητοῦσι καὶ πλεονεκτεῖν. ὅλως δ' ἐφ' ὁπότερον

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4 **Τυρταίου**] For his life and history, with the necessary references, see Smith, *Biogr. Dict.*

τὸν Μεσσηνιακὸν πόλεμον] The second Messenian war.

Εὐνομίας] Grote, II. 573.

ἀνάδαστον] see Ch. V. 5.

ἵνα μοναρχῇ] sc. *στασιάζει.*

Παυσανίας] see Ch. I. 10.

Ἄννων] Grote, X. 552, note. Heeren, *African Nations*, I. 112; also Justin, XXI. 4, "regnum invadere, interfecto senatu, conatus est Hanno."

5 **ἐν αὐτῇ τῇ πολιτείᾳ**] 'In the actual constitution of the government.'

ἐν μὲν τῇ πολιτείᾳ, κ.τ.λ.] This is consistent with his language, VI. (IV.) VIII. 8, 9.

6 **διαφέρουσι**] Is this 'differ and are superior to?'

ὀνομαζομένων] See VI. (IV.) VIII. 1. This passage is in favour of the change there advocated of *νομιζομένη* into *ὀνομαζομένης*.

αἱ τοιαῦται] sc. *αἱ πρὸς τὸ πλῆθος ἀποκλίνουσαι.*

τὸ πλεῖον] sc. *ἀριθμῷ* 'in number,' the numerical majority.

μᾶλλον ἀγαπῶσιν] 'And they are more inclined to acquiesce in the simple equality, whereas the wealthy, if the form of government recognise their superiority, do not rest content with this, but grow insolent, and grasp at more.'

Revolutions in aristocracies.

ἂν ἐγκλίνῃ ἡ πολιτεία, ἐπὶ ταῦτα μεθίσταται ἑκατέρων τὸ
σφέτερον αὐξανόντων, οἷον ἡ μὲν πολιτεία εἰς δῆμον, ἀρι-
στοκρατία δ' εἰς ὀλιγαρχίαν. ἢ εἰς τἀναντία, οἷον ἡ μὲν
ἀριστοκρατία εἰς δῆμον (ὡς ἀδικούμενοι γὰρ περισπῶσιν εἰς 8
τοὐναντίον οἱ ἀπορώτεροι), αἱ δὲ πολιτεῖαι εἰς ὀλιγαρχίαν·
μόνον γὰρ μόνιμον τὸ κατ' ἀξίαν ἴσον καὶ τὸ ἔχειν τὰ
αὑτῶν. συνέβη δὲ τὸ εἰρημένον ἐν Θουρίοις· διὰ μὲν γὰρ 9
τὸ ἀπὸ πλείονος τιμήματος εἶναι τὰς ἀρχὰς εἰς ἔλαττον
μετέβη καὶ εἰς ἀρχεῖα πλείω, διὰ δὲ τὸ τὴν χώραν ὅλην
τοὺς γνωρίμους συγκτήσασθαι παρὰ τὸν νόμον· ἡ γὰρ πο-
λιτεία ὀλιγαρχικωτέρα ἦν, ὥστε ἐδύναντο πλεονεκτεῖν· ὁ δὲ
δῆμος γυμνασθεὶς ἐν τῷ πολέμῳ τῶν φρουρῶν ἐγένετο κρείτ-
των, ἕως ἀφεῖσαν τῆς χώρας ὅσοι πλείω ἦσαν ἔχοντες.
ἔτι διὰ τὸ πάσας τὰς ἀριστοκρατικὰς πολιτείας ὀλιγαρ- 10
χικὰς εἶναι μᾶλλον πλεονεκτοῦσιν οἱ γνώριμοι, οἷον καὶ ἐν
Λακεδαίμονι εἰς ὀλίγους αἱ οὐσίαι ἔρχονται· καὶ ἔξεστι
ποιεῖν ὅ τι ἂν θέλωσι τοῖς γνωρίμοις μᾶλλον, καὶ κηδεύειν

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7 *ἐπὶ ταῦτα*] 'It is into this one of its two constituent elements that it changes.'

ἑκατέρων] 'As each of the two tries to increase its influence.'

8 *περισπῶσιν*] sc. *περιέλκει, περιάγει*, 'They draw it round to.'

μόνιμον τὸ κατ' ἀξίαν ἴσον, κ. τ. λ.] In other words, *μόνον γὰρ μόνιμον τὸ δίκαιον*. These are the two great divisions of political justice; the first is the principle of *τὸ διανεμητικὸν δίκαιον*, the second, that of *τὸ διορθωτικόν*, *Eth.* v. Chs. VI. VII.

9 *τὸ εἰρημένον*] What does this refer to? Must it be carried back to § 5, the *τὴν ἐν αὐτῇ τῇ πολιτείᾳ τοῦ δικαίου παρέκβασιν*, or should it be rather, 'We have an instance of this twofold change in Thurii'? The original constitution leant towards wealth, an oligarchy. This tendency was not checked, and the government became more oligarchical. Hence came a reaction in a democratical sense.

πλείονος] 'too high a qualification,' "Un cens trop élevé," St. Hilaire.

εἰς ἔλαττον, κ.τ.λ.] 'It was changed into a lower rate (sc. *τίμημα*), and the number of magistracies was increased.' This is one step of the reaction towards democracy. Then comes the second point, in which the oligarchy had gone too far.

ὀλιγαρχικωτέρα] 'had a strong oligarchical tendency.'

τῶν φρουρῶν] 'The guards, mercenary, it would appear, maintained by the oligarchs.'

10 *ὀλιγαρχικὰς εἶναι μᾶλλον*] 'having more of the oligarchical than of the democratical character.'

καὶ ἐν Λακεδαίμονι] So that Aristotle considers the proper character of the Lacedæmonian constitution to have been aristocratical.

Revolutions in democracies.

Καθ' ἕκαστον δ' εἶδος πολιτείας ἐκ τούτων μερίζοντας
τὰ συμβαίνοντα δεῖ θεωρεῖν. Αἱ μὲν οὖν δημοκρατίαι
μάλιστα μεταβάλλουσι διὰ τὴν τῶν δημαγωγῶν ἀσέλγειαν·
τὰ μὲν γὰρ ἰδίᾳ συκοφαντοῦντες τοὺς τὰς οὐσίας ἔχοντας
2 συστρέφουσιν αὐτούς (συνάγει γὰρ καὶ τοὺς ἐχθίστους ὁ
κοινὸς φόβος), τὰ δὲ κοινῇ τὸ πλῆθος ἐπάγοντες. καὶ
τοῦτο ἐπὶ πολλῶν ἄν τις ἴδοι γιγνόμενον οὕτως. καὶ γὰρ
ἐν Κῷ ἡ δημοκρατία μετέβαλε πονηρῶν ἐγγενομένων
δημαγωγῶν (οἱ γὰρ γνώριμοι συνέστησαν) καὶ ἐν Ῥόδῳ.
μισθοφοράν τε γὰρ οἱ δημαγωγοὶ ἐπόριζον, καὶ ἐκώλυον
3 ἀποδιδόναι τὰ ὀφειλόμενα τοῖς τριηράρχοις· οἱ δὲ διὰ τὰς
ἐπιφερομένας δίκας ἠναγκάσθησαν συστάντες καταλῦσαι
τὸν δῆμον. κατελύθη δὲ καὶ ἐν Ἡρακλείᾳ ὁ δῆμος μετὰ
4 τὸν ἀποικισμὸν εὐθὺς διὰ τοὺς δημαγωγούς· ἀδικούμενοι γὰρ
ὑπ' αὐτῶν οἱ γνώριμοι ἐξέπιπτον, ἔπειτα ἀθροισθέντες οἱ
ἐκπίπτοντες καὶ κατελθόντες κατέλυσαν τὸν δῆμον. παραπλησίως δὲ καὶ ἡ ἐν Μεγάροις κατελύθη δημοκρατία· οἱ
γὰρ δημαγωγοί, ἵνα χρήματα ἔχωσι δημεύειν, ἐξέβαλλον

CHAP. V. 1 **Καθ' ἕκαστον δ' εἶδος**] 'We must now take each form of government, and see what happens, availing ourselves of the principles laid down above, and dividing them so as to suit the particular case.'

μερίζοντας] Demosth. 1297. 21, *κατὰ μέρος*, the exact opposite to *καθόλου*, would be nearly equivalent to *μερίζοντας*.

τὰ συμβαίνοντα] "das in ihnen wirklich vorkommende," Stahr.

ἀσέλγειαν] 'intemperate conduct,' 'importunitas,' or 'libido.

ἰδίᾳ] 'as individuals.'

συστρέφουσιν] 'They force them to combine.'

κοινῇ] 'on them as a body,' "ihnen allen," Stahr.

2 **Κῷ**] The internal history does not seem to be known.

Ῥόδῳ] See Ch. III. 4.

μισθοφοράν] pay for the people as members of the ecclesia or the courts of justice. Compare Thuc. VIII. 67, *μήτε μισθοφοράν*, the proposal of the oligarchical conspirators, that no civil functions hereafter should be salaried. Grote, VIII. 41, and foll.

ἐπόριζον] 'wished to furnish.'

τοῖς τριηράρχοις] These would be from the wealthier classes.

3 **Ἡρακλείᾳ**] Of the numerous towns of this name, the one on the Pontus Euxinus seems the one here meant. Nieb. *ü. a. Gesch.* IV. 252. Smith, *Geogr. Dict.*

ἀποικισμόν] 'soon after the foundation of the colony.' So Stahr translates it. The result of these dissensions was a permanent tyranny; but this does not appear from Aristotle.

4 **Μεγάροις**] Compare III. 5 and VI. (IV.) XV. 15. The three allusions seem to refer to the same events.

πολλοὺς τῶν γνωρίμων, ἕως πολλοὺς ἐποίησαν τοὺς φεύγοντας· οἱ δὲ κατιόντες ἐνίκησαν μαχόμενοι τὸν δῆμον καὶ κατέστησαν τὴν ὀλιγαρχίαν. συνέβη δὲ ταὐτὸν καὶ περὶ Κύμην ἐπὶ τῆς δημοκρατίας ἣν κατέλυσε Θρασύμαχος. 1305

Revolutions in democracies.

σχεδὸν δὲ καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν ἄλλων ἄν τις ἴδοι θεωρῶν τὰς μετα- 5
βολὰς τοῦτον ἐχούσας τὸν τρόπον. ὁτὲ μὲν γάρ, ἵνα χαρίζωνται, ἀδικοῦντες τοὺς γνωρίμους συνιστᾶσιν, ἢ τὰς οὐσίας ἀναδάστους ποιοῦντες ἢ τὰς προσόδους ταῖς λειτουργίαις· ὁτὲ δὲ διαβάλλοντες, ἵν' ἔχωσι δημεύειν τὰ κτήματα τῶν πλουσίων. ἐπὶ δὲ τῶν ἀρχαίων, ὅτε γένοιτο 6
ὁ αὐτὸς δημαγωγὸς καὶ στρατηγός, εἰς τυραννίδα μετέβαλλον. σχεδὸν γὰρ οἱ πλεῖστοι τῶν ἀρχαίων τυράννων ἐκ δημαγωγῶν γεγόνασιν. αἴτιον δὲ τοῦ τότε μὲν γίγνεσθαι 7
νῦν δὲ μή, ὅτι τότε μὲν οἱ δημαγωγοὶ ἦσαν ἐκ τῶν στρατηγούντων (οὐ γάρ πω δεινοὶ ἦσαν λέγειν), νῦν δὲ τῆς ῥητορικῆς ηὐξημένης οἱ δυνάμενοι λέγειν δημαγωγοῦσι μέν, δι' ἀπειρίαν δὲ τῶν πολεμικῶν οὐκ ἐπιτίθενται, πλὴν εἴ που βραχύ τι γέγονε τοιοῦτον. ἐγίγνοντο δὲ τυραννίδες 8

Κύμην] The Campanian city of that name, partly of Chalcidian origin, partly of Æolian, was early powerful. The decline of its power is attributed by Mr. Grote, III. 473, first to the growth of hostile powers in the interior, the Tuscans and Samnites, next to violent intestine dissensions and a destructive despotism. The particular fact in the text is obscure.

5 **ἀναδάστους**] Compare the expression, *ἐπὶ γῆς ἀναδασμῷ*.

τὰς προσόδους] 'Their incomes.'

ταῖς λειτουργίαις] 'by the various public offices which they have to serve at their own expense.'

6 *ὅτε γένοιτο ὁ αὐτός*] 'Whenever the same man happened to be. Nor was this a rare case.' Such seems the force of the optative.

τῶν ἀρχαίων τυράννων] For some considerable period of Greek experience, despots or tyrants were unknown in Greece proper. Prior to that period, they looked back on an age of despots or tyrants, and their actual experience of later, more Aristotelian times, had revived their dislike of this form of government, though in many essential features the spirit was changed, and changed for the worse. The word tyrant in its full sense is only applicable as a general rule to the later rulers who bore that name. On this distinction between the earlier and later tyrants, see Niebuhr, *ü. a. Gesch.* I. 328.

7 On this separation of civil and military powers, compare Heeren's *Political History of Greece*.

οὐκ ἐπιτίθενται] 'They do not attempt to seize power,' as a general rule, that is; there may be some few instances of their doing so.

Revolutions in democracies.

πρότερον μᾶλλον ἢ νῦν καὶ διὰ τὸ μεγάλας ἀρχὰς ἐγχειρίζεσθαί τισιν, ὥσπερ ἐν Μιλήτῳ ἐκ τῆς πρυτανείας· πολλῶν γὰρ ἦν καὶ μεγάλων κύριος ὁ πρύτανις. ἔτι δὲ διὰ τὸ μὴ μεγάλας εἶναι τότε τὰς πόλεις, ἀλλ' ἐπὶ τῶν ἀγρῶν οἰκεῖν τὸν δῆμον ἄσχολον ὄντα πρὸς τοῖς ἔργοις, οἱ προστάται τοῦ δήμου, ὅτε πολεμικοὶ γένοιντο, τυραννίδι ἐπετίθεντο.
9 πάντες δὲ τοῦτο ἔδρων ὑπὸ τοῦ δήμου πιστευθέντες, ἡ δὲ πίστις ἦν ἡ ἀπέχθεια ἡ πρὸς τοὺς πλουσίους, οἷον Ἀθήνησί τε Πεισίστρατος στασιάσας πρὸς τοὺς πεδιακούς, καὶ Θεαγένης ἐν Μεγάροις τῶν εὐπόρων τὰ κτήνη ἀποσφάξας,
10 λαβὼν παρὰ τὸν ποταμὸν ἐπινέμοντας. καὶ Διονύσιος κατηγορῶν Δαφναίου καὶ τῶν πλουσίων ἠξιώθη τῆς τυραννίδος, διὰ τὴν ἔχθραν πιστευθεὶς ὡς δημοτικὸς ὤν. μεταβάλλουσι δὲ καὶ ἐκ τῆς πατρίας δημοκρατίας εἰς τὴν νεωτάτην· ὅπου γὰρ αἱρεταὶ μὲν αἱ ἀρχαί, μὴ ἀπὸ τιμημάτων δέ, αἱρεῖται δὲ ὁ δῆμος, δημαγωγοῦντες οἱ σπουδαρχιῶντες εἰς τοῦτο καθιστᾶσιν ὡς κύριον εἶναι τὸν
11 δῆμον καὶ τῶν νόμων. ἄκος δὲ τοῦ ἢ μὴ γίνεσθαι ἢ τοῦ

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8 ἐγχειρίζεσθαι] 'being placed in the hands of.'

ἐκ τῆς πρυτανείας] 'was the result of the Prytaneia.' This abuse of the executive power has been in all periods common. The latest and most notorious instance is that of Louis Napoleon.

ἔτι δέ] The Greek of this passage is easy, but I do not feel clear as to the meaning. Was it that the absence of the people, their supporters, made it in the first place easier to seize a despotic power, as in consequence there was removed the check that the presence of that people would have placed on them, and next, that the same absence made such a power more an object of their desire, as they were not safe without it? The force of this latter consideration may be seen from the case of the Gracchi, who fell by the necessary absence of their supporters. Niebuhr, *Lect. Rom. Hist.* II. p. 334, Lect. 27.

9 Πεισίστρατος] Grote, III. 206.

Θεαγένης] Grote, III. 59.

λαβών, κ.τ.λ.] 'Having caught them turning them out to graze on the river side.' For ἐπινέμοντας, compare Demosth. 1274.

10 Διονύσιος] Grote, X. 539, 608.

πατρίας δημοκρατίας] I am inclined to read μετρίας. If πατρίας be kept, it must have somewhat of the same meaning, "from the old, constitutional, moderate form of democracy, such as our wiser fathers enjoyed." See note on II. XII. 4.

σπουδαρχιῶντες] 'ambitious of office,' Aristoph. *Ach.* 595.

11 τὰς φυλάς] 'The people,' that is, 'in divisions, and not collectively.'

γίνεσθαι ἧττον τὸ τὰς φυλὰς φέρειν τοὺς ἄρχοντας, ἀλλὰ μὴ πάντα τὸν δῆμον. Τῶν μὲν οὖν δημοκρατιῶν αἱ μεταβολαὶ γίγνονται πᾶσαι σχεδὸν διὰ ταύτας τὰς αἰτίας.

Revolutions in democracies.

Revolutions in oligarchies.

Αἱ δ' ὀλιγαρχίαι μεταβάλλουσι διὰ δύο μάλιστα 6
τρόπους τοὺς φανερωτάτους, ἕνα μὲν ἐὰν ἀδικῶσι τὸ πλῆθος· πᾶς γὰρ ἱκανὸς γίνεται προστάτης, μάλιστα δ' ὅταν ἐξ αὐτῆς συμβῇ τῆς ὀλιγαρχίας γίνεσθαι τὸν ἡγεμόνα, καθάπερ ἐν Νάξῳ Λύγδαμις, ὃς καὶ ἐτυράννησεν ὕστερον τῶν Ναξίων. ἔχει δὲ καὶ ἡ ἐξ αὐτῶν[a] ἀρχὴ στάσεως 2 1305 B
διαφοράς. ὁτὲ μὲν γὰρ ἐξ αὐτῶν τῶν εὐπόρων, οὐ τῶν ὄντων δ' ἐν ταῖς ἀρχαῖς, γίγνεται κατάλυσις, ὅταν ὀλίγοι σφόδρα ὦσιν οἱ ἐν ταῖς τιμαῖς, οἷον ἐν Μασσαλίᾳ καὶ ἐν

[a] ἄλλων Bekker.

φέρειν τοὺς ἄρχοντας] "wählen," Stahr, 'create the requisite magistrates,' 'provide them.' The smaller bodies are more amenable to local and traditional influences.

VI. 1 Νάξῳ] Niebuhr, *ü. a. Gesch.* IV. 189. Grote, IV. 143.

2 ἔχει δέ] Is it here that we find the second form of revolution or destruction of an oligarchy? Does ἔχει δέ answer to ἕνα μέν? One cause of revolution lies in their misconduct towards the people they govern. So far is clear. The other is internal, from within the body itself of the oligarchy. But this second form is not simple, it admits of different cases, which he proceeds to enumerate. If we do not adopt this interpretation, it is not easy to find the second form, the ἄλλος τρόπος answering to the first clearly marked one. Schneider finds the answer to ἕνα μέν in μάλιστα δέ, and Schneider's view is very defensible. The one plain cause of the overthrow of the oligarchy is their injuring the people. Such injury rouses the parties injured, and leads to the overthrow in any case. A second cause is in the existence of dissensions within the oligarchical body itself, whether there be or be not misgovernment of the many. But grant that these two coincide, and that simultaneously with the sense of injustice prevailing in the great body, there is some powerful leader ready to their hands amongst the oligarchs, then the overthrow is more certain and easy. This view runs the two causes into one another, and is not inconsistent with Aristotle's very concise method of statement.

αὐτῶν] I prefer this reading to the one Bekker retains, ἄλλων. He mentions another, αὑτῶν, but I follow Nickes in substituting αὐτῶν. 'When the origin of the disturbance is from within their own body,—viz. the oligarchs—and this is not a rare case—it takes different forms.' So I would translate the καὶ ἡ ἐξ αὐτῶν.

ἐν ταῖς ἀρχαῖς] = ἐν ταῖς τιμαῖς. The two words are here evidently used indiscriminately.

Revolutions in oligarchies.

Ἴστρῳ καὶ ἐν Ἡρακλείᾳ καὶ ἐν ἄλλαις πόλεσι συμβέβηκεν. οἱ γὰρ μὴ μετέχοντες τῶν ἀρχῶν ἐκίνουν, ἕως μετέλαβον οἱ πρεσβύτεροι πρότερον τῶν ἀδελφῶν, ὕστερον δ' οἱ νεώτεροι
3 πάλιν· οὐ γὰρ ἄρχουσιν ἐνιαχοῦ μὲν ἅμα πατήρ τε καὶ υἱός, ἐνιαχοῦ δὲ ὁ πρεσβύτερος καὶ ὁ νεώτερος ἀδελφός. καὶ ἔνθα μὲν πολιτικωτέρα ἐγένετο ἡ ὀλιγαρχία, ἐν Ἴστρῳ δ' εἰς δῆμον ἀπετελεύτησεν, ἐν Ἡρακλείᾳ δ' ἐξ ἐλαττόνων
4 εἰς ἑξακοσίους ἦλθεν. μετέβαλε δὲ καὶ ἐν Κνίδῳ ἡ ὀλιγαρχία στασιασάντων τῶν γνωρίμων αὐτῶν πρὸς αὐτοὺς διὰ τὸ ὀλίγους μετέχειν καὶ καθάπερ εἴρηται, εἰ πατήρ, υἱὸν μὴ μετέχειν, μηδ' εἰ πλείους ἀδελφοί, ἀλλ' ἢ τὸν πρεσβύτατον· ἐπιλαβόμενος γὰρ στασιαζόντων ὁ δῆμος, καὶ λαβὼν προστάτην ἐκ τῶν γνωρίμων, ἐπιθέμενος ἐκρά-
5 τησεν· ἀσθενὲς γὰρ τὸ στασιάζον. καὶ ἐν Ἐρυθραῖς δὲ ἐπὶ τῆς τῶν Βασιλιδῶν ὀλιγαρχίας ἐν τοῖς ἀρχαίοις χρόνοις, καίπερ καλῶς ἐπιμελομένων τῶν ἐν τῇ πολιτείᾳ, ὅμως διὰ τὸ ὑπ' ὀλίγων ἄρχεσθαι ἀγανακτῶν ὁ δῆμος μετέβαλε τὴν πολιτείαν. κινοῦνται δ' αἱ ὀλιγαρχίαι ἐξ αὐτῶν καὶ
6 διὰ φιλονεικίαν δημαγωγούντων. ἡ δημαγωγία δὲ διττή, ἡ μὲν ἐν αὐτοῖς τοῖς ὀλίγοις (ἐγγίνεται γὰρ δημαγωγὸς κἂν

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2 Ἴστρῳ] Istros on the Borysthenes is, historically, extremely obscure.

3 ἐκίνουν] 'kept agitating.'

ἔνθα μέν] 'At Marseilles.' Niebuhr *ü. a. Gesch.* IV. 639, speaks of its "reputation for good order." Grote, III. 532, and note. "The senate was originally a body completely close, which gave rise to discontent on the part of the wealthy men not included in it: a mitigation took place by admitting into it, occasionally, men selected from the latter."

ἀπετελεύτησιν] 'finally ended.'

4 Κνίδῳ] its internal history unknown.

ἀλλ' ἢ τὸν πρεσβύτατον] 'but only the eldest.'

5 Ἐρυθραῖς] but little known, Grote, III. 243, note 2.

τῶν ἐν τῇ πολιτείᾳ] is the subject to ἐπιμελομένων, 'although those in the government exercised their power well.'

φιλονεικίαν] 'from personal rivalry.'

6 οἱ περὶ Χαρικλέα] This allusion to Charicles, for we may limit the expression to him, is endorsed in *Biogr. Dict.*, art Charicles. In the passage there quoted from Lysias, *contr. Eratosth.* p. 125, the expression Χαρικλεῖ καὶ Κριτίᾳ καὶ τῇ ἐκείνων ἑταιρείᾳ supports Aristotle's remark, and after the death of Critias, he is considered by Mr Grote as the leader of the more violent party, VIII. 370.

Revolutions in oligarchies.

πάνυ ὀλίγοι ὦσιν, οἷον ἐν τοῖς τριάκοντα Ἀθήνησιν οἱ περὶ Χαρικλέα ἴσχυσαν τοὺς τριάκοντα δημαγωγοῦντες, καὶ ἐν τοῖς τετρακοσίοις οἱ περὶ Φρύνιχον τὸν αὐτὸν τρόπον), ἢ ὅταν τὸν ὄχλον δημαγωγῶσιν οἱ ἐν τῇ ὀλιγαρχίᾳ ὄντες, οἷον ἐν Λαρίσσῃ οἱ πολιτοφύλακες διὰ τὸ αἱρεῖσθαι αὐτοὺς τὸν ὄχλον ἐδημαγώγουν· καὶ ἐν ὅσαις ὀλιγαρχίαις οὐχ οὗτοι αἱροῦνται τὰς ἀρχὰς ἐξ ὧν οἱ ἄρχοντές εἰσιν, ἀλλ' αἱ μὲν ἀρχαὶ ἐκ τιμημάτων μεγάλων εἰσὶν ἢ ἑταιριῶν, αἱροῦνται δ' οἱ ὁπλῖται ἢ ὁ δῆμος, ὅπερ ἐν Ἀβύδῳ συνέβαινεν.
καὶ ὅπου τὰ δικαστήρια μὴ ἐκ τοῦ πολιτεύματός ἐστιν· 7
δημαγωγοῦντες γὰρ πρὸς τὰς κρίσεις μεταβάλλουσι τὴν πολιτείαν, ὅπερ καὶ ἐν Ἡρακλείᾳ ἐγένετο τῇ ἐν τῷ Πόντῳ. ἔτι δ' ὅταν ἔνιοι εἰς ἐλάττους ἕλκωσι τὴν ὀλιγαρχίαν· οἱ γὰρ τὸ ἴσον ζητοῦντες ἀναγκάζονται βοηθὸν ἐπαγαγέσθαι
τὸν δῆμον. γίγνονται δὲ μεταβολαὶ τῆς ὀλιγαρχίας καὶ 8
ὅταν ἀναλώσωσι τὰ ἴδια ζῶντες ἀσελγῶς· καὶ γὰρ οἱ τοιοῦ-
τοι καινοτομεῖν ζητοῦσι, καὶ ἢ τυραννίδι ἐπιτίθενται αὐτοὶ 1306
ἢ κατασκευάζουσιν ἕτερον, ὥσπερ Ἱππαρῖνος Διονύσιον ἐν Συρακούσαις. καὶ ἐν Ἀμφιπόλει, ᾧ ὄνομα ἦν Κλεότιμος, τοὺς ἐποίκους τοὺς Χαλκιδέων ἤγαγε, καὶ ἐλθόντων

οἱ περὶ Φρύνιχον] Mr Grote, VIII. 85, takes this expression as singular 'Phrynichus.' As in the last case, we should from Xenophon have considered Critias as the more prominent member of the Thirty, so, from Thucydides, Antiphon would here have taken the place of Phrynichus, yet the assassination of this latter seems to show that, in the common opinion, the leadership assigned him by Aristotle was correctly assigned him.

Λαρίσσῃ] Herm. *Pol. Ant.* § 178. Compare also III. 2, 2, a passage which bears witness to internal disputes.

πολιτοφύλακες] The word occurs again II. 8, 9, as one of the forms of superior magistrates.

Ἀβύδῳ] Little else known of Abydos' internal history. It was a colony of Miletus, Herm. *Pol. Ant.* § 78.

7 μὴ ἐκ τοῦ πολιτεύματος] 'are not formed of members of the government.'

πρὸς τὰς κρίσεις] 'with a view to influence decisions.'

8 ἀσελγῶς] 'dissolutely,' Ch. V. 1. This is the great point urged in Plato, *Repub.* VIII., and almost the only one dwelt on.

Ἱππαρῖνος] Grote, X. 599, XI. 69, 76. Arnold, *Rome*, Vol. I. Ch. 21. He was father of Dion. It appears that he completely re-established his fortune.

Ἀμφιπόλει] Ch. III. 4, where those whom he here calls ἐποίκους, are called ἀποίκους. Cleotimus not known.

Revolutions in oligarchies.

διεστασίασεν αὐτοὺς πρὸς τοὺς εὐπόρους. καὶ ἐν Αἰγίνῃ ὁ τὴν πρᾶξιν τὴν πρὸς Χάρητα πράξας ἐνεχείρησε μεταβα-
9 λεῖν τὴν πολιτείαν διὰ τοιαύτην αἰτίαν. ὅτε μὲν οὖν ἐπιχειροῦσί τι κινεῖν, ὁτὲ δὲ κλέπτουσι τὰ κοινά· ὅθεν πρὸς αὐτοὺς στασιάζουσιν ἢ οὗτοι ἢ οἱ πρὸς τούτους μαχόμενοι κλέπτοντας, ὅπερ ἐν Ἀπολλωνίᾳ συνέβη τῇ ἐν τῷ Πόντῳ.
10 ὁμονοοῦσα δὲ ὀλιγαρχία οὐκ εὐδιάφθορος ἐξ αὑτῆς. σημεῖον δὲ ἡ ἐν Φαρσάλῳ πολιτεία· ἐκεῖνοι γὰρ ὀλίγοι ὄντες πολλῶν κύριοί εἰσι διὰ τὸ χρῆσθαι σφίσιν αὐτοῖς καλῶς. καταλύονται δὲ καὶ ὅταν ἐν τῇ ὀλιγαρχίᾳ ἑτέραν ὀλιγαρ-
11 χίαν ἐμποιῶσιν. τοῦτο δ' ἐστὶν ὅταν τοῦ παντὸς πολιτεύματος ὀλίγου ὄντος τῶν μεγίστων ἀρχῶν μὴ μετέχωσιν οἱ ὀλίγοι πάντες, ὅπερ ἐν Ἤλιδι συνέβη ποτέ· τῆς πολιτείας γὰρ δι' ὀλίγων οὔσης τῶν γερόντων ὀλίγοι πάμπαν ἐγίνοντο διὰ τὸ ἀϊδίους εἶναι ἐνενήκοντα ὄντας, τὴν δ' αἵρεσιν δυναστευτικὴν εἶναι καὶ ὁμοίαν τῇ τῶν ἐν Λακεδαίμονι γερόντων.

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9 Αἰγίνῃ τὴν πρᾶξιν] I can find no allusion to this apparently well known transaction.

τι κινεῖν] 'to effect some political change.'

πρὸς αὐτούς] "unter sich," Stahr, referring it and οὗτοι to the same people. Yet the Greek hardly warrants this, however much the sense may require it.

οὗτοι] "The thieves."

Ἀπολλωνίᾳ] See above, III. 13.

10 ὁμονοοῦσα δέ, κ.τ.λ.] 'An oligarchy if it do but avoid dissension, and act in concert, is not easily destroyed by any fault of its own.' Such is the view Stahr takes of the passage, "wird nicht leicht durch ihre eigene Schuld zu Grunde gerichtet." There is much in the context to favour this view. There is another admissible, I hink, 'is not easily destroyed from ithout, by external causes.' The ıssage illustrates the chapter on ὁμόνοια, Eth. IX. 6, p. 1167, b. 2 where he calls it πολιτικὴ φιλία. In both views the great point for our oligarchical government is to secure internal union, where the two separate is in this. In Stahr's it will, if united, bear up against the evil effects of its own faults; in the other view it will be proof against dangers from without.

11 Ἤλιδι] The political history of Elis is not well known. Whilst connected with Sparta, its government would, of course, be oligarchical. Later we hear of factions as in the other Greek states.

ὀλίγοι πάμπαν, κ.τ.λ.] 'Very few were admitted into the gerusia because the members were life members, and only ninety in number, and those few were chosen only from certain families, and in a manner similar to that of the Gerontes at Lacedæmon,' Müller, *Dorians*, II. 100.

Revolutions in oligarchies.

γίγνεται δὲ μεταβολὴ τῶν ὀλιγαρχιῶν[a] καὶ ἐν πολέμῳ καὶ ἐν
εἰρήνῃ, ἐν μὲν πολέμῳ διὰ τὴν πρὸς τὸν δῆμον ἀπιστίαν στρα-
τιώταις ἀναγκαζομένων χρῆσθαι (ᾧ γὰρ ἂν ἐγχειρίσωσιν, 12
οὗτος πολλάκις γίγνεται τύραννος, ὥσπερ ἐν Κορίνθῳ Τιμο-
φάνης· ἂν δὲ πλείους, οὗτοι αὑτοῖς περιποιοῦνται δυναστείαν)·
ὁτὲ δὲ ταῦτα δεδιότες μεταδιδόασι τῷ πλήθει τῆς πολιτείας
διὰ τὸ ἀναγκάζεσθαι τῷ δήμῳ χρῆσθαι. ἐν δὲ τῇ εἰρήνῃ διὰ 13
τὴν ἀπιστίαν τὴν πρὸς ἀλλήλους ἐγχειρίζουσι τὴν φυλακὴν
στρατιώταις καὶ ἄρχοντι μεσιδίῳ, ὃς ἐνίοτε γίνεται κύριος
ἀμφοτέρων, ὅπερ συνέβη ἐν Λαρίσσῃ ἐπὶ τῆς τῶν Ἀλευα-
δῶν ἀρχῆς τῶν περὶ Σῖμον καὶ ἐν Ἀβύδῳ ἐπὶ τῶν ἑταιριῶν
ὧν ἦν μία ἡ Ἰφιάδου. γίνονται δὲ στάσεις καὶ ἐκ τοῦ 14
περιωθεῖσθαι ἑτέρους ὑφ' ἑτέρων τῶν ἐν τῇ ὀλιγαρχίᾳ
αὐτῶν καὶ καταστασιάζεσθαι κατὰ γάμους ἢ δίκας, οἷον ἐκ
γαμικῆς μὲν αἰτίας αἱ εἰρημέναι πρότερον, καὶ τὴν ἐν
Ἐρετρίᾳ δ' ὀλιγαρχίαν τὴν τῶν ἱππέων Διαγόρας [δὲ]

[a] ὀλιγαρχικῶν Bekker.

12 ὀλιγαρχιῶν] I see no objection to adopting with Stahr this change for Bekker's ὀλιγαρχικῶν. Not that in the other case there is any difficulty. It is so easy to supply πολιτειῶν.

στρατιώταις] 'Mercenaries,' 'professional soldiers,' such as those maintained by the Spartan government at Athens, under the Thirty.

ᾧ γὰρ ἄν, κ.τ.λ.] 'He in whose hand they place the command.' Compare Grote, XI. 194.

Τιμοφάνης] The brother of Timoleon, commanded the Corinthian troops in the war against Argos. He "stood forth as despot, taking the whole government into his own hands."

13 μεσιδίῳ] 'An arbiter between the two factions.' "From experience, as we must presume, of the partiality which their domestic factions carried into the administration of justice, it became a general practice to elect, by the name of podestà, a citizen of some neighbouring state as their general, their criminal judge and preserver of the peace." Hallam, *Middle Ages*, I. 395, 6.

τῶν περὶ Σῖμον] unknown really, as the doubts on the name seem to show.

Ἰφιάδου] Grote, X. 521, note, with the conjecture there given.

14 περιωθεῖσθαι] passive, 'repulsam ferre.'

αὐτῶν] Coray suggests ὄντων, and the proposal is attractive, as αὐτῶν seems not at all wanted. Stahr retains αὐτῶν. 'Themselves also of the oligarchy.'

καταστασιάζεσθαι] 'being borne down by party.'

Ἐρετρίᾳ] Like its neighbour and rival Chalcis, Eretria in the period of its prosperity was oligarchical. Compare Ch. IV. 9, and the references there given for Chalcis. Diagoras is unknown.

Revolutions in oligarchies.

κατέλυσεν ἀδικηθεὶς περὶ γάμον. ἐκ δὲ δικαστηρίου κρίσεως ἡ ἐν Ἡρακλείᾳ στάσις ἐγένετο καὶ ἐν Θήβαις, ἐπ' αἰτίᾳ μοιχείας δικαίως μὲν στασιωτικῶς δὲ ποιησαμένων τὴν
15 κόλασιν τῶν μὲν ἐν Ἡρακλείᾳ κατ' Εὐρυτίωνος, τῶν δ' ἐν
1306 B Θήβαις κατ' Ἀρχίου· ἐφιλονείκησαν γὰρ αὐτοὺς οἱ ἐχθροὶ
16 ὥστε δεθῆναι ἐν ἀγορᾷ ἐν τῷ κύφωνι. πολλαὶ δὲ καὶ διὰ τὸ ἄγαν δεσποτικὰς εἶναι τὰς ὀλιγαρχίας ὑπὸ τῶν ἐν τῇ πολιτείᾳ τινῶν δυσχερανάντων κατελύθησαν, ὥσπερ ἡ ἐν Κνίδῳ καὶ ἡ ἐν Χίῳ ὀλιγαρχία. γίγνονται δὲ καὶ ἀπὸ συμπτώματος μεταβολαὶ καὶ τῆς καλουμένης πολιτείας καὶ τῶν ὀλιγαρχιῶν ἐν ὅσαις ἀπὸ τιμήματος βουλεύουσι καὶ
17 δικάζουσι καὶ τὰς ἄλλας ἀρχὰς ἄρχουσιν. πολλάκις γὰρ τὸ ταχθὲν πρῶτον τίμημα πρὸς τοὺς παρόντας καιρούς, ὥστε μετέχειν ἐν μὲν τῇ ὀλιγαρχίᾳ ὀλίγους ἐν δὲ τῇ πολιτείᾳ τοὺς μέσους, εὐετηρίας γιγνομένης δι' εἰρήνην ἢ δι' ἄλλην τιν' εὐτυχίαν συμβαίνει πολλαπλασίου γίγνεσθαι τιμήματος ἀξίας τὰς αὐτὰς κτήσεις, ὥστε πάντας πάντων μετέχειν, ὁτὲ μὲν ἐκ προσαγωγῆς καὶ κατὰ μικρὸν γινομένης τῆς μεταβολῆς καὶ λανθανούσης, ὁτὲ δὲ καὶ θᾶττον.
18 Αἱ μὲν οὖν ὀλιγαρχίαι μεταβάλλουσι καὶ στασιάζουσι διὰ τοιαύτας αἰτίας. ὅλως δὲ[a] αἱ δημοκρατίαι καὶ ὀλιγαρχίαι ἐξίστανται ἐνίοτε οὐκ εἰς τὰς ἐναντίας πολιτείας ἀλλ' εἰς

[a] καί Bekker.

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15 Θήβαις] The name of Archias is prominent in Theban history, but Mr Grote, x. 118, does not seem able to connect the anecdote here given with the history of Thebes.

στασιωτικῶς] 'in a factious spirit.'

ἐφιλονείκησαν] 'They carried so far their desire for personal or party vengeance on them.'

κυφῶνι] 'pillory.'

16 Χίῳ] To what period does this refer? for the oligarchy at Chios, before its revolt from Athens, B.C. 412, is mentioned as singularly prudent.

ἀπὸ συμπτώματος] 'from an accident.'

τὰς ἄλλας ἀρχάς] Compare the language in III. 1, 6, 7.

17 πρὸς τοὺς παρόντας καιρούς] 'For the time being,' 'to suit the then circumstances.'

πολλαπλασίου, κ. τ. λ.] 'That the property which was rated at a given sum so increases in value as to be capable of being rated at a sum many times as great.' The sentence is not quite regular in construction.

ἐκ προσαγωγῆς] 'by degrees.'

18 I have omitted καί. Bekker

τὰς ἐν τῷ αὐτῷ γένει, οἷον ἐκ τῶν ἐννόμων δημοκρατιῶν καὶ ὀλιγαρχιῶν εἰς τὰς κυρίους καὶ ἐκ τούτων εἰς ἐκείνας.

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Ἐν δὲ ταῖς ἀριστοκρατίαις γίγνονται αἱ στάσεις αἱ 7
μὲν διὰ τὸ ὀλίγους τῶν τιμῶν μετέχειν, ὅπερ εἴρηται κινεῖν καὶ τὰς ὀλιγαρχίας διὰ τὸ καὶ τὴν ἀριστοκρατίαν ὀλιγαρχίαν εἶναί πως· ἐν ἀμφοτέραις γὰρ ὀλίγοι οἱ ἄρχοντες, οὐ μέντοι διὰ ταὐτὸν ὀλίγοι, ἐπεὶ δοκεῖ γε διὰ ταῦτα καὶ ἡ ἀριστοκρατία ὀλιγαρχία εἶναι. μάλιστα δὲ τοῦτο συμβαίνειν ἀναγκαῖον, ὅταν ᾖ τι[a] πλῆθος τῶν πεφρονηματισμέ- 2
νων ὡς ὅμοιον κατ' ἀρετήν, οἷον ἐν Λακεδαίμονι οἱ λεγόμενοι Παρθενίαι (ἐκ τῶν ὁμοίων γὰρ ἦσαν), οὓς φωράσαντες ἐπιβουλεύσαντας ἀπέστειλαν Τάραντος οἰκιστάς. ἢ ὅταν τινὲς ἀτιμάζωνται μεγάλοι ὄντες καὶ μηθενὸς ἥττους κατ' ἀρετὴν ὑπὸ τινῶν ἐντιμοτέρων, οἷον Λύσανδρος ὑπὸ τῶν βασιλέων. ἢ ὅταν ἀνδρώδης τις ὢν μὴ μετέχῃ τῶν τιμῶν, 3
οἷον Κινάδων ὁ τὴν ἐπ' Ἀγησιλάῳ συστήσας ἐπίθεσιν ἐπὶ τοὺς Σπαρτιάτας. ἔτι ὅταν οἱ μὲν ἀπορῶσι λίαν, οἱ δ' εὐπορῶσιν· καὶ μάλιστα ἐν τοῖς πολέμοις τοῦτο γίνεται. συνέβη δὲ καὶ τοῦτο ἐν Λακεδαίμονι ὑπὸ τὸν Μεσσηνιακὸν

[a] τὸ Bekker.

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mentions its omission by one MS.

κυρίους] 'despotical,' 'absolute,' "willkührliche," forms in which their respective principles are developed without any check, when the law is set aside. Compare his division of democracies and oligarchies in VI. (VI.) Chaps. IV. and V.

VII. 1 διὰ τὸ καὶ τήν, κ.τ.λ.] Of course, so far as they agree, they would be liable to the same influences.

δοκεῖ γε] 'seems,' 'and yet is not.'

2 τι πλῆθος] This change I consider imperatively required by the sense, as in VII. (VI.) VIII. 12. 'When there be a number of high-spirited men, men confident in themselves as being equal in merit to their governors.' I should greatly prefer ὁμοίων to ὅμοιον as far as sense goes, and it is adopted by Coray. But ὅμοιον may be referred to πλῆθος, and the change is not absolutely necessary.

Παρθενίαι] Müller, *Dorians*, II. 85, Grote, III. 512.

ἐκ τῶν ὁμοίων γὰρ ἦσαν] If this is genuine, I am at a loss to understand it. It must, I think, be the addition of some ignorant commentator.

Λύσανδρος] See Ch. I. 10, note.

3 ἐπ' Ἀγησιλάῳ] This must mean 'in the reign of Agesilaus,' but I should prefer to read Ἀγησιλέω, the genitive. This is the commoner construction of ἐπί, when it is used to mark time. Schneider reads Ἀγησιλάου. For Cinadon's conspiracy, see Xenophon, *Hell.* III. 3.

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πόλεμον. δῆλον δὲ καὶ τοῦτο ἐκ τῆς Τυρταίου ποιήσεως τῆς καλουμένης Εὐνομίας· θλιβόμενοι γάρ τινες διὰ τὸν πόλεμον ἠξίουν ἀνάδαστον ποιεῖν τὴν χώραν. ἔτι ἐάν τις

1307 4 μέγας ᾖ καὶ δυνάμενος ἔτι μείζων εἶναι, ἵνα μοναρχῇ, ὥσπερ ἐν Λακεδαίμονι δοκεῖ Παυσανίας ὁ στρατηγήσας κατὰ τὸν

5 Μηδικὸν πόλεμον καὶ ἐν Καρχηδόνι Ἄννων. λύονται δὲ μάλιστα αἵ τε πολιτεῖαι καὶ αἱ ἀριστοκρατίαι διὰ τὴν ἐν αὐτῇ τῇ πολιτείᾳ τοῦ δικαίου παρέκβασιν. ἀρχὴ γὰρ τὸ μὴ μεμῖχθαι καλῶς ἐν μὲν τῇ πολιτείᾳ δημοκρατίαν καὶ ὀλιγαρχίαν, ἐν δὲ τῇ ἀριστοκρατίᾳ ταῦτά τε καὶ τὴν ἀρετήν, μάλιστα δὲ τὰ δύο· λέγω δὲ τὰ δύο δῆμον καὶ ὀλιγαρχίαν· ταῦτα γὰρ αἱ πολιτεῖαί τε πειρῶνται μιγνύναι καὶ

6 αἱ πολλαὶ τῶν καλουμένων ἀριστοκρατιῶν. διαφέρουσι γὰρ τῶν ὀνομαζομένων πολιτειῶν αἱ ἀριστοκρατίαι τούτῳ, καὶ διὰ τοῦτ' εἰσὶν αἱ μὲν ἧττον αἱ δὲ μᾶλλον μόνιμοι αὐτῶν. τὰς γὰρ ἀποκλινούσας μᾶλλον πρὸς τὴν ὀλιγαρχίαν ἀριστοκρατίας καλοῦσιν, τὰς δὲ πρὸς τὸ πλῆθος πολιτείας. διόπερ ἀσφαλέστεραι αἱ τοιαῦται τῶν ἑτέρων εἰσίν· κρεῖττόν τε γὰρ τὸ πλεῖον, καὶ μᾶλλον ἀγαπῶσιν ἴσον ἔχοντες.

7 οἱ δ' ἐν ταῖς εὐπορίαις, ἂν ἡ πολιτεία διδῷ τὴν ὑπεροχήν, ὑβρίζειν ζητοῦσι καὶ πλεονεκτεῖν. ὅλως δ' ἐφ' ὁπότερον

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4 **Τυρταίου**] For his life and history, with the necessary references, see Smith, *Biogr. Dict.*

τὸν Μεσσηνιακὸν πόλεμον] The second Messenian war.

Εὐνομίας] Grote, II. 573.

ἀνάδαστον] see Ch. V. 5.

ἵνα μοναρχῇ] sc. στασιάζει.

Παυσανίας] see Ch. I. 10.

Ἄννων] Grote, X. 552, note. Heeren, *African Nations*, I. 112; also Justin, XXI. 4, "regnum invadere, interfecto senatu, conatus est Hanno."

5 **ἐν αὐτῇ τῇ πολιτείᾳ**] 'In the actual constitution of the government.'

ἐν μὲν τῇ πολιτείᾳ, κ.τ.λ.] This is consistent with his language, VI. (IV.) VIII. 8, 9.

6 **διαφέρουσι**] Is this 'differ and are superior to?'

ὀνομαζομένων] See VI. (IV.) VIII. 1. This passage is in favour of the change there advocated of νομιζομένη into ὀνομαζομένης.

αἱ τοιαῦται] sc. αἱ πρὸς τὸ πλῆθος ἀποκλίνουσαι.

τὸ πλεῖον] sc. ἀριθμῷ 'in number,' the numerical majority.

μᾶλλον ἀγαπῶσιν] 'And they are more inclined to acquiesce in the simple equality, whereas the wealthy, if the form of government recognise their superiority, do not rest content with this, but grow insolent, and grasp at more.'

ἂν ἐγκλίνῃ ἡ πολιτεία, ἐπὶ ταῦτα μεθίσταται ἑκατέρων τὸ σφέτερον αὐξανόντων, οἷον ἡ μὲν πολιτεία εἰς δῆμον, ἀριστοκρατία δ' εἰς ὀλιγαρχίαν. ἢ εἰς τἀναντία, οἷον ἡ μὲν ἀριστοκρατία εἰς δῆμον (ὡς ἀδικούμενοι γὰρ περισπῶσιν εἰς τοὐναντίον οἱ ἀπορώτεροι), αἱ δὲ πολιτεῖαι εἰς ὀλιγαρχίαν· 8
μόνον γὰρ μόνιμον τὸ κατ' ἀξίαν ἴσον καὶ τὸ ἔχειν τὰ αὑτῶν. συνέβη δὲ τὸ εἰρημένον ἐν Θουρίοις· διὰ μὲν γὰρ 9
τὸ ἀπὸ πλείονος τιμήματος εἶναι τὰς ἀρχὰς εἰς ἔλαττον μετέβη καὶ εἰς ἀρχεῖα πλείω, διὰ δὲ τὸ τὴν χώραν ὅλην τοὺς γνωρίμους συγκτήσασθαι παρὰ τὸν νόμον· ἡ γὰρ πολιτεία ὀλιγαρχικωτέρα ἦν, ὥστε ἐδύναντο πλεονεκτεῖν· ὁ δὲ δῆμος γυμνασθεὶς ἐν τῷ πολέμῳ τῶν φρουρῶν ἐγένετο κρείττων, ἕως ἀφεῖσαν τῆς χώρας ὅσοι πλείω ἦσαν ἔχοντες.
ἔτι διὰ τὸ πάσας τὰς ἀριστοκρατικὰς πολιτείας ὀλιγαρ- 10
χικὰς εἶναι μᾶλλον πλεονεκτοῦσιν οἱ γνώριμοι, οἷον καὶ ἐν Λακεδαίμονι εἰς ὀλίγους αἱ οὐσίαι ἔρχονται· καὶ ἔξεστι ποιεῖν ὅ τι ἂν θέλωσι τοῖς γνωρίμοις μᾶλλον, καὶ κηδεύειν

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7 *ἐπὶ ταῦτα*] 'It is into this one of its two constituent elements that it changes.'

ἑκατέρων] 'As each of the two tries to increase its influence.'

8 *περισπῶσιν*] sc. *περιέλκει, περιάγει,* 'They draw it round to.'

μόνιμον τὸ κατ' ἀξίαν ἴσον, κ.τ.λ.] In other words, *μόνον γὰρ μόνιμον τὸ δίκαιον*. These are the two great divisions of political justice; the first is the principle of *τὸ διανεμητικὸν δίκαιον*, the second, that of *τὸ διορθωτικόν*, *Eth.* v. Chs. VI. VII.

9 *τὸ εἰρημένον*] What does this refer to? Must it be carried back to § 5, the *τὴν ἐν αὐτῇ τῇ πολιτείᾳ τοῦ δικαίου παρέκβασιν*, or should it be rather, 'We have an instance of this twofold change in Thurii'? The original constitution leant towards wealth, an oligarchy. This tendency was not checked, and the government became more oligarchical. Hence came a reaction in a democratical sense.

πλείονος] 'too high a qualification,' "Un cens trop élevé," St. Hilaire.

εἰς ἔλαττον, κ.τ.λ.] 'It was changed into a lower rate (sc. *τίμημα*), and the number of magistracies was increased.' This is one step of the reaction towards democracy. Then comes the second point, in which the oligarchy had gone too far.

ὀλιγαρχικωτέρα] 'had a strong oligarchical tendency.'

τῶν φρουρῶν] 'The guards, mercenary, it would appear, maintained by the oligarchs.'

10 *ὀλιγαρχικὰς εἶναι μᾶλλον*] 'having more of the oligarchical than of the democratical character.'

καὶ ἐν Λακεδαίμονι] So that Aristotle considers the proper character of the Lacedæmonian constitution to have been aristocratical.

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ὅτῳ θέλωσιν. διὸ καὶ ἡ Λοκρῶν πόλις ἀπώλετο ἐκ τῆς πρὸς Διονύσιον κηδείας· ὃ ἐν δημοκρατίᾳ οὐκ ἂν ἐγένετο, οὐδ' ἂν ἐν ἀριστοκρατίᾳ εὖ μεμιγμένῃ. Μάλιστα δὲ λαν-
1307 B 11 θάνουσιν αἱ ἀριστοκρατίαι μεταβάλλουσαι τῷ λύεσθαι κατὰ μικρόν, ὅπερ εἴρηται ἐν τοῖς πρότερον καθόλου κατὰ πασῶν τῶν πολιτειῶν, ὅτι αἴτιον τῶν μεταβολῶν καὶ τὸ μικρόν ἐστιν· ὅταν γάρ τι προῶνται τῶν πρὸς τὴν πολιτείαν, μετὰ τοῦτο καὶ ἄλλο μικρῷ μεῖζον εὐχερέστερον κινοῦσιν, ἕως ἂν
12 πάντα κινήσωσι τὸν κόσμον. συνέβη δὲ τοῦτο καὶ ἐπὶ τῆς Θουρίων πολιτείας. νόμου γὰρ ὄντος διὰ πέντε ἐτῶν στρατηγεῖν, γενόμενοί τινες πολεμικοὶ τῶν νεωτέρων καὶ παρὰ τῷ πλήθει τῶν φρουρῶν εὐδοκιμοῦντες, καταφρονήσαντες τῶν ἐν τοῖς πράγμασι καὶ νομίζοντες ῥᾳδίως κατασχήσειν, τοῦτον τὸν νόμον λύειν ἐπεχείρησαν πρῶτον, ὥστ' ἐξεῖναι τοὺς αὐτοὺς συνεχῶς στρατηγεῖν, ὁρῶντες τὸν δῆμον
13 αὐτοὺς χειροτονήσοντα προθύμως. οἱ δ' ἐπὶ τούτῳ τεταγμένοι τῶν ἀρχόντων, οἱ καλούμενοι σύμβουλοι, ὁρμήσαντες τὸ πρῶτον ἐναντιοῦσθαι συνεπείσθησαν, ὑπολαμβάνοντες τοῦτον κινήσαντας τὸν νόμον ἐάσειν τὴν ἄλλην πολιτείαν, ὕστερον δὲ βουλόμενοι κωλύειν ἄλλων κινουμένων οὐκέτι πλέον ἐποίουν οὐθέν, ἀλλὰ μετέβαλεν ἡ τάξις πᾶσα τῆς πολιτείας εἰς δυναστείαν τῶν ἐπιχειρησάντων νεωτερίζειν.

Λοκρῶν] It ceased to be a free city, and ultimately was revolutionised. Its connection with Dionysius is characterised as an act of grave imprudence, see Grote, x. 663, xi. 187. It was the younger Dionysius who caused its ruin. His mother was a Locrian woman.

11 πρότερον] Ch. III. 10.

τι προῶνται] 'have abandoned some one point.'

εὐχερέστερον] 'more easily.'

καὶ ἐπί] Not only did the changes mentioned, § 9, take place, but this also.

12 διὰ πέντε ἐτῶν] 'At an interval of not less than five years.'

τῶν ἐν τοῖς πράγμασι] 'Those in power.'

κατασχήσειν] 'hold their own,' 'succeed,' or supplying τὰ πράγματα, 'get the government into their hands.'

13 ἐπὶ τούτῳ] 'to prevent this.'

σύμβουλοι] We find this term in use at Athens, *Pol. Ant.* 138, but in such a sense as the one here required, I cannot find it elsewhere.

τῶν ἐπιχειρησάντων] 'in the hands of the men who attempted the change.'

πᾶσαι δ' αἱ πολιτεῖαι λύονται ὁτὲ μὲν ἐξ αὐτῶν ὁτὲ δ' ἔξωθεν, ὅταν ἐναντία πολιτεία ᾖ ἢ πλησίον ἢ πόρρω μὲν ἔχουσα δὲ δύναμιν. ὅσπερ συνέβαινεν ἐπ' Ἀθηναίων καὶ Λακεδαιμονίων· οἱ μὲν γὰρ Ἀθηναῖοι πανταχοῦ τὰς ὀλι- 14 γαρχίας, οἱ δὲ Λάκωνες τοὺς δήμους κατέλυον. Ὅθεν μὲν οὖν αἱ μεταβολαὶ γίγνονται τῶν πολιτειῶν καὶ αἱ στάσεις, εἴρηται σχεδόν.

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8 Περὶ δὲ σωτηρίας καὶ κοινῇ καὶ χωρὶς ἑκάστης πολιτείας ἐχόμενόν ἐστιν εἰπεῖν. Πρῶτον μὲν οὖν δῆλον ὅτι, εἴπερ ἔχομεν δι' ὧν φθείρονται αἱ πολιτεῖαι, ἔχομεν καὶ δι' ὧν σώζονται· τῶν γὰρ ἐναντίων τἀναντία ποιητικά, φθορὰ δὲ σωτηρίᾳ ἐναντίον. ἐν μὲν οὖν ταῖς εὖ κεκραμέναις πολι- 2 τείαις, ὥσπερ ἄλλο τι δεῖ τηρεῖν ὅπως μηθὲν παρανομῶσι, καὶ μάλιστα τὸ μικρὸν φυλάττειν· λανθάνει γὰρ ἐπεισδύουσα ἡ παράβασις, ὥσπερ τὰς οὐσίας αἱ μικραὶ δαπάναι δαπανῶσι πολλάκις γινόμεναι. λανθάνει δὲ ἡ μετάβασις 3 διὰ τὸ μὴ ἀθρόα γίγνεσθαι· παραλογίζεται γὰρ ἡ διάνοια ὑπ' αὐτῶν, ὥσπερ ὁ σοφιστικὸς λόγος· εἰ ἕκαστον μικρόν, καὶ πάντα. τοῦτο δ' ἔστι μὲν ὥς, ἔστι δ' ὡς οὔ· τὸ γὰρ ὅλον καὶ τὰ πάντα οὐ μικρόν, ἀλλὰ σύγκειται ἐκ μικρῶν. μίαν μὲν οὖν φυλακὴν πρὸς ταύτην τὴν ἀρχὴν δεῖ 4

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14 ἐξ αὐτῶν] This would seem to determine the sense of VI. 10.

πόρρω μέν, κ.τ.λ.] 'Though distant, yet powerful.'

ἐπ' Ἀθηναίων καὶ Λακεδαιμονίων] This is an odd expression. In the time when these two powers existed as rivals, and divided the Greek political world between them, were in fact the Greek political world, a time distant now for Aristotle. On the statement itself, see Grote, VI. 45. It needs no illustration here.

VIII. 2 ὥσπερ ἄλλο τι] See IV. (VII.) XVII. 8, 'as much as any other point,' 'more than anything else.'

ἐπεισδύουσα] 'creeping in.'

δαπανῶσι] 'spend,' 'run out,' 'exhaust.' Compare the expression in Thucydides IV. 3, δαπανᾶν τὴν πόλιν, with Arnold's note.

3 λανθάνει δὲ ἡ μετάβασις] This clause seems to me superfluous. By a slight change in the stopping, putting a colon at γινόμεναι, I have detached it as much as possible.

παραλογίζεται] I take this in the passive sense. 'The mind is led to an erroneous conclusion.'

ὑπ' αὐτῶν] sc. τῶν δαπάνων.

ὁ σοφιστικὸς λόγος] The fallacy 'acervus' says Schneider.

4 πρὸς ταύτην τὴν ἀρχήν] 'Against this commencement of the change.'

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ποιεῖσθαι, ἔπειτα μὴ πιστεύειν τοῖς σοφίσματος χάριν πρὸς τὸ πλῆθος συγκειμένοις· ἐξελέγχεται γὰρ ὑπὸ τῶν ἔργων. ποῖα δὲ λέγομεν τῶν πολιτειῶν σοφίσματα, πρότερον

1308 5 εἴρηται. ἔτι δ' ὁρᾶν ὅτι ἔνιαι μένουσιν οὐ μόνον ἀριστοκρατίαι ἀλλὰ καὶ ὀλιγαρχίαι οὐ διὰ τὸ ἀσφαλεῖς εἶναι τὰς πολιτείας, ἀλλὰ διὰ τὸ εὖ χρῆσθαι τοὺς ἐν ταῖς ἀρχαῖς γινομένους καὶ τοῖς ἔξω τῆς πολιτείας καὶ τοῖς ἐν τῷ πολιτεύματι, τοὺς μὲν μὴ μετέχοντας τῷ μὴ ἀδικεῖν καὶ τῷ τοὺς ἡγεμονικοὺς αὐτῶν εἰσάγειν εἰς τὴν πολιτείαν, καὶ τοὺς μὲν φιλοτίμους μὴ ἀδικεῖν εἰς ἀτιμίαν τοὺς δὲ πολλοὺς εἰς κέρδος, πρὸς αὑτοὺς δὲ καὶ τοὺς μετέχοντας τῷ χρῆσθαι ἀλλή-

6 λοις δημοτικῶς. ὃ γὰρ ἐπὶ τοῦ πλήθους ζητοῦσιν οἱ δημοτικοὶ τὸ ἴσον, τοῦτ' ἐπὶ τῶν ὁμοίων οὐ μόνον δίκαιον ἀλλὰ καὶ συμφέρον ἐστίν. διὸ ἐὰν πλείους ὦσιν ἐν τῷ πολιτεύματι, πολλὰ συμφέρει τῶν δημοτικῶν νομοθετημάτων, οἷον τὸ ἑξαμήνους τὰς ἀρχὰς εἶναι, ἵνα πάντες οἱ ὅμοιοι μετέχωσιν· ἔστι γὰρ ὥσπερ δῆμος ἤδη οἱ ὅμοιοι, διὸ καὶ ἐν τούτοις ἐγγίγνονται δημαγωγοὶ πολλάκις, ὥσπερ εἴρηται

7 πρότερον. ἔπειθ' ἧττον εἰς δυναστείας ἐμπίπτουσιν αἱ ὀλιγαρχίαι καὶ ἀριστοκρατίαι. οὐ γὰρ ὁμοίως ῥᾴδιον κακουργῆσαι ὀλίγον χρόνον ἄρχοντας καὶ πολύν, ἐπεὶ διὰ τοῦτο ἐν ταῖς ὀλιγαρχίαις καὶ δημοκρατίαις γίγνονται

σοφίσματος χάριν] Comp. VI. (IV.) XIII. 1, *ὅσα προφάσεως χάριν σοφίζονται*. In neither place is it very easy to translate the expression, 'in the way of devices,' 'to answer the purpose of.'

5 *τοὺς ἡγεμονικοὺς εἰσάγειν*] 'By introducing into the government those amongst them who show capacity for governing.' The right introduction of new elements would seem the great test of the wisdom of a governing oligarchy or aristocracy.

τῷ χρῆσθαι ἀλλήλοις δημοτικῶς] 'By acting towards one another on democratical principles.' The true principle of -- aristocracy is stated by Arnold to be perfect equality within the limits of its own body, and the absolute superiority of that body over the rest. This agrees with Aristotle in this passage.

6 *ἐπὶ τῶν ὁμοίων*] 'in the case of the peers.' The use of *οἱ ὅμοιοι* as a political term at Sparta is well known.

δῆμος ἤδη, κ.τ.λ.] 'By virtue of their equality, they are, within the limits of their own body, a democracy.'

εἴρηται πρότερον] See above Ch. VI. 6.

7 *ἔπειθ' ἧττον*] 'Again by this arrangement as to the offices.'

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τυραννίδες· ἢ γὰρ οἱ μέγιστοι ἐν ἑκατέρᾳ ἐπιτίθενται τυραννίδι, ἔνθα μὲν οἱ δημαγωγοὶ ἔνθα δ' οἱ δυνάσται, ἢ οἱ τὰς μεγίστας ἔχοντες ἀρχάς, ὅταν πολὺν χρόνον ἄρχωσιν.
8 Σώζονται δ' αἱ πολιτεῖαι οὐ μόνον διὰ τὸ πόρρω εἶναι τῶν διαφθειρόντων, ἀλλ' ἐνίοτε καὶ διὰ τὸ ἐγγύς· φοβούμενοι γὰρ διὰ χειρῶν ἔχουσι μᾶλλον τὴν πολιτείαν, ὥστε δεῖ τοὺς τῆς πολιτείας φροντίζοντας φόβους παρασκευάζειν, ἵνα φυλάττωσι καὶ μὴ καταλύωσιν ὥσπερ νυκτερινὴν φυλακὴν τὴν τῆς πολιτείας τήρησιν, καὶ τὸ πόρρω ἐγγὺς ποιεῖν.
9 ἔτι τὰς τῶν γνωρίμων φιλονεικίας καὶ στάσεις καὶ διὰ τῶν νόμων πειρᾶσθαι δεῖ φυλάττειν, καὶ τοὺς ἔξω τῆς φιλονεικίας ὄντας, πρὶν παρειληφέναι καὶ αὐτούς, ὡς τὸ ἐν ἀρχῇ γινόμενον κακὸν γνῶναι οὐ τοῦ τυχόντος ἀλλὰ πολιτικοῦ ἀνδρός.
10 πρὸς δὲ τὴν διὰ τὰ τιμήματα γιγνομένην μεταβολὴν ἐξ ὀλιγαρχίας καὶ πολιτείας, ὅταν συμβαίνῃ τοῦτο μενόντων μὲν τῶν αὐτῶν τιμημάτων εὐπορίας δὲ νομίσματος γιγνομένης, συμφέρει τοῦ τιμήματος ἐπισκοπεῖν τοῦ κοινοῦ τὸ πλῆθος πρὸς τὸ παρελθὸν [κατὰ τοῦτον τὸν χρόνον], ἐν ὅσαις μὲν πόλεσι τιμῶνται κατ' ἐνιαυτόν, ἐν δὲ ταῖς 1308 B
μείζοσι διὰ τριετηρίδος ἢ πενταετηρίδος· κἂν ᾖ πολλαπλάσιον ἢ πολλοστημόριον τοῦ πρότερον, ἐν ᾧ αἱ τιμήσεις

οἱ δυνάσται] 'the members of the powerful oligarchical families.'

8 διὰ τὸ πόρρω] As was the case in Crete, see II. x. 15.

διὰ χειρῶν ἔχουσι] 'keep it in hand.' The presence of danger enforces moderation.

νυκτερινὴν φυλακήν] 'watch in the night.'

9 φιλονεικίας] 'rivalries.'

πρὶν παρειληφέναι καὶ αὐτούς] 'Before it has absorbed them too.' So I construe it, taking the subject of παρειληφέναι from φιλονεικίας.

ὡς τὸ ἐν ἀρχῇ, κ.τ.λ.] 'It requires precautions, since it is not every one that can trace the evil at its very beginning, that is the characteristic of the statesman.'

10 εὐπορίας νομίσματος γιγνομένης] When there has been, as we should say, a large influx of the precious metals, so that the standard, which was high, is now one which is attainable by a very much larger number, 'as the result of a large supply of money.'

ἐπισκοπεῖν, κ.τ.λ.] 'to revise the amount of the general valuation.'

τιμῶνται κατ' ἐνιαυτόν] 'They take the census annually.'

πολλοστημόριον] 'many times smaller.' "Vielfach kleiner," Stahr. Eth. x. v. 11, p. 1176, 29. πολλοστῶς.

ἐν ᾧ αἱ τιμήσεις] 'When the valuations were settled.'

Causes of stability and conservation.

κατέστησαν τῆς πολιτείας, νόμον εἶναι καὶ τὰ τιμήματα ἐπιτείνειν ἢ ἀνιέναι, ἐὰν μὲν ὑπερβάλλῃ, ἐπιτείνοντας κατὰ τὴν πολλαπλασίωσιν, ἐὰν δ' ἐλλείπῃ, ἀνιέντας καὶ ἐλάττω
11 ποιοῦντας τὴν τίμησιν. ἐν μὲν γὰρ ταῖς ὀλιγαρχίαις καὶ ταῖς πολιτείαις μὴ ποιούντων μὲν οὕτως ἔνθα μὲν ὀλιγαρχίαν ἔνθα δὲ δυναστείαν γίγνεσθαι συμβαίνει, ἐκείνως δὲ ἐκ μὲν πολιτείας δημοκρατίαν, ἐκ δ' ὀλιγαρχίας πολι-
12 τείαν ἢ δῆμον. κοινὸν δὲ καὶ ἐν δήμῳ καὶ ὀλιγαρχίᾳ [a] καὶ πάσῃ πολιτείᾳ μήτ' αὐξάνειν λίαν μηθένα παρὰ τὴν συμμετρίαν, ἀλλὰ μᾶλλον πειρᾶσθαι μικρὰς καὶ πολυχρονίους διδόναι τιμὰς ἢ ταχὺ μεγάλας (διαφθείρονται γάρ, καὶ φέρειν οὐ παντὸς ἀνδρὸς εὐτυχίαν), εἰ δὲ μή, μή τοί γ' ἀθρόας δόντας ἀφαιρεῖσθαι πάλιν ἀθρόας, ἀλλ' ἐκ προσαγωγῆς· καὶ μάλιστα μὲν πειρᾶσθαι τοῖς νόμοις οὕτως ἄγειν ὥστε μηθένα ἐγγίγνεσθαι πολὺ ὑπερέχοντα δυνάμει μήτε φίλων μήτε χρημάτων, εἰ δὲ μή,
13 ἀποδημητικὰς ποιεῖσθαι τὰς παραστάσεις αὐτῶν. ἐπεὶ δὲ καὶ διὰ τοὺς ἰδίους βίους νεωτερίζουσιν, δεῖ ἐμποιεῖν ἀρχήν τινα τὴν ἐποψομένην τοὺς ζῶντας ἀσυμφόρως πρὸς τὴν πολιτείαν, ἐν μὲν δημοκρατίᾳ πρὸς τὴν δημοκρατίαν, ἐν δὲ ὀλιγαρχίᾳ πρὸς τὴν ὀλιγαρχίαν· ὁμοίως δὲ καὶ τῶν ἄλλων πολιτειῶν ἑκάστῃ. καὶ τὸ εὐημεροῦν δὲ τῆς πόλεως ἀνὰ
14 μέρος φυλάττεσθαι διὰ τὰς αὐτὰς αἰτίας. τούτου δ' ἄκος

[a] καὶ μοναρχίᾳ Bekker.

κατὰ τὴν] 'to meet,' 'to correspond with' the multiplication.

11 οὕτως] refers to ἀνιέντας καὶ ἐλάττω ποιοῦντας; ἐκείνως to ἐπιτείνοντας.

12 καὶ μοναρχίᾳ] which Bekker incloses in brackets, must be rejected. μοναρχία is not a πολιτεία. Compare the end of Ch. IX. and the opening of Ch. X. It is, I believe, a clear case in which we can trace an addition; there are so many other instances in which, unfortunately, we can only suspect one.

διαφθείρονται γάρ] 'For men get corrupted.'

μή τοί γε] 'at any rate not.'

τοῖς νόμοις οὕτως ἄγειν] 'So to conduct matters by the laws and institutions of the state.' Compare the use of ἀγωγή, VI. (IV.) v. 3.

ἀποδημητικὰς ποιεῖσθαι] 'To remove their supporters from home.'

τὰς παραστάσεις] = τοὺς παραστάτας, 'their followings,' clientela.

13 ἀρχήν τινα] The institution of a censorship.

τὸ εὐημεροῦν, κ.τ.λ.] 'To be on your

Causes of stability and conservation.

τὸ ἀεὶ τοῖς ἀντικειμένοις μορίοις ἐγχειρίζειν τὰς πράξεις καὶ τὰς ἀρχάς· λέγω δ' ἀντικεῖσθαι τοὺς ἐπιεικεῖς τῷ πλήθει καὶ τοὺς ἀπόρους τοῖς εὐπόροις. καὶ τὸ πειρᾶσθαι ἢ συμμιγνύναι τὸ τῶν ἀπόρων πλῆθος καὶ τὸ τῶν εὐπόρων, ἢ τὸ μέσον αὔξειν· τοῦτο γὰρ διαλύει τὰς διὰ τὴν ἀνισότητα στάσεις. Μέγιστον δὲ ἐν πάσῃ πολιτείᾳ τὸ καὶ τοῖς νό- 15
μοις καὶ τῇ ἄλλῃ οἰκονομίᾳ οὕτω τετάχθαι ὥστε μὴ εἶναι τὰς ἀρχὰς κερδαίνειν. τοῦτο δὲ μάλιστα ἐν ταῖς ὀλιγαρχικαῖς δεῖ τηρεῖν. οὐ γὰρ οὕτως ἀγανακτοῦσιν εἰργόμενοι 16
τοῦ ἄρχειν οἱ πολλοί, ἀλλὰ καὶ χαίρουσιν ἐάν τις ἐᾷ πρὸς τοῖς ἰδίοις σχολάζειν, ὡς ἐὰν οἴωνται τὰ κοινὰ κλέπτειν τοὺς ἄρχοντας· τότε δ' ἀμφότερα λυπεῖ, τό τε τῶν τιμῶν μὴ μετέχειν καὶ τὸ τῶν κερδῶν. μοναχῶς δὲ καὶ ἐνδέχεται 17
ἅμα εἶναι δημοκρατίαν καὶ ἀριστοκρατίαν, εἰ τοῦτο κατασκευάσειέ τις· ἐνδέχοιτο γὰρ ἂν καὶ τοὺς γνωρίμους καὶ τὸ 1309
πλῆθος ἔχειν ἃ βούλονται ἀμφοτέρους. τὸ μὲν γὰρ ἐξεῖναι πᾶσιν ἄρχειν δημοκρατικόν, τὸ δὲ τοὺς γνωρίμους εἶναι ἐν ταῖς ἀρχαῖς ἀριστοκρατικόν. τοῦτο δ' ἔσται, ὅταν μὴ ᾖ 18
κερδαίνειν ἀπὸ τῶν ἀρχῶν. οἱ γὰρ ἄποροι οὐ βουλήσονται ἄρχειν τῷ μηδὲν κερδαίνειν, ἀλλὰ πρὸς τοῖς ἰδίοις εἶναι μᾶλλον· οἱ δ' εὔποροι δυνήσονται διὰ τὸ μηδὲν προσδεῖσθαι τῶν κοινῶν, ὥστε συμβήσεται τοῖς μὲν ἀπόροις γίγνεσθαι εὐπόροις διὰ τὸ διατρίβειν πρὸς τοῖς ἔργοις, τοῖς δὲ γνωρίμοις μὴ ἄρχεσθαι ὑπὸ τῶν τυχόντων. τοῦ μὲν οὖν μὴ κλέπτε- 19

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guard against a prosperous class, or the prosperity of a class.' Or is it a somewhat different meaning, one more consonant with the general sense of ἀνὰ μέρος, 'To guard against the fluctuations of prosperity, which visits the different parts of the state in turns,' so that now one class is formidable, now another? These changes require precaution.

14 τὸ ἀεὶ τοῖς, κ.τ.λ.] That is, never to let one or other of the opposite classes monopolise the government.

τοὺς ἐπιεικεῖς] Here the political sense of the word is quite evident.

15 τῇ ἄλλῃ οἰκονομίᾳ] 'The general administration of the state,' or, as we might say, 'the economy.'

16 πρὸς τοῖς ἰδίοις σχολάζειν] 'suis negotiis vacare.'

τότε] 'where this is not done,' 'to have leisure to attend to their own private concerns.'

17 τοῦτο] sc. τὸ μὴ κερδαίνειν τὰς ἀρχάς.

18 πρὸς τοῖς ἰδίοις] 'at their own business.'

19 τοῦ μὲν οὖν, κ.τ.λ.] 'With a view

[illegible]

[illegible] ὀλιγαρχίᾳ τῶν ἀπόρων ἢ ἰσότητα ἢ προεδρίαν νέμειν τοῖς ἧττον κοινωνοῦσι τῆς πολιτείας, ἐν μὲν δήμῳ τοῖς εὐπόροις, ἐν δ' ὀλιγαρχίᾳ τοῖς ἀπόροις, πλὴν ὅσαι ἀρχαὶ κύριαι τῆς πολιτείας· ταύτας δὲ τοῖς ἐκ τῆς πολιτείας ἐγχειρίζειν μόνοις ἢ πλείοσιν.

[illegible] 'in order that the public money may not be embezzled,' [illegible]

ἀντίγραφα] 'copies,' 'duplicates.'

λόχους] generally, at any rate, a military term. In Xenophon, *Hiero* [illegible] it has a civil sense, διῄρηνται μὲν γὰρ [illegible] αἱ πόλεις, αἱ μὲν κατὰ φυλάς, αἱ δὲ κατὰ μοίρας, αἱ δὲ κατὰ λόχους. The passages Schneider in his note quotes from the *Hellenica*, only support his view on the supposition that in Argos and Thebes, the civil and military divisions corresponded.

[illegible] μισθός τις δοτέος· τοῦτο δὲ [illegible] γέρας, is his language in [illegible] p. 1134 b. 6; and honours would not be needed if the offices were a source of gain. Compare note on VII. (VI.) vii. 7.

20 τὰς κτήσεις] See Ch. V. 5, where we have τὰς οὐσίας, and for τοὺς καρπούς here we have τὰς προσόδους.

μὴ κατὰ δόσιν] 'not by gift or bequest, but by inheritance on the principle of family; there should be, however, a limitation in the number,' and consequently on the amount, 'imposed by the society,' μηδὲ πλειόνων ἢ μιᾶς τὸν αὐτὸν κληρονομεῖν.

21 τοῖς ἐκ τῆς πολιτείας] equivalent to τοῖς ἐν τῷ πολιτεύματι, 'The

The qualifications for office.

Τρία δέ τινα χρὴ ἔχειν τοὺς μέλλοντας ἄρξειν τὰς
κυρίας ἀρχάς, πρῶτον μὲν φιλίαν πρὸς τὴν καθεστῶσαν
πολιτείαν, ἔπειτα δύναμιν μεγίστην τῶν ἔργων τῆς ἀρχῆς,
τρίτον δ' ἀρετὴν καὶ δικαιοσύνην ἐν ἑκάστῃ πολιτείᾳ τὴν
πρὸς τὴν πολιτείαν· εἰ γὰρ μὴ ταὐτὸν τὸ δίκαιον κατὰ
πάσας τὰς πολιτείας, ἀνάγκη καὶ τῆς δικαιοσύνης εἶναι δια-
φοράς. ἔχει δ' ἀπορίαν, ὅταν μὴ συμβαίνῃ ταῦτα πάντα 2
περὶ τὸν αὐτόν, πῶς χρὴ ποιεῖσθαι τὴν διαίρεσιν· οἷον εἰ 1309 B
στρατηγικὸς μέν τις εἴη, πονηρὸς δὲ καὶ μὴ τῇ πολιτείᾳ
φίλος, ὁ δὲ δίκαιος καὶ φίλος, πῶς δεῖ ποιεῖσθαι τὴν αἵρεσιν;
ἔοικε δὲ δεῖν βλέπειν εἰς δύο, τίνος πλεῖον μετέχουσι πάντες
καὶ τίνος ἔλαττον. διὸ ἐν στρατηγίᾳ μὲν εἰς τὴν ἐμπειρίαν 3
μᾶλλον τῆς ἀρετῆς· ἔλαττον γὰρ στρατηγίας μετέχουσι,
τῆς δ' ἐπιεικείας πλεῖον· ἐν δὲ φυλακῇ καὶ ταμιείᾳ τἀναντία·
πλείονος γὰρ ἀρετῆς δεῖται ἢ ὅσην οἱ πολλοὶ ἔχουσιν, ἡ δὲ
ἐπιστήμη κοινὴ πᾶσιν. ἀπορήσειε δ' ἄν τις κἂν δύναμις 4
ὑπάρχῃ τῆς πολιτείας καὶ φιλία, τί δεῖ τῆς ἀρετῆς; ποιήσει
γὰρ τὰ συμφέροντα καὶ τὰ δύο. ἢ ὅτι ἐνδέχεται τοὺς τὰ

members of the governing body.' The mention of them, and the limitation of all the higher offices to them, leads him to speak of the qualifications required in them. Also, as remarked in the summary, in the possession of these qualifications is found one of the great positive guarantees for safety.

IX. 1 The three qualifications are given repeatedly. Compare the speech of Pericles, Thuc. II. 60, γνῶναι τὰ δέοντα καὶ ἑρμηνεῦσαι ταῦτα, φιλόπολίς τε καὶ χρημάτων κρείσσων. In Aristotle, *Rhet.* II. Ch. I.

δύναμιν μεγίστην] 'a very great capacity for the duties of the office.'

δικαιοσύνην] *Eth.* V. 10, 5[2], p. 1135, 3, ὁμοίως δὲ καὶ τὰ μὴ φυσικὰ ἀλλ' ἀνθρώπινα δίκαια οὐ ταὐτὰ πανταχοῦ, ἐπεὶ οὐδ' αἱ πολιτεῖαι, ἀλλὰ μία μόνον πανταχοῦ κατὰ φύσιν ἡ ἀρίστη.

2 συμβαίνῃ] 'are not found combined in the same person.'

διαίρεσιν] In this passage the two words διαίρεσιν and αἵρεσιν seem used almost indifferently. This may help in the difficult passage, VI. (IV.) VI. 3.

τίνος πλεῖον, κ.τ.λ.] 'Which, as a general rule, men are likely to have a larger amount of.'

3 ἔλαττον γάρ, κ.τ.λ.] 'For more men share in goodness than in the qualifications required in a general;' or, 'there is a smaller portion of these falls to the lot of men in general, than there is of goodness.'

ἡ ἐπιστήμη] 'The knowledge required.'

4 κἂν δύναμις] 'Supposing that there exist the capacity to administer the state.'

Ἢ ὅτι 'Is it not that?' Compare for the thought contained in the

The qualifications for office.

δύο ταῦτα ἔχοντας ἀκρατεῖς εἶναι, ὥστε καθάπερ καὶ αὐτοῖς οὐχ ὑπηρετοῦσιν εἰδότες καὶ φιλοῦντες αὐτούς, οὕτω καὶ πρὸς τὸ κοινὸν οὐθὲν κωλύει ἔχειν ἐνίους.
5 Ἁπλῶς δέ, ὅσα ἐν τοῖς νόμοις ὡς συμφέροντα λέγομεν ταῖς πολιτείαις, ἅπαντα ταῦτα σώζει τὰς πολιτείας.

General precepts.

καὶ τὸ πολλάκις εἰρημένον μέγιστον στοιχεῖον, τὸ τηρεῖν ὅπως κρεῖττον ἔσται τὸ βουλόμενον τὴν πολιτείαν πλῆθος τοῦ μὴ βουλομένου.
6 παρὰ πάντα δὲ ταῦτα δεῖ μὴ λανθάνειν, ὃ νῦν λανθάνει τὰς παρεκβεβηκυίας πολιτείας, τὸ μέσον· πολλὰ γὰρ τῶν δοκούντων δημοτικῶν λύει τὰς δημοκρατίας καὶ τῶν ὀλιγαρχικῶν τὰς ὀλιγαρχίας.
7 οἱ δ' οἰόμενοι ταύτην εἶναι μίαν ἀρετὴν ἕλκουσιν εἰς τὴν ὑπερβολήν, ἀγνοοῦντες ὅτι καθάπερ ῥίς ἐστι παρεκβεβηκυῖα μὲν τὴν εὐθύτητα τὴν καλλίστην πρὸς τὸ γρυπὸν ἢ τὸ σιμόν, ἀλλ' ὅμως ἔτι καλὴ καὶ χάριν ἔχουσα πρὸς τὴν ὄψιν, οὐ μὴν ἀλλ' ἐὰν ἐπιτείνῃ τις ἔτι μᾶλλον εἰς τὴν ὑπερβολήν, πρῶτον μὲν ἀποβαλεῖ τὴν μετριότητα τοῦ μορίου, τέλος δ' οὕτως ὥστε μηδὲ ῥῖνα ποιήσει φαίνεσθαι διὰ τὴν ὑπεροχὴν καὶ τὴν ἔλλειψιν τῶν ἐναντίων· τὸν αὐτὸν δὲ τρόπον ἔχει καὶ περὶ τῶν ἄλλων
8 μορίων. συμβαίνει δὴ τοῦτο καὶ περὶ τὰς ἄλλας πολιτείας.

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passage, ὥστε καθάπερ, κ.τ.λ., Butler's *Sermons*, Sermon I., concluding paragraph, where the statement is just reversed.

5 Ἁπλῶς δέ] 'Passing from all particular points of the question as to how constitutions are preserved, we may say in general terms,' &c.

ἐν τοῖς νόμοις] "Leges quibus civitates continentur," Nickes, p. 115. But it seems to me rather a reference to another work of Aristotle's answering in title, though not in spirit, to the νόμοι of Plato.

ταῖς πολιτείαις] democracies and oligarchies, with their varieties and ...dred forms, no thought of mo-... Ch. II. 1.

...κις εἰρημένον] VI. (IV.) xii. 1. VII. (VI.) vi. 2.

μέγιστον στοιχεῖον] 'the most important elementary principle.'

7 ταύτην εἶναι μίαν ἀρετήν] 'The strengthening of the constitution as it exists is the only right thing.' Such I conceive to be the meaning. Compare VII. (VI.) i. 10.

τὴν μετριότητα τοῦ μορίου] 'Its due proportion as a part.'

τῶν ἐναντίων] 'of all the counterbalancing parts.' It needs the relief of the other features.

8 περὶ τὰς ἄλλας πολιτείας] Göttling and Stahr defend the ἄλλας from the sequel. I conceive it to have been introduced to match ἄλλων in ἄλλων μορίων, but unlike that, to be entirely unneeded and out of place.

General precepts.

καὶ γὰρ ὀλιγαρχίαν καὶ δημοκρατίαν ἔστιν ὥστ' ἔχειν ἱκανῶς, καίπερ ἐξεστηκυίας τῆς βελτίστης τάξεως· ἐὰν δέ τις ἐπιτείνῃ μᾶλλον ἑκατέραν αὐτῶν, πρῶτον μὲν χείρω ποιήσει τὴν πολιτείαν, τέλος δ' οὐδὲ πολιτείαν. διὸ δεῖ 9
τοῦτο μὴ ἀγνοεῖν τὸν νομοθέτην καὶ τὸν πολιτικόν, ποῖα σώζει τῶν δημοτικῶν καὶ ποῖα φθείρει τὴν δημοκρατίαν, καὶ ποῖα τῶν ὀλιγαρχικῶν τὴν ὀλιγαρχίαν. οὐδετέραν μὲν γὰρ ἐνδέχεται αὐτῶν εἶναι καὶ διαμένειν ἄνευ τῶν εὐπόρων καὶ τοῦ πλήθους, ἀλλ' ὅταν ὁμαλότης γένηται τῆς οὐσίας, ἄλλην ἀνάγκη εἶναι ταύτην τὴν πολιτείαν, ὥστε 1310
φθείροντες τοῖς καθ' ὑπεροχὴν νόμοις φθείρουσι τὰς πολιτείας. Ἁμαρτάνουσι δὲ καὶ ἐν ταῖς δημοκρατίαις καὶ ἐν ταῖς ὀλιγαρχίαις, ἐν μὲν ταῖς δημοκρατίαις οἱ δημαγωγοί, ὅπου τὸ πλῆθος κύριον τῶν νόμων· δύο γὰρ ποιοῦσιν ἀεὶ τὴν πόλιν, μαχόμενοι τοῖς εὐπόροις, δεῖ δὲ τοὐναντίον αἰεὶ δοκεῖν λέγειν ὑπὲρ εὐπόρων, ἐν δὲ ταῖς ὀλιγαρχίαις ὑπὲρ τοῦ δήμου τοὺς ὀλιγαρχικούς, καὶ τοὺς ὅρκους ἐναντίους ἢ νῦν ὀμνύναι τοὺς ὀλιγαρχικούς. νῦν μὲν γὰρ ἐν ἐνίαις 11
ὀμνύουσι "καὶ τῷ δήμῳ κακόνους ἔσομαι καὶ βουλεύσω ὅ τι ἂν ἔχω κακόν·" χρὴ δὲ καὶ ὑπολαμβάνειν καὶ ὑποκρίνεσθαι

καίπερ ἐξεστηκυίας, κ.τ.λ.] Comp. *Eth.* VII. vii. 6, p. 1149, b. 34, *ἐξέστηκε τῆς φύσεως.* By *βελτίστη τάξις* I conceive he means not his *ἀρίστη κρατία*, or ideal *πολιτεῖα*, but the best arrangement of these corrupt forms, democracy and oligarchy.

9 *ὅταν ὁμαλότης*] If equality of property is introduced, it may be a good or an evil, but at any rate it changes the constitution.

φθείροντες τοῖς καθ' ὑπεροχὴν νόμοις] If this reading is the true one, I see no other way of interpreting it than this: 'so that whilst only wishing by their laws to destroy the antagonist principles or their opponents in whom that principle is embodied, they really are destroying the constitution.' But I suspect that the true reading is *χαίροντες*, see § 13, *οἷς χαίρουσιν*, 'so that, whilst taking delight in passing laws based on their superiority, whilst glad of every opportunity of carrying out their principle, they are in reality destroying the constitution,' *τοῖς καθ' ὑπεροχὴν νόμοις.* This is open to two renderings, I think. By the one it would be equivalent to *καθ' ὑπερβολήν*, 'laws carried to excess;' by the other, 'laws based on the superiority existing,' 'corresponding to it.'

11 *ὀμνύουσι*] Mr Grote VIII. 400, speaks of this "plainspoken oligarchical oath."

καὶ ὑπολαμβάνειν, κ.τ.λ.] 'To view it in quite the opposite light, or, if not, to pretend they do,'

Education.

τοὐναντίον, ἐπισημαινομένους ἐν τοῖς ὅρκοις ὅτι "οὐκ ἀδικήσω τὸν δῆμον." Μέγιστον δὲ πάντων τῶν εἰρημένων πρὸς τὸ διαμένειν τὰς πολιτείας, οὗ νῦν ὀλιγωροῦσι πάντες,
12 τὸ παιδεύεσθαι πρὸς τὰς πολιτείας. ὄφελος γὰρ οὐθὲν τῶν ὠφελιμωτάτων νόμων καὶ συνδεδοξασμένων ὑπὸ πάντων τῶν πολιτευομένων, εἰ μὴ ἔσονται εἰθισμένοι καὶ πεπαιδευμένοι ἐν τῇ πολιτείᾳ, εἰ μὲν οἱ νόμοι δημοτικοί, δημοτικῶς, εἰ δ' ὀλιγαρχικοί, ὀλιγαρχικῶς. εἴπερ γάρ ἐστιν ἐφ' ἑνὸς
13 ἀκρασία, ἔστι καὶ ἐπὶ πόλεως. ἔστι δὲ τὸ πεπαιδεῦσθαι πρὸς τὴν πολιτείαν οὐ τοῦτο, τὸ ποιεῖν οἷς χαίρουσιν οἱ ὀλιγαρχοῦντες ἢ οἱ δημοκρατίαν βουλόμενοι, ἀλλ' οἷς δυνήσονται οἱ μὲν ὀλιγαρχεῖν οἱ δὲ δημοκρατεῖσθαι. νῦν δ' ἐν μὲν ταῖς ὀλιγαρχίαις οἱ τῶν ἀρχόντων υἱοὶ τρυφῶσιν, οἱ δὲ τῶν ἀπόρων γίγνονται γεγυμνασμένοι καὶ πεπονηκότες,
14 ὥστε καὶ βούλονται μᾶλλον καὶ δύνανται νεωτερίζειν. ἐν δὲ ταῖς δημοκρατίαις ταῖς μάλιστα εἶναι δοκούσαις δημοκρατικαῖς τοὐναντίον τοῦ συμφέροντος καθέστηκεν. αἴτιον δὲ τούτου ὅτι κακῶς ὁρίζονται τὸ ἐλεύθερον. δύο γάρ ἐστιν οἷς ἡ δημοκρατία δοκεῖ ὡρίσθαι, τῷ τὸ πλεῖον εἶναι κύριον
15 καὶ τῇ ἐλευθερίᾳ. τὸ μὲν γὰρ δίκαιον ἴσον δοκεῖ εἶναι, ἴσον δ' ὅ τι ἂν δόξῃ τῷ πλήθει, τοῦτ' εἶναι κύριον, ἐλεύθερον δὲ καὶ ἴσον τὸ ὅ τι ἂν βούληταί τις ποιεῖν. ὥστε ζῇ ἐν ταῖς τοιαύταις δημοκρατίαις ἕκαστος ὡς βούλεται, καὶ εἰς ὃ χρῄ-

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ἐπισημαινομένους] 'affichant,' 'putting forward ostentatiously.'

οὗ νῦν ὀλιγωροῦσι] Compare V. (VIII.) I., and I. XIII. 15.

τὸ παιδεύεσθαι] Compare V. (VIII.) I. I.

12 συνδεδοξασμένων] 'assented to and fully accepted by a joint act of all the citizens.'

εἰ μὴ ἔσονται] Unless the citizens are by habit and education in harmony with their constitution, so that their feelings and characters answer to it fully.

εἴπερ γάρ ἐστιν] above § 4. *Eth.* VII. 10, p. 1152. 20,

13 νῦν δέ] We find the same language in Plato, *Republic* VIII. 536, D. ἰσχνὸς ἀνὴρ πένης, ἡλιωμένος, παραταχθεὶς ἐν μάχῃ πλουσίῳ ἐσκιατροφηκότι, πολλὰς ἔχοντι σάρκας ἀλλοτρίας, ἴδῃ ἀσθματός τε καὶ ἀπορίας μεστόν, κ.τ.λ.

14 τοὐναντίον τοῦ συμφέροντος] 'The contrary of their true interest,' for the expression, see II. IX. 37.

δύο γάρ ἐστιν, κ.τ.λ.] VII. (VI.) II. 1—4, where the statements are practically equivalent, though differing in form and more full.

15 εἰς ὃ χρῄζων] Eur. *Fr.* 91, p. 189, Ed. Dind. 8vo., 'as you will.'

ζῶν, ὡς φησὶν Εὐριπίδης. τοῦτο δ' ἐστὶ φαῦλον· οὐ γὰρ Education.
δεῖ οἴεσθαι δουλείαν εἶναι τὸ ζῆν πρὸς τὴν πολιτείαν, ἀλλὰ 16
σωτηρίαν. ἐξ ὧν μὲν οὖν αἱ πολιτεῖαι μεταβάλλουσι καὶ
φθείρονται, καὶ διὰ τίνων σώζονται καὶ διαμένουσιν, ὡς
ἁπλῶς εἰπεῖν τοσαῦτά ἐστιν.

Λείπεται δ' ἐπελθεῖν καὶ περὶ μοναρχίας, ἐξ ὧν τε 10
φθείρεται καὶ δι' ὧν σώζεσθαι πέφυκεν. σχεδὸν δὲ παρα- Monarchy. Its dangers.
πλήσια τοῖς εἰρημένοις περὶ τὰς πολιτείας ἐστὶ καὶ τὰ συμ-
βαίνοντα περὶ τὰς βασιλείας καὶ τὰς τυραννίδας. ἡ μὲν 2 1310 B
γὰρ βασιλεία κατὰ τὴν ἀριστοκρατίαν ἐστίν, ἡ δὲ τυραννὶς
ἐξ ὀλιγαρχίας τῆς ὑστάτης σύγκειται καὶ δημοκρατίας· διὸ
δὴ καὶ βλαβερωτάτη τοῖς ἀρχομένοις ἐστίν, ἅτε ἐκ δυοῖν
συγκειμένη κακῶν καὶ τὰς παρεκβάσεις καὶ τὰς ἁμαρτίας
ἔχουσα τὰς παρ' ἀμφοτέρων πολιτειῶν. ὑπάρχει δ' ἡ 3
γένεσις εὐθὺς ἐξ ἐναντίων ἑκατέρᾳ τῶν μοναρχιῶν· ἡ μὲν γὰρ Origin of Monarchy
βασιλεία πρὸς βοήθειαν τὴν ἀπὸ τοῦ δήμου τοῖς ἐπιεικέσι
γέγονεν, καὶ καθίσταται βασιλεὺς ἐκ τῶν ἐπιεικῶν καθ'
ὑπεροχὴν ἀρετῆς ἢ πράξεων τῶν ἀπὸ τῆς ἀρετῆς, ἢ καθ'
ὑπεροχὴν τοιούτου γένους, ὁ δὲ τύραννος ἐκ τοῦ δήμου καὶ

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16 **τοῦτο δὲ ἐστὶ φαῦλον**] It is the old question of the distinction between licence and liberty, the ignorance as to what really constitutes liberty. For the meaning of this word see M. Dunoyer's remarks, *Liberté du Travail*, Vol. I. p. 23 and foll.

X. 1 **καὶ περὶ μοναρχίας**] He passes from the **πολιτεῖαι**, the constitutions of Greek freemen, however far removed from the standard he would wish to see established, to the government of one, and of course mainly to the corrupt form of that government, as the really practical question; the other by his definition being strictly impossible, and even a tolerable approximation being very rare.

περὶ τὰς πολιτείας] This expression excludes monarchy from the constitutions, as I have remarked before.

2 **κατὰ τὴν ἀριστοκρατίαν**] 'stands on the same level with,' 'answers to,' "schliesst sich an," Stahr. So that the reasoning which holds good for the **ἀριστοκρατίαι**, will hold good for the **βασιλεία**.

3 **ὑπάρχει δέ, κ.τ.λ.**] 'And to begin with, at once, their origin is,' &c.

πρὸς βοήθειαν, κ.τ.λ.] 'With a view to assistance against the people.'

τοῖς ἐπιεικέσι] "der höheren Stände," says Stahr rightly, 'the upper classes look to the king for protection.'

τῶν ἀπὸ τῆς ἀρετῆς] 'The class of actions which naturally are the product of virtue in a man.'

τοιούτου γένους] sc. **κατ' ἀρετὴν ὑπερέχοντος**. Compare III. XVIII. 1.

[illegible]

[illegible] occurred. Compare [illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible] Niebuhr [illegible] where he is placed [illegible] in the pre-historic times.

[illegible] The putting down of these [illegible] at the time of the [illegible] is a well authenticated historical fact. Their rise and government is obscure.

[illegible] and foll.

[illegible] the earliest Sicilian tyrant. He had been general in a war with Megara. See Clinton, *F. H.* [illegible] B.C. 608.

[illegible] Herod. v. 92.

7 [illegible]]

Compare III. xviii. 1.

κατ' εὐεργεσίας, ἢ κατὰ ταῦτά τε καὶ δύναμιν. ἅπαντες γὰρ εὐεργετήσαντες ἢ δυνάμενοι τὰς πόλεις ἢ τὰ ἔθνη εὐεργετεῖν ἐτύγχανον τῆς τιμῆς ταύτης, οἱ μὲν κατὰ πόλεμον κωλύσαντες δουλεύειν, ὥσπερ Κόδρος, οἱ δ' ἐλευθερώσαντες, ὥσπερ Κῦρος, ἢ κτίσαντες ἢ κτησάμενοι χώραν, ὥσπερ οἱ Λακεδαιμονίων βασιλεῖς καὶ Μακεδόνων καὶ Μολοττῶν. Βούλεται δ' ὁ βασιλεὺς εἶναι φύλαξ, ὅπως οἱ μὲν κεκτημένοι τὰς οὐσίας μηθὲν ἄδικον πάσχωσιν, ὁ δὲ δῆμος μὴ ὑβρίζηται μηθέν. ἡ δὲ τυραννίς, ὥσπερ εἴρηται πολλάκις πρὸς οὐδὲν ἀποβλέπει κοινόν, εἰ μὴ τῆς ἰδίας ὠφελείας χάριν. ἔστι δὲ σκοπὸς τυραννικὸς μὲν τὸ ἡδύ, βασιλικὸς δὲ τὸ καλόν. διὸ καὶ τῶν πλεονεκτημάτων τὰ μὲν χρήματα τυραννικά, τὰ δ' εἰς τιμὴν βασιλικὰ μᾶλλον. καὶ φυλακὴ βασιλικὴ μὲν πολιτική, τυραννικὴ δὲ διὰ ξένων. Ὅτι δ' ἡ τυραννὶς ἔχει κακὰ καὶ τὰ τῆς δημοκρατίας καὶ τὰ τῆς ὀλιγαρχίας, φανερόν, ἐκ μὲν ὀλιγαρχίας τὸ τὸ τέλος εἶναι πλοῦτον (οὕτω γὰρ καὶ διαμένειν ἀναγκαῖον μόνως τήν τε φυλακὴν καὶ τὴν τρυφήν) καὶ τὸ τῷ πλήθει μηδὲν πιστεύειν, διὸ καὶ

Margin: Origin of Monarchy. — 8 — 9 1311 The king and the tyrant compared. — 10 — 11 Tyranny.

κατ' εὐεργεσίας] III. xiv. 12.

δύναμιν] "auf Macht dazu," Stahr. 'The possession of power to enable them to seize the kingly dignity.'

8 ἅπαντες] sc. οἱ βασιλεῖς, to the exclusion of τύραννοι.

Κόδρος] This passage seems to imply in Aristotle a different view of Codrus from the common one. The general account is that he was hereditary king of Athens, and saved his country by his death. The language here used, implies that he earned his kingly station by his services. It places him on a level with Cyrus.

Μακεδόνων] Compare a passage in Mr Grote's *Hist.* iv. p. 20. After a résumé of the state of Macedonia, &c., he adds, "Their position was first altered by the enterprise and ability of a family of exiled Greeks, who conducted a section of the Macedonian people to those conquests which their descendants, Philip and Alexander the Great, afterwards so marvellously multiplied." For the Molossi, IV. 22.

9 βούλεται δέ, κ.τ.λ.] 'The idea of a king is that he is a guardian.' Compare *Rhet.* I. viii. 5, p. 1366, 6, τυραννίδος τέλος φυλακή.

εἰ μὴ τῆς ἰδίας, κ.τ.λ.] 'Except so far as the tyrant's own personal interests are served thereby.'

τὸ ἡδύ] Of course 'personal enjoyment,' "to gorge each prevailing passion," Arn. *Rome*, I. Ch. xxi. p. 474.

10 εἰς χρήματα] The preposition is required before χρήματα, the sense is not complete without it.

πολιτική] 'Formed from the citizens.'

11 ὅτι δέ, κ.τ.λ.] Returns on § 2, τὰς ἁμαρτίας ἔχουσα.

Tyranny.

τὴν παραίρεσιν ποιοῦνται τῶν ὅπλων· καὶ τὸ κακοῦν τὸν ὄχλον καὶ τὸ ἐκ τοῦ ἄστεος ἀπελαύνειν καὶ διοικίζειν ἀμφο-
12 τέρων κοινόν, καὶ τῆς ὀλιγαρχίας καὶ τῆς τυραννίδος. ἐκ δημοκρατίας δὲ τὸ πολεμεῖν τοῖς γνωρίμοις καὶ διαφθείρειν λάθρᾳ καὶ φανερῶς καὶ φυγαδεύειν ὡς ἀντιτέχνους καὶ πρὸς τὴν ἀρχὴν ἐμποδίους· ἐκ γὰρ τούτων συμβαίνει γίγνεσθαι καὶ τὰς ἐπιβουλάς, τῶν μὲν ἄρχειν αὐτῶν βουλομένων, τῶν
13 δὲ μὴ δουλεύειν. ὅθεν καὶ τὸ Περιάνδρου πρὸς Θρασύβουλον συμβούλευμά ἐστιν, ἡ τῶν ὑπερεχόντων σταχύων κόλουσις, ὡς δέον ἀεὶ τοὺς ὑπερέχοντας τῶν πολιτῶν ἀναιρεῖν. καθάπερ οὖν σχεδὸν ἐλέχθη, τὰς αὐτὰς ἀρχὰς δεῖ νομίζειν περί τε τὰς πολιτείας εἶναι τῶν μεταβολῶν καὶ περὶ τὰς μοναρχίας· διά τε γὰρ ἀδικίαν καὶ διὰ φόβον καὶ διὰ καταφρόνησιν ἐπιτίθενται πολλοὶ τῶν ἀρχομένων ταῖς μοναρχίαις, τῆς δὲ ἀδικίας μάλιστα δι' ὕβριν, ἐνίοτε δὲ καὶ διὰ
14 τὴν τῶν ἰδίων στέρησιν. ἔστι δὲ καὶ τὰ τέλη ταὐτά, καθάπερ κἀκεῖ, καὶ περὶ τὰς τυραννίδας καὶ τὰς βασιλείας· μέγεθος γὰρ ὑπάρχει πλούτου καὶ τιμῆς τοῖς μονάρχοις, ὧν ἐφίενται πάντες. Τῶν δ' ἐπιθέσεων αἱ μὲν ἐπὶ τὸ σῶμα γίγνονται τῶν ἀρχόντων, αἱ δ' ἐπὶ τὴν ἀρχήν. αἱ μὲν οὖν
15 δι' ὕβριν ἐπὶ τὸ σῶμα. τῆς δ' ὕβρεως οὔσης πολυμεροῦς, ἕκαστον αὐτῶν αἴτιον γίγνεται τῆς ὀργῆς· τῶν δ' ὀργιζομένων σχεδὸν οἱ πλεῖστοι τιμωρίας χάριν ἐπιτίθενται, ἀλλ'

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τὴν παραίρεσιν] 'The common tyrannical measure of seizing the arms.'

διοικίζειν] Compare the treatment of Mantinea, for instance, by the Spartan oligarchy.

12 ἀντιτέχνους] 'Rivals.'

13 τὸ Περιάνδρου] The statement here is consistent with III. xiii. 16, on which see note.

καθάπερ οὖν] 'As was hinted then.'

τῆς ἀδικίας, κ. τ. λ.] ἀδικία is πλεονεξία, and that as may be seen from § 10 is partly τῶν χρημάτων, partly τῆς τιμῆς, or as it is here ἡ μὲν διὰ τὴν τῶν ἰδίων στέρησιν, ἡ δὲ δι' ὕβριν.

14 τὰ τέλη] 'The ends they aim at are the same (καθάπερ κἀκεῖ) as on oligarchies and democracies, the constitutions of freemen, so also,' &c.

αἱ μέν] 'Some attack the life, others the power.'

15 αὐτῶν] 'Of the several kinds.' Compare his chapter on ὀργή, *Rhet.* II. ii. p. 1378, 31.

τιμωρίας χάριν] 'Therefore they attack the tyrant's person.' It is revenge they seek, not their own advantage.

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οὐχ ὑπεροχῆς, οἷον ἡ μὲν τῶν Πεισιστρατιδῶν διὰ τὸ προπηλακίσαι μὲν τὴν Ἁρμοδίου ἀδελφήν, ἐπηρεάσαι δ' Ἁρμόδιον· ὁ μὲν γὰρ Ἁρμόδιος διὰ τὴν ἀδελφήν, ὁ δ' Ἀριστογείτων διὰ τὸν Ἁρμόδιον. ἐπεβούλευσαν δὲ καὶ Πε- 16
ριάνδρῳ τῷ ἐν Ἀμβρακίᾳ τυράννῳ διὰ τὸ συμπίνοντα μετὰ τῶν παιδικῶν ἐρωτῆσαι αὐτὸν εἰ ἤδη ἐξ αὐτοῦ κύει. ἡ δὲ 1311 b
Φιλίππου ὑπὸ Παυσανίου διὰ τὸ ἐᾶσαι ὑβρισθῆναι αὐτὸν ὑπὸ τῶν περὶ Ἄτταλον, καὶ ἡ Ἀμύντου τοῦ μικροῦ ὑπὸ Δέρδα διὰ τὸ καυχήσασθαι εἰς τὴν ἡλικίαν αὐτοῦ, καὶ ἡ τοῦ εὐνούχου Εὐαγόρᾳ τῷ Κυπρίῳ· διὰ γὰρ τὸ τὴν γυναῖκα παρελέσθαι τὸν υἱὸν αὐτοῦ, ἀπέκτεινεν ὡς ὑβρισμένος. πολ- 17
λαὶ δ' ἐπιθέσεις γεγένηνται καὶ διὰ τὸ εἰς τὸ σῶμα αἰσχύνεσθαι τῶν μονάρχων τινάς, οἷον καὶ ἡ Κραταίου εἰς Ἀρχέλαον· ἀεὶ γὰρ βαρέως εἶχε πρὸς τὴν ὁμιλίαν, ὥστε ἱκανὴ καὶ ἐλάττων ἐγένετο πρόφασις, διότι τῶν θυγατέρων οὐδεμίαν ἔδωκεν ὁμολογήσας αὐτῷ, ἀλλὰ τὴν μὲν προτέραν, κατεχόμενος ὑπὸ πολέμου πρὸς Σίρραν καὶ Ἀρράβαιον, ἔδωκε τῷ βασιλεῖ τῷ τῆς Ἐλιμείας, τὴν δὲ νεωτέραν τῷ υἱεῖ Ἀμύντᾳ, οἰόμενος οὕτως ἂν ἐκεῖνον ἥκιστα διαφέρεσθαι καὶ τὸν ἐκ τῆς Κλεοπάτρας· ἀλλὰ τῆς γε ἀλλοτριότητος ὑπῆρ-

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προπηλακίσαι, κ.τ.λ.] Quoted in the Scholia to Aristophanes, *Ach.* 990, Ed. Dind. Grote IV. 152.

16 Periander, above V. 9.

Philip's death in 336 B.C., is the latest event noticed in this work of Aristotle's, Grote, XI. 711.

ὑπὸ τῶν περὶ Ἄτταλον] 'By Attalus.' Compare, for the expression, Ch. VI. 6.

Ἀμύντου] This allusion is obscure. The mention of Derdas seems to point to Amyntas II., the father of Philip, for Derdas, prince of Elymia, was a kinsman of his, who acted in concert with him. It is a point on which Aristotle was likely to be correct; but we have a want of historical data.

Εὐαγόρᾳ] For his history, see Grote, x. 18, and foll.; for this particular incident, p. 33, with note. The eunuch's name was Thrasydæus.

διὰ γὰρ τό, κ.τ.λ.] 'For because his son, the son of Evagoras, had taken away from him his wife, he killed Evagoras, as feeling that he had been insulted by him.' So I render the passage with Stahr.

17 **Κραταίου**] This name varies. Grote, x. 63. Krateuas is the form there given.

Ἀρχέλαον] See Thuc. II. 100.

καὶ ἐλάττων] 'even a somewhat slight ground, viz., that.'

Ἀρράβαιον] King of the Lyncestæ is mentioned Thuc. IV. 79.

διαφέρεσθαι] 'quarrel.'

Κλεοπάτρας] She, it appears, was his father's widow.

ἀλλοτριότητος] 'alienation.'

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χεν ἀρχὴ τὸ βαρέως φέρειν πρὸς τὴν ἀφροδισιαστικὴν χάριν. συνεπέθετο δὲ καὶ Ἑλλανοκράτης ὁ Λαρισσαῖος διὰ τὴν
18 αὐτὴν αἰτίαν· ὡς γὰρ χρώμενος αὐτοῦ τῇ ἡλικίᾳ οὐ κατῆγεν ὑποσχόμενος, δι' ὕβριν καὶ οὐ δι' ἐρωτικὴν ἐπιθυμίαν ᾤετ' εἶναι τὴν γεγενημένην ὁμιλίαν. Πάρρων δὲ καὶ Ἡρακλείδης οἱ Αἴνιοι Κότυν διέφθειραν τῷ πατρὶ τιμωροῦντες, Ἀδάμας δ' ἀπέστη Κότυος διὰ τὸ ἐκτμηθῆναι παῖς ὢν ὑπ' αὐτοῦ ὡς
19 ὑβρισμένος. πολλοὶ δὲ καὶ διὰ τὸ εἰς τὸ σῶμα αἰκισθῆναι πληγαῖς ὀργισθέντες οἱ μὲν διέφθειραν οἱ δ' ἐνεχείρησαν ὡς ὑβρισθέντες, καὶ τῶν περὶ τὰς ἀρχὰς καὶ βασιλικὰς δυναστείας, οἷον ἐν Μιτυλήνῃ τοὺς Πενθαλίδας Μεγακλῆς περιιόντας καὶ τύπτοντας ταῖς κορύναις ἐπιθέμενος μετὰ τῶν φίλων ἀνεῖλεν, καὶ ὕστερον Σμέρδις Πένθιλον πληγὰς
20 λαβὼν καὶ παρὰ τῆς γυναικὸς ἐξελκυσθεὶς διέφθειρεν. καὶ τῆς Ἀρχελάου δ' ἐπιθέσεως Δεκάμνιχος ἡγεμὼν ἐγένετο, παροξύνων τοὺς ἐπιθεμένους πρῶτος· αἴτιον δὲ τῆς ὀργῆς ὅτι αὐτὸν ἐξέδωκε μαστιγῶσαι Εὐριπίδῃ τῷ ποιητῇ· ὁ δ' Εὐριπίδης ἐχαλέπαινεν εἰπόντος τι αὐτοῦ εἰς δυσωδίαν τοῦ στόματος. καὶ ἄλλοι δὲ πολλοὶ διὰ τοιαύτας αἰτίας οἱ
21 μὲν ἀνῃρέθησαν οἱ δ' ἐπεβουλεύθησαν. ὁμοίως δὲ καὶ διὰ φόβον· ἓν γάρ τι τοῦτο τῶν αἰτίων ἦν, ὥσπερ καὶ περὶ τὰς πολιτείας καὶ τὰς μοναρχίας· οἷον Ξέρξην Ἀρταπάνης

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18 *οὐ κατῆγεν ὑποσχόμενος*] 'he did not restore him, though he had promised to do so.' Hellanocrates then was an exile.

Parrhon. Smith, *Dict. Biog.*, reads Python. Mr Grote, also, x. 516.

Adamas. Grote, I. 21, note. I can find no historical notice of him.

Κότυν] For the history of this prince, see Grote, x. 408, and foll.

19 *καὶ τῶν περὶ τὰς ἀρχάς, κ.τ.λ.*] A difficult passage. Stahr, in his translation, makes *τῶν περί, κ.τ.λ.*, depend on the verbs *διέφθειραν, ἐνεχείρησαν*, "selbst ihre Obrigkeiten und Beherrscher getödtet oder zu tödten gesucht." It would be quite as natural to make it depend on *πολλοί, οἱ μέν, οἱ δέ*. I do not see what is to be done with the passage.

Πενθαλίδας] Grote, I. 225, note, deriving their name from Penthilus, son of Orestes. Compare also II. 27, III. 84, 265.

Μεγακλῆς] Nothing more known, any more than of Smerdis.

20 Euripides. On this anecdote of Euripides, see Grote, x. 63.

Δεκάμνιχος] This revenge was not till six years after the death of Euripides.

21 *καὶ τὰς μοναρχίας*] 'So also in the case of monarchies.'

Ξέρξην Ἀρταπάνης] Grote, VI. 493,

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φοβούμενος τὴν διαβολὴν τὴν περὶ Δαρεῖον, ὅτι ἐκρέμασεν
οὐ κελεύσαντος Ξέρξου, ἀλλ' οἰόμενος συγγνώσεσθαι ὡς
ἀμνημονοῦντα διὰ τὸ δειπνεῖν· αἱ δὲ διὰ καταφρόνησιν, 22 1312
ὥσπερ Σαρδανάπαλον ἰδών τις ξαίνοντα μετὰ τῶν γυναικῶν,
εἰ ἀληθῆ ταῦτα οἱ μυθολογοῦντες λέγουσιν· εἰ δὲ μὴ ἐπ'
ἐκείνου, ἀλλ' ἐπ' ἄλλου γε ἂν γένοιτο ἀληθές. καὶ Διο- 23
νυσίῳ τῷ ὑστέρῳ Δίων ἐπέθετο διὰ τὸ καταφρονεῖν, ὁρῶν
τούς τε πολίτας οὕτως ἔχοντας καὶ αὐτὸν ἀεὶ μεθύοντα.
καὶ τῶν φίλων δέ τινες ἐπιτίθενται διὰ καταφρόνησιν· διὰ
γὰρ τὸ πιστεύεσθαι καταφρονοῦσιν ὡς λήσοντες. καὶ οἱ 24
οἰόμενοι δύνασθαι κατασχεῖν τὴν ἀρχὴν τρόπον τινὰ διὰ τὸ
καταφρονεῖν ἐπιτίθενται· ὡς δυνάμενοι γὰρ καὶ καταφρο-
νοῦντες τοῦ κινδύνου διὰ τὴν δύναμιν ἐπιχειροῦσι ῥᾳδίως,
ὥσπερ οἱ στρατηγοῦντες τοῖς μονάρχοις, οἷον Κῦρος
Ἀστυάγῃ καὶ τοῦ βίου καταφρονῶν καὶ τῆς δυνάμεως διὰ
τὸ τὴν μὲν δύναμιν ἐξηργηκέναι, αὐτὸν δὲ τρυφᾶν, καὶ Σεύθης
ὁ Θρᾷξ Ἀμαδόκῳ στρατηγὸς ὤν. οἱ δὲ καὶ διὰ πλείω 25
τούτων ἐπιτίθενται, οἷον καὶ καταφρονοῦντες καὶ διὰ κέρδος,
ὥσπερ Ἀριοβαρζάνῃ Μιθριδάτης. μάλιστα δὲ διὰ ταύτην
τὴν αἰτίαν ἐγχειροῦσιν οἱ τὴν φύσιν μὲν θρασεῖς, τιμὴν δ'
ἔχοντες πολεμικὴν παρὰ τοῖς μονάρχοις· ἀνδρία γὰρ δύνα-

IX. 3. If the account there given is correct, the only change required in the passage is to place the οὐ before the verb. He had been ordered at a banquet to execute Darius, had not done so, and therefore, from fear of the consequences of his disobedience, assassinated Xerxes, B.C. 465. Artabanus was an Hyrcanian, compare Smith, *Biogr. Dict.*

22 Sardanapalus. His legendary character seems recognised by Aristotle, who mentions him again, *Eth.* I. iii. 3, p. 1095, b 2, as a type of luxury.

23 Δίων] Smith, *Dict. Biog.* Grote, XI. 121.

οὕτως ἔχοντας] sc. καταφρονοῦντας.

24 κατασχεῖν] 'To hold when they have seized it.'

Κῦρος] Was Cyrus then the general of Astyages? See Winer, *Real Wörterbuch*, art. Kyros. The early history of Cyrus is very obscure, and the subject of many conflicting statements.

ἐξηργηκέναι] 'was worn out.'

Σεύθης] Xenophon, *Hell.* III. ii. 2. *Anab.* VII. ii. 32.

25 Μιθριδάτης] Ariobarzanes was merely a satrap of the region near the Propontis and Hellespont. He revolted from the Persian king 367–366, and was joined by Datames, a Carian officer of Artaxerxes in Cappadocia. Mithridates, son of Ario-

The qualifications for office.

δύο ταῦτα ἔχοντας ἀκρατεῖς εἶναι, ὥστε καθάπερ καὶ αὑτοῖς
οὐχ ὑπηρετοῦσιν εἰδότες καὶ φιλοῦντες αὑτούς, οὕτω καὶ
5 πρὸς τὸ κοινὸν οὐθὲν κωλύει ἔχειν ἐνίους. Ἁπλῶς δέ, ὅσα
ἐν τοῖς νόμοις ὡς συμφέροντα λέγομεν ταῖς πολιτείαις,

General precepts.

ἅπαντα ταῦτα σώζει τὰς πολιτείας. καὶ τὸ πολλάκις
εἰρημένον μέγιστον στοιχεῖον, τὸ τηρεῖν ὅπως κρεῖττον
ἔσται τὸ βουλόμενον τὴν πολιτείαν πλῆθος τοῦ μὴ βουλο-
6 μένου. παρὰ πάντα δὲ ταῦτα δεῖ μὴ λανθάνειν, ὃ νῦν
λανθάνει τὰς παρεκβεβηκυίας πολιτείας, τὸ μέσον· πολλὰ
γὰρ τῶν δοκούντων δημοτικῶν λύει τὰς δημοκρατίας καὶ
7 τῶν ὀλιγαρχικῶν τὰς ὀλιγαρχίας. οἱ δ' οἰόμενοι ταύτην
εἶναι μίαν ἀρετὴν ἕλκουσιν εἰς τὴν ὑπερβολήν, ἀγνοοῦντες
ὅτι καθάπερ ῥίς ἐστι παρεκβεβηκυῖα μὲν τὴν εὐθύτητα τὴν
καλλίστην πρὸς τὸ γρυπὸν ἢ τὸ σιμόν, ἀλλ' ὅμως ἔτι καλὴ
καὶ χάριν ἔχουσα πρὸς τὴν ὄψιν, οὐ μὴν ἀλλ' ἐὰν ἐπιτείνῃ
τις ἔτι μᾶλλον εἰς τὴν ὑπερβολήν, πρῶτον μὲν ἀποβαλεῖ
τὴν μετριότητα τοῦ μορίου, τέλος δ' οὕτως ὥστε μηδὲ ῥῖνα
ποιήσει φαίνεσθαι διὰ τὴν ὑπεροχὴν καὶ τὴν ἔλλειψιν τῶν
ἐναντίων· τὸν αὐτὸν δὲ τρόπον ἔχει καὶ περὶ τῶν ἄλλων
8 μορίων. συμβαίνει δὴ τοῦτο καὶ περὶ τὰς ἄλλας πολιτείας.

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passage, *ὥστε καθάπερ, κ.τ.λ.*, Butler's *Sermons*, Sermon I., concluding paragraph, where the statement is just reversed.

5 *Ἁπλῶς δέ*] 'Passing from all particular points of the question as to how constitutions are preserved, we may say in general terms,' &c.

ἐν τοῖς νόμοις] "Leges quibus civitates continentur," Nickes, p. 115. But it seems to me rather a reference to another work of Aristotle's answering in title, though not in spirit, to the *νόμοι* of Plato.

ταῖς πολιτείαις] democracies and oligarchies, with their varieties and kindred forms, no thought of monarchy. Ch. II. 1.

πολλάκις εἰρημένον] VI. (IV.) xii. 1. VII. (VI.) vi. 2.

μέγιστον στοιχεῖον] 'the most important elementary principle.'

7 *ταύτην εἶναι μίαν ἀρετήν*] 'The strengthening of the constitution as it exists is the only right thing.' Such I conceive to be the meaning. Compare VII. (VI.) i. 10.

τὴν μετριότητα τοῦ μορίου] 'Its due proportion as a part.'

τῶν ἐναντίων] 'of all the counterbalancing parts.' It needs the relief of the other features.

8 *περὶ τὰς ἄλλας πολιτείας*] Göttling and Stahr defend the *ἄλλας* from the sequel. I conceive it to have been introduced to match *ἄλλων* in *ἄλλων μορίων*, but unlike that, to be entirely unneeded and out of place.

General precepts.

καὶ γὰρ ὀλιγαρχίαν καὶ δημοκρατίαν ἔστιν ὥστ' ἔχειν ἱκανῶς, καίπερ ἐξεστηκυίας τῆς βελτίστης τάξεως· ἐὰν δέ τις ἐπιτείνῃ μᾶλλον ἑκατέραν αὐτῶν, πρῶτον μὲν χείρω ποιήσει τὴν πολιτείαν, τέλος δ' οὐδὲ πολιτείαν. διὸ δεῖ 9
τοῦτο μὴ ἀγνοεῖν τὸν νομοθέτην καὶ τὸν πολιτικόν, ποῖα σώζει τῶν δημοτικῶν καὶ ποῖα φθείρει τὴν δημοκρατίαν, καὶ ποῖα τῶν ὀλιγαρχικῶν τὴν ὀλιγαρχίαν. οὐδετέραν μὲν γὰρ ἐνδέχεται αὐτῶν εἶναι καὶ διαμένειν ἄνευ τῶν εὐπόρων καὶ τοῦ πλήθους, ἀλλ' ὅταν ὁμαλότης γένηται τῆς οὐσίας, ἄλλην ἀνάγκη εἶναι ταύτην τὴν πολιτείαν, ὥστε 1310
φθείροντες τοῖς καθ' ὑπεροχὴν νόμοις φθείρουσι τὰς πολιτείας. Ἁμαρτάνουσι δὲ καὶ ἐν ταῖς δημοκρατίαις καὶ ἐν ταῖς ὀλιγαρχίαις, ἐν μὲν ταῖς δημοκρατίαις οἱ δημαγωγοί, ὅπου τὸ πλῆθος κύριον τῶν νόμων· δύο γὰρ ποιοῦσιν ἀεὶ τὴν πόλιν, μαχόμενοι τοῖς εὐπόροις, δεῖ δὲ τοὐναντίον αἰεὶ δοκεῖν λέγειν ὑπὲρ εὐπόρων, ἐν δὲ ταῖς ὀλιγαρχίαις ὑπὲρ τοῦ δήμου τοὺς ὀλιγαρχικούς, καὶ τοὺς ὅρκους ἐναντίους ἢ νῦν ὀμνύναι τοὺς ὀλιγαρχικούς. νῦν μὲν γὰρ ἐν ἐνίαις 11
ὀμνύουσι "καὶ τῷ δήμῳ κακόνους ἔσομαι καὶ βουλεύσω ὅ τι ἂν ἔχω κακόν·" χρὴ δὲ καὶ ὑπολαμβάνειν καὶ ὑποκρίνεσθαι

καίπερ ἐξεστηκυίας, κ.τ.λ.] Comp. *Eth.* VII. vii. 6, p. 1149, b. 34, *ἐξέστηκε τῆς φύσεως.* By *βελτίστη τάξις* I conceive he means not his *ἀρίστη κρατία*, or ideal *πολιτεία*, but the best arrangement of these corrupt forms, democracy and oligarchy.

9 *ὅταν ὁμαλότης*] If equality of property is introduced, it may be a good or an evil, but at any rate it changes the constitution.

φθείροντες τοῖς καθ' ὑπεροχὴν νόμοις] If this reading is the true one, I see no other way of interpreting it than this: 'so that whilst only wishing by their laws to destroy the antagonist principles or their opponents in whom that principle is embodied, they really are destroying the constitution.' But I suspect that the true reading is *χαίροντες*, see § 13, *οἷς χαίρουσιν*, 'so that, whilst taking delight in passing laws based on their superiority, whilst glad of every opportunity of carrying out their principle, they are in reality destroying the constitution,' *τοῖς καθ' ὑπεροχὴν νόμοις.* This is open to two renderings, I think. By the one it would be equivalent to *καθ' ὑπερβολήν*, 'laws carried to excess;' by the other, 'laws based on the superiority existing,' 'corresponding to it.'

11 *ὀμνύουσι*] Mr Grote VIII. 400, speaks of this "plainspoken oligarchical oath."

καὶ ὑπολαμβάνειν, κ.τ.λ.] 'To view it in quite the opposite light, or, if not, to pretend they do.'

Education.

τοὐναντίον, ἐπισημαινομένους ἐν τοῖς ὅρκοις ὅτι "οὐκ ἀδικήσω τὸν δῆμον." Μέγιστον δὲ πάντων τῶν εἰρημένων πρὸς τὸ διαμένειν τὰς πολιτείας, οὗ νῦν ὀλιγωροῦσι πάντες,
12 τὸ παιδεύεσθαι πρὸς τὰς πολιτείας. ὄφελος γὰρ οὐθὲν τῶν ὠφελιμωτάτων νόμων καὶ συνδεδοξασμένων ὑπὸ πάντων τῶν πολιτευομένων, εἰ μὴ ἔσονται εἰθισμένοι καὶ πεπαιδευμένοι ἐν τῇ πολιτείᾳ, εἰ μὲν οἱ νόμοι δημοτικοί, δημοτικῶς, εἰ δ' ὀλιγαρχικοί, ὀλιγαρχικῶς. εἴπερ γάρ ἐστιν ἐφ' ἑνὸς
13 ἀκρασία, ἔστι καὶ ἐπὶ πόλεως. ἔστι δὲ τὸ πεπαιδεῦσθαι πρὸς τὴν πολιτείαν οὐ τοῦτο, τὸ ποιεῖν οἷς χαίρουσιν οἱ ὀλιγαρχοῦντες ἢ οἱ δημοκρατίαν βουλόμενοι, ἀλλ' οἷς δυνήσονται οἱ μὲν ὀλιγαρχεῖν οἱ δὲ δημοκρατεῖσθαι. νῦν δ' ἐν μὲν ταῖς ὀλιγαρχίαις οἱ τῶν ἀρχόντων υἱοὶ τρυφῶσιν, οἱ δὲ τῶν ἀπόρων γίγνονται γεγυμνασμένοι καὶ πεπονηκότες,
14 ὥστε καὶ βούλονται μᾶλλον καὶ δύνανται νεωτερίζειν. ἐν δὲ ταῖς δημοκρατίαις ταῖς μάλιστα εἶναι δοκούσαις δημοκρατικαῖς τοὐναντίον τοῦ συμφέροντος καθέστηκεν. αἴτιον δὲ τούτου ὅτι κακῶς ὁρίζονται τὸ ἐλεύθερον. δύο γάρ ἐστιν οἷς ἡ δημοκρατία δοκεῖ ὡρίσθαι, τῷ τὸ πλεῖον εἶναι κύριον
15 καὶ τῇ ἐλευθερίᾳ. τὸ μὲν γὰρ δίκαιον ἴσον δοκεῖ εἶναι, ἴσον δ' ὅ τι ἂν δόξῃ τῷ πλήθει, τοῦτ' εἶναι κύριον, ἐλεύθερον δὲ καὶ ἴσον τὸ ὅ τι ἂν βούληταί τις ποιεῖν. ὥστε ζῇ ἐν ταῖς τοιαύταις δημοκρατίαις ἕκαστος ὡς βούλεται, καὶ εἰς ὃ χρή-

ἐπισημαινομένους] 'affichant,' 'putting forward ostentatiously.'

οὗ νῦν ὀλιγωροῦσι] Compare V. (VIII.) I., and I. XIII. 15.

τὸ παιδεύεσθαι] Compare V. (VIII.) I. I.

12 συνδεδοξασμένων] 'assented to and fully accepted by a joint act of all the citizens.'

εἰ μὴ ἔσονται] Unless the citizens are by habit and education in harmony with their constitution, so that their feelings and characters answer to it lly.

περ γάρ ἐστιν] above § 4. *Eth.* VII. 3[2], p. 1152. 20,

13 νῦν δέ] We find the same language in Plato, *Republic* VIII. 556, D. ἰσχνὸς ἀνὴρ πένης, ἡλιωμένος, παραταχθεὶς ἐν μάχῃ πλουσίῳ ἐσκιατροφηκότι, πολλὰς ἔχοντι σάρκας ἀλλοτρίας, ἴδῃ, ἄσθματός τε καὶ ἀπορίας μεστόν, κ.τ.λ.

14 τοὐναντίον τοῦ συμφέροντος] 'The contrary of their true interest,' for the expression, see II. IX. 37.

δύο γάρ ἐστιν, κ.τ.λ.] VII. (VI.) II. 1—4, where the statements are practically equivalent, though differing in form and more full.

15 εἰς ὃ χρῇζων] Eur. *Fr.* 91, p. 189, Ed. Dind. 8vo., 'as you will.'

ζῶν, ὡς φησὶν Εὐριπίδης. τοῦτο δ' ἐστὶ φαῦλον· οὐ γὰρ Education.
δεῖ οἴεσθαι δουλείαν εἶναι τὸ ζῆν πρὸς τὴν πολιτείαν, ἀλλὰ 16
σωτηρίαν. ἐξ ὧν μὲν οὖν αἱ πολιτεῖαι μεταβάλλουσι καὶ
φθείρονται, καὶ διὰ τίνων σώζονται καὶ διαμένουσιν, ὡς
ἁπλῶς εἰπεῖν τοσαῦτά ἐστιν.

Λείπεται δ' ἐπελθεῖν καὶ περὶ μοναρχίας, ἐξ ὧν τε 10
φθείρεται καὶ δι' ὧν σώζεσθαι πέφυκεν. σχεδὸν δὲ παρα- Monarchy. Its dangers.
πλήσια τοῖς εἰρημένοις περὶ τὰς πολιτείας ἐστὶ καὶ τὰ συμ-
βαίνοντα περὶ τὰς βασιλείας καὶ τὰς τυραννίδας. ἡ μὲν 2 1310 b
γὰρ βασιλεία κατὰ τὴν ἀριστοκρατίαν ἐστίν, ἡ δὲ τυραννὶς
ἐξ ὀλιγαρχίας τῆς ὑστάτης σύγκειται καὶ δημοκρατίας· διὸ
δὴ καὶ βλαβερωτάτη τοῖς ἀρχομένοις ἐστίν, ἅτε ἐκ δυοῖν
συγκειμένη κακῶν καὶ τὰς παρεκβάσεις καὶ τὰς ἁμαρτίας
ἔχουσα τὰς παρ' ἀμφοτέρων πολιτειῶν. ὑπάρχει δ' ἡ 3 Origin of Monarchy
γένεσις εὐθὺς ἐξ ἐναντίων ἑκατέρᾳ τῶν μοναρχιῶν· ἡ μὲν γὰρ
βασιλεία πρὸς βοήθειαν τὴν ἀπὸ τοῦ δήμου τοῖς ἐπιεικέσι
γέγονεν, καὶ καθίσταται βασιλεὺς ἐκ τῶν ἐπιεικῶν καθ'
ὑπεροχὴν ἀρετῆς ἢ πράξεων τῶν ἀπὸ τῆς ἀρετῆς, ἢ καθ'
ὑπεροχὴν τοιούτου γένους, ὁ δὲ τύραννος ἐκ τοῦ δήμου καὶ

16 *τοῦτο δὲ ἐστὶ φαῦλον*] It is the old question of the distinction between licence and liberty, the ignorance as to what really constitutes liberty. For the meaning of this word see M. Dunoyer's remarks, *Liberté du Travail*, Vol. I. p. 23 and foll.

X. 1 *καὶ περὶ μοναρχίας*] He passes from the *πολιτεῖαι*, the constitutions of Greek freemen, however far removed from the standard he would wish to see established, to the government of one, and of course mainly to the corrupt form of that government, as the really practical question; the other by his definition being strictly impossible, and even a tolerable approximation being very rare.

περὶ τὰς πολιτείας] This expression excludes monarchy from the constitutions, as I have remarked before.

2 *κατὰ τὴν ἀριστοκρατίαν*] 'stands on the same level with,' 'answers to,' "schliesst sich an," Stahr. So that the reasoning which holds good for the *ἀριστοκρατίαι*, will hold good for the *βασιλεία*.

3 *ὑπάρχει δέ, κ.τ.λ.*] 'And to begin with, at once, their origin is,' &c.

πρὸς βοήθειαν, κ.τ.λ.] 'With a view to assistance against the people.'

τοῖς ἐπιεικέσι] "der höheren Stände," says Stahr rightly, 'the upper classes look to the king for protection.'

τῶν ἀπὸ τῆς ἀρετῆς] 'The class of actions which naturally are the product of virtue in a man.'

τοιούτου γένους] sc. *κατ' ἀρετὴν ὑπερέχοντος*. Compare III. XVIII. I.

Origin of Monarchy.

τοῦ πλήθους ἐπὶ τοὺς γνωρίμους, ὅπως ὁ δῆμος ἀδικῆται μηθὲν ὑπ' αὐτῶν. φανερὸν δ' ἐκ τῶν συμβεβηκότων· σχεδὸν
4 γὰρ οἱ πλεῖστοι τῶν τυράννων γεγόνασιν ἐκ δημαγωγῶν ὡς
5 εἰπεῖν, πιστευθέντες ἐκ τοῦ διαβάλλειν τοὺς γνωρίμους. αἱ μὲν γὰρ τοῦτον τὸν τρόπον κατέστησαν τῶν τυραννίδων, ἤδη τῶν πόλεων ηὐξημένων, αἱ δὲ πρὸ τούτων ἔκ τε τῶν βασιλέων παρεκβαινόντων τὰ πάτρια καὶ δεσποτικωτέρας ἀρχῆς ὀρεγομένων, αἱ δ' ἐκ τῶν αἱρετῶν ἐπὶ τὰς κυρίας ἀρχάς (τὸ γὰρ ἀρχαῖον οἱ δῆμοι καθίστασαν πολυχρονίους τὰς δημιουργίας καὶ τὰς θεωρίας), αἱ δ' ἐκ τῶν ὀλιγαρχιῶν
6 αἱρουμένων ἕνα τινὰ κύριον ἐπὶ τὰς μεγίστας ἀρχάς. πᾶσι γὰρ ὑπῆρχε τοῖς τρόποις τούτοις τὸ κατεργάζεσθαι ῥᾳδίως, εἰ μόνον βουληθεῖεν, διὰ τὸ δύναμιν προϋπάρχειν τοῖς μὲν βασιλικῆς ἀρχῆς, τοῖς δὲ τὴν τῆς τιμῆς, οἷον Φείδων μὲν περὶ Ἄργος καὶ ἕτεροι τύραννοι κατέστησαν βασιλείας ὑπαρχούσης, οἱ δὲ περὶ τὴν Ἰωνίαν καὶ Φάλαρις ἐκ τῶν τιμῶν, Παναίτιος δ' ἐν Λεοντίνοις καὶ Κύψελος ἐν Κορίνθῳ καὶ Πεισίστρατος Ἀθήνησι καὶ Διονύσιος ἐν Συρακούσαις
7 καὶ ἕτεροι τὸν αὐτὸν τρόπον ἐκ δημαγωγίας. καθάπερ οὖν εἴπομεν, ἡ βασιλεία τέτακται κατὰ τὴν ἀριστοκρατίαν. κατ' ἀξίαν γάρ ἐστιν, ἢ κατ' ἰδίαν ἀρετὴν ἢ κατὰ γένους, ἢ

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4 *ἐκ τῶν συμβεβηκότων*] 'from actual instances that have occurred.' Compare Grote, III. 25.

5 *τοῦτον τὸν τρόπον*] *ἐκ δημαγωγῶν.*

ἔκ τε τῶν βασιλέων] The *τε* is superfluous.

παρεκβαινόντων] 'Wishing to overstep the hereditary limits of their power.'

τὰς δημιουργίας καὶ τὰς θεωρίας] 'the magistracies civil and religious.' See Grote, II. 320; note on Theôrs.

[illegible] *κατεργάζεσθαι ῥᾳδίως*] 'Facility [illegible]plishing their object.' There [illegible] successful conspirator as he [illegible] the executive.

τῆς τιμῆς] 'Of their office.'

Pheidon, Grote, II. 427, Niebuhr ü. a. *Gesch.* I. 313, where he is placed very early, quite in the pre-historic times.

περὶ τὴν Ἰωνίαν] The putting down of these despots at the time of the Ionic revolt is a well authenticated historical fact. Their rise and government is obscure.

Phalaris, Grote, V. 273 and foll.

Panætius, the earliest Sicilian tyrant. He had been general in a war with Megara. See Clinton, *F. H.* I., B.C. 608.

Κύψελος] Herod. V. 92.

7 *κατ' ἰδίαν ἀρετὴν ἢ κατὰ γένους*] Compare III. XVIII. I.

κατ' εὐεργεσίας, ἢ κατὰ ταὐτά τε καὶ δύναμιν. ἅπαντες *Origin of Monarchy.*
γὰρ εὐεργετήσαντες ἢ δυνάμενοι τὰς πόλεις ἢ τὰ ἔθνη εὐερ-
γετεῖν ἐτύγχανον τῆς τιμῆς ταύτης, οἱ μὲν κατὰ πόλεμον 8
κωλύσαντες δουλεύειν, ὥσπερ Κόδρος, οἱ δ' ἐλευθερώσαντες,
ὥσπερ Κῦρος, ἢ κτίσαντες ἢ κτησάμενοι χώραν, ὥσπερ οἱ
Λακεδαιμονίων βασιλεῖς καὶ Μακεδόνων καὶ Μολοττῶν.
Βούλεται δ' ὁ βασιλεὺς εἶναι φύλαξ, ὅπως οἱ μὲν κεκτημένοι 9 1311 *The king and the tyrant compared.*
τὰς οὐσίας μηθὲν ἄδικον πάσχωσιν, ὁ δὲ δῆμος μὴ ὑβρίζηται
μηθέν. ἡ δὲ τυραννίς, ὥσπερ εἴρηται πολλάκις πρὸς οὐδὲν
ἀποβλέπει κοινόν, εἰ μὴ τῆς ἰδίας ὠφελείας χάριν. ἔστι
δὲ σκοπὸς τυραννικὸς μὲν τὸ ἡδύ, βασιλικὸς δὲ τὸ καλόν.
διὸ καὶ τῶν πλεονεκτημάτων τὰ μὲν χρήματα τυραννικά, 10
τὰ δ' εἰς τιμὴν βασιλικὰ μᾶλλον. καὶ φυλακὴ βασιλικὴ
μὲν πολιτική, τυραννικὴ δὲ διὰ ξένων. Ὅτι δ' ἡ τυραννὶς 11 *Tyranny.*
ἔχει κακὰ καὶ τὰ τῆς δημοκρατίας καὶ τὰ τῆς ὀλιγαρχίας,
φανερόν, ἐκ μὲν ὀλιγαρχίας τὸ τὸ τέλος εἶναι πλοῦτον
(οὕτω γὰρ καὶ διαμένειν ἀναγκαῖον μόνως τήν τε φυλακὴν
καὶ τὴν τρυφήν) καὶ τὸ τῷ πλήθει μηδὲν πιστεύειν, διὸ καὶ

κατ' εὐεργεσίας] III. xiv. 12.

δύναμιν] "auf Macht dazu," Stahr. 'The possession of power to enable them to seize the kingly dignity.'

8 **ἅπαντες**] sc. *οἱ βασιλεῖς*, to the exclusion of *τύραννοι*.

Κόδρος] This passage seems to imply in Aristotle a different view of Codrus from the common one. The general account is that he was hereditary king of Athens, and saved his country by his death. The language here used, implies that he earned his kingly station by his services. It places him on a level with Cyrus.

Μακεδόνων] Compare a passage in Mr Grote's *Hist.* iv. p. 20. After a résumé of the state of Macedonia, &c., he adds, "Their position was first altered by the enterprise and ability of a family of exiled Greeks, who conducted a section of the Macedonian people to those conquests which their descendants, Philip and Alexander the Great, afterwards so marvellously multiplied." For the Molossi, IV. 22.

9 *βούλεται δέ, κ.τ.λ.*] 'The idea of a king is that he is a guardian.' Compare *Rhet.* I. viii. 5, p. 1366, 6, *τυραννίδος τέλος φυλακή.*

εἰ μὴ τῆς ἰδίας, κ.τ.λ.] 'Except so far as the tyrant's own personal interests are served thereby.'

τὸ ἡδύ] Of course 'personal enjoyment,' "to gorge each prevailing passion," Arn. *Rome*, I. Ch. xxi. p. 474.

10 *εἰς χρήματα*] The preposition is required before *χρήματα*, the sense is not complete without it.

πολιτική] 'Formed from the citizens.'

11 *ὅτι δέ, κ.τ.λ.*] Returns on § 2, *τὰς ἁμαρτίας ἔχουσα.*

Tyranny. τὴν παραίρεσιν ποιοῦνται τῶν ὅπλων· καὶ τὸ κακοῦν τὸν ὄχλον καὶ τὸ ἐκ τοῦ ἄστεος ἀπελαύνειν καὶ διοικίζειν ἀμφο-
12 τέρων κοινόν, καὶ τῆς ὀλιγαρχίας καὶ τῆς τυραννίδος. ἐκ δημοκρατίας δὲ τὸ πολεμεῖν τοῖς γνωρίμοις καὶ διαφθείρειν λάθρα καὶ φανερῶς καὶ φυγαδεύειν ὡς ἀντιτέχνους καὶ πρὸς τὴν ἀρχὴν ἐμποδίους· ἐκ γὰρ τούτων συμβαίνει γίγνεσθαι καὶ τὰς ἐπιβουλάς, τῶν μὲν ἄρχειν αὐτῶν βουλομένων, τῶν
13 δὲ μὴ δουλεύειν. ὅθεν καὶ τὸ Περιάνδρου πρὸς Θρασύβουλον συμβούλευμά ἐστιν, ἡ τῶν ὑπερεχόντων σταχύων κόλουσις, ὡς δέον ἀεὶ τοὺς ὑπερέχοντας τῶν πολιτῶν ἀναιρεῖν. καθάπερ οὖν σχεδὸν ἐλέχθη, τὰς αὐτὰς ἀρχὰς δεῖ νομίζειν περί τε τὰς πολιτείας εἶναι τῶν μεταβολῶν καὶ περὶ τὰς μοναρχίας· διά τε γὰρ ἀδικίαν καὶ διὰ φόβον καὶ διὰ καταφρόνησιν ἐπιτίθενται πολλοὶ τῶν ἀρχομένων ταῖς μοναρχίαις, τῆς δὲ ἀδικίας μάλιστα δι' ὕβριν, ἐνίοτε δὲ καὶ διὰ
14 τὴν τῶν ἰδίων στέρησιν. ἔστι δὲ καὶ τὰ τέλη ταὐτά, καθάπερ κἀκεῖ, καὶ περὶ τὰς τυραννίδας καὶ τὰς βασιλείας· μέγεθος γὰρ ὑπάρχει πλούτου καὶ τιμῆς τοῖς μονάρχοις, ὧν ἐφίενται πάντες. Τῶν δ' ἐπιθέσεων αἱ μὲν ἐπὶ τὸ σῶμα γίγνονται τῶν ἀρχόντων, αἱ δ' ἐπὶ τὴν ἀρχήν. αἱ μὲν οὖν
15 δι' ὕβριν ἐπὶ τὸ σῶμα. τῆς δ' ὕβρεως οὔσης πολυμεροῦς,
Monarchy. Its dangers. ἕκαστον αὐτῶν αἴτιον γίγνεται τῆς ὀργῆς· τῶν δ' ὀργιζομένων σχεδὸν οἱ πλεῖστοι τιμωρίας χάριν ἐπιτίθενται, ἀλλ'

τὴν παραίρεσιν] 'The common tyrannical measure of seizing the arms.'

διοικίζειν] Compare the treatment of Mantinea, for instance, by the Spartan oligarchy.

12 ἀντιτέχνους] 'Rivals.'

13 τὸ Περιάνδρου] The statement here is consistent with III. xiii. 16, on which see note.

καθάπερ οὖν] 'As was hinted then.'

τῆς ἀδικίας, κ.τ.λ.] ἀδικία is πλεονεξία, and that as may be seen [illegible] 10 is partly τῶν χρημάτων, τιμῆς, or as it is here ἡ μὲν διὰ τὴν τῶν ἰδίων στέρησιν, ἡ δὲ δι' ὕβριν.

14 τὰ τέλη] 'The ends they aim at are the same (καθάπερ κἀκεῖ) as on oligarchies and democracies, the constitutions of freemen, so also,' &c.

αἱ μέν] 'Some attack the life, others the power.'

15 αὐτῶν] 'Of the several kinds.' Compare his chapter on ὀργή, *Rhet.* II. ii. p. 1378, 31.

τιμωρίας χάριν] 'Therefore they attack the tyrant's person.' It is revenge they seek, not their own advantage.

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οὐχ ὑπεροχῆς, οἷον ἡ μὲν τῶν Πεισιστρατιδῶν διὰ τὸ προ-
πηλακίσαι μὲν τὴν Ἁρμοδίου ἀδελφήν, ἐπηρεάσαι δ' Ἁρ-
μόδιον· ὁ μὲν γὰρ Ἁρμόδιος διὰ τὴν ἀδελφήν, ὁ δ' Ἀρι-
στογείτων διὰ τὸν Ἁρμόδιον. ἐπεβούλευσαν δὲ καὶ Πε- 16
ριάνδρῳ τῷ ἐν Ἀμβρακίᾳ τυράννῳ διὰ τὸ συμπίνοντα μετὰ
τῶν παιδικῶν ἐρωτῆσαι αὐτὸν εἰ ἤδη ἐξ αὐτοῦ κύει. ἡ δὲ 1311 B
Φιλίππου ὑπὸ Παυσανίου διὰ τὸ ἐᾶσαι ὑβρισθῆναι αὐτὸν
ὑπὸ τῶν περὶ Ἄτταλον, καὶ ἡ Ἀμύντου τοῦ μικροῦ ὑπὸ
Δέρδα διὰ τὸ καυχήσασθαι εἰς τὴν ἡλικίαν αὐτοῦ, καὶ ἡ τοῦ
εὐνούχου Εὐαγόρᾳ τῷ Κυπρίῳ· διὰ γὰρ τὸ τὴν γυναῖκα
παρελέσθαι τὸν υἱὸν αὐτοῦ, ἀπέκτεινεν ὡς ὑβρισμένος. πολ- 17
λαὶ δ' ἐπιθέσεις γεγένηνται καὶ διὰ τὸ εἰς τὸ σῶμα αἰσχύ-
νεσθαι τῶν μονάρχων τινάς, οἷον καὶ ἡ Κραταίου εἰς Ἀρχέ-
λαον· ἀεὶ γὰρ βαρέως εἶχε πρὸς τὴν ὁμιλίαν, ὥστε ἱκανὴ
καὶ ἐλάττων ἐγένετο πρόφασις, διότι τῶν θυγατέρων οὐδε-
μίαν ἔδωκεν ὁμολογήσας αὐτῷ, ἀλλὰ τὴν μὲν προτέραν, κα-
τεχόμενος ὑπὸ πολέμου πρὸς Σίρραν καὶ Ἀρράβαιον, ἔδωκε
τῷ βασιλεῖ τῷ τῆς Ἐλιμείας, τὴν δὲ νεωτέραν τῷ υἱεῖ
Ἀμύντᾳ, οἰόμενος οὕτως ἂν ἐκεῖνον ἥκιστα διαφέρεσθαι καὶ
τὸν ἐκ τῆς Κλεοπάτρας· ἀλλὰ τῆς γε ἀλλοτριότητος ὑπῆρ-

προπηλακίσαι, κ.τ.λ.] Quoted in the Scholia to Aristophanes, *Ach.* 990, Ed. Dind. Grote IV. 152.

16 Periander, above V. 9.

Philip's death in 336 B.C., is the latest event noticed in this work of Aristotle's, Grote, XI. 711.

ὑπὸ τῶν περὶ Ἄτταλον] 'By Attalus.' Compare, for the expression, Ch. VI. 6.

Ἀμύντου] This allusion is obscure. The mention of Derdas seems to point to Amyntas II., the father of Philip, for Derdas, prince of Elymia, was a kinsman of his, who acted in concert with him. It is a point on which Aristotle was likely to be correct; but we have a want of historical data.

Εὐαγόρᾳ] For his history, see Grote, X. 18, and foll.; for this particular incident, p. 33, with note. The eunuch's name was Thrasydæus.

διὰ γὰρ τό, κ.τ.λ.] 'For because his son, the son of Evagoras, had taken away from him his wife, he killed Evagoras, as feeling that he had been insulted by him.' So I render the passage with Stahr.

17 **Κραταίου**] This name varies. Grote, X. 63. Krateuas is the form there given.

Ἀρχέλαον] See Thuc. II. 100.

καὶ ἐλάττων] 'even a somewhat slight ground, viz., that.'

Ἀρράβαιον] King of the Lyncestæ is mentioned Thuc. IV. 79.

διαφέρεσθαι] 'quarrel.'

Κλεοπάτρας] She, it appears, was his father's widow.

ἀλλοτριότητος] 'alienation.'

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χεν ἀρχὴ τὸ βαρέως φέρειν πρὸς τὴν ἀφροδισιαστικὴν χάριν. συνεπέθετο δὲ καὶ Ἑλλανοκράτης ὁ Λαρισσαῖος διὰ τὴν
18 αὐτὴν αἰτίαν· ὡς γὰρ χρώμενος αὐτοῦ τῇ ἡλικίᾳ οὐ κατῆγεν ὑποσχόμενος, δι' ὕβριν καὶ οὐ δι' ἐρωτικὴν ἐπιθυμίαν ᾤετ' εἶναι τὴν γεγενημένην ὁμιλίαν. Πάρρων δὲ καὶ Ἡρακλείδης οἱ Αἴνιοι Κότυν διέφθειραν τῷ πατρὶ τιμωροῦντες, Ἀδάμας δ' ἀπέστη Κότυος διὰ τὸ ἐκτμηθῆναι παῖς ὢν ὑπ' αὐτοῦ ὡς
19 ὑβρισμένος. πολλοὶ δὲ καὶ διὰ τὸ εἰς τὸ σῶμα αἰκισθῆναι πληγαῖς ὀργισθέντες οἱ μὲν διέφθειραν οἱ δ' ἐνεχείρησαν ὡς ὑβρισθέντες, καὶ τῶν περὶ τὰς ἀρχὰς καὶ βασιλικὰς δυναστείας, οἷον ἐν Μιτυλήνῃ τοὺς Πενθαλίδας Μεγακλῆς περιιόντας καὶ τύπτοντας ταῖς κορύναις ἐπιθέμενος μετὰ τῶν φίλων ἀνεῖλεν, καὶ ὕστερον Σμέρδις Πένθιλον πληγὰς
20 λαβὼν καὶ παρὰ τῆς γυναικὸς ἐξελκυσθεὶς διέφθειρεν. καὶ τῆς Ἀρχελάου δ' ἐπιθέσεως Δεκάμνιχος ἡγεμὼν ἐγένετο, παροξύνων τοὺς ἐπιθεμένους πρῶτος· αἴτιον δὲ τῆς ὀργῆς ὅτι αὐτὸν ἐξέδωκε μαστιγῶσαι Εὐριπίδῃ τῷ ποιητῇ· ὁ δ' Εὐριπίδης ἐχαλέπαινεν εἰπόντος τι αὐτοῦ εἰς δυσωδίαν τοῦ στόματος. καὶ ἄλλοι δὲ πολλοὶ διὰ τοιαύτας αἰτίας οἱ
21 μὲν ἀνῃρέθησαν οἱ δ' ἐπεβουλεύθησαν. ὁμοίως δὲ καὶ διὰ φόβον· ἓν γάρ τι τοῦτο τῶν αἰτίων ἦν, ὥσπερ καὶ περὶ τὰς πολιτείας καὶ τὰς μοναρχίας· οἷον Ξέρξην Ἀρταπάνης

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18 *οὐ κατῆγεν ὑποσχόμενος*] 'he did not restore him, though he had promised to do so.' Hellanocrates then was an exile.

Parrhon. Smith, *Dict. Biog.*, reads Python. Mr Grote, also, x. 516.

Adamas. Grote, I. 21, note. I can find no historical notice of him.

Κότυν] For the history of this prince, see Grote, x. 408, and foll.

19 *καὶ τῶν περὶ τὰς ἀρχάς, κ.τ.λ.*] A difficult passage. Stahr, in his translation, makes *τῶν περί, κ.τ.λ.*, depend on the verbs *διέφθειραν, ἐνε-* [illegible] "selbst ihre Obrigkeiten [illegible]cher getödtet oder zu töd-[illegible]" It would be quite as natural to make it depend on *πολλοί, οἱ μέν, οἱ δέ*. I do not see what is to be done with the passage.

Πενθαλίδας] Grote, I. 225, note, deriving their name from Penthilus, son of Orestes. Compare also II. 27, III. 84, 265.

Μεγακλῆς] Nothing more known, any more than of Smerdis.

20 Euripides. On this anecdote of Euripides, see Grote, x. 63.

Δεκάμνιχος] This revenge was not till six years after the death of Euripides.

21 *καὶ τὰς μοναρχίας*] 'So also in the case of monarchies.'

Ξέρξην Ἀρταπάνης] Grote, VI. 493.

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φοβούμενος τὴν διαβολὴν τὴν περὶ Δαρεῖον, ὅτι ἐκρέμασεν οὐ κελεύσαντος Ξέρξου, ἀλλ' οἰόμενος συγγνώσεσθαι ὡς ἀμνημονοῦντα διὰ τὸ δειπνεῖν· αἱ δὲ διὰ καταφρόνησιν, 22 1312
ὥσπερ Σαρδανάπαλον ἰδών τις ξαίνοντα μετὰ τῶν γυναικῶν, εἰ ἀληθῆ ταῦτα οἱ μυθολογοῦντες λέγουσιν· εἰ δὲ μὴ ἐπ' ἐκείνου, ἀλλ' ἐπ' ἄλλου γε ἂν γένοιτο ἀληθές. καὶ Διο- 23
νυσίῳ τῷ ὑστέρῳ Δίων ἐπέθετο διὰ τὸ καταφρονεῖν, ὁρῶν τούς τε πολίτας οὕτως ἔχοντας καὶ αὐτὸν ἀεὶ μεθύοντα. καὶ τῶν φίλων δέ τινες ἐπιτίθενται διὰ καταφρόνησιν· διὰ γὰρ τὸ πιστεύεσθαι καταφρονοῦσιν ὡς λήσοντες. καὶ οἱ 24
οἰόμενοι δύνασθαι κατασχεῖν τὴν ἀρχὴν τρόπον τινὰ διὰ τὸ καταφρονεῖν ἐπιτίθενται· ὡς δυνάμενοι γὰρ καὶ καταφρονοῦντες τοῦ κινδύνου διὰ τὴν δύναμιν ἐπιχειροῦσι ῥᾳδίως, ὥσπερ οἱ στρατηγοῦντες τοῖς μονάρχοις, οἷον Κῦρος Ἀστυάγῃ καὶ τοῦ βίου καταφρονῶν καὶ τῆς δυνάμεως διὰ τὸ τὴν μὲν δύναμιν ἐξηργηκέναι, αὐτὸν δὲ τρυφᾶν, καὶ Σεύθης ὁ Θρᾲξ Ἀμαδόκῳ στρατηγὸς ὤν. οἱ δὲ καὶ διὰ πλείω 25
τούτων ἐπιτίθενται, οἷον καὶ καταφρονοῦντες καὶ διὰ κέρδος, ὥσπερ Ἀριοβαρζάνῃ Μιθριδάτης. μάλιστα δὲ διὰ ταύτην τὴν αἰτίαν ἐγχειροῦσιν οἱ τὴν φύσιν μὲν θρασεῖς, τιμὴν δ' ἔχοντες πολεμικὴν παρὰ τοῖς μονάρχοις· ἀνδρία γὰρ δύνα-

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IX. 3. If the account there given is correct, the only change required in the passage is to place the οὐ before the verb. He had been ordered at a banquet to execute Darius, had not done so, and therefore, from fear of the consequences of his disobedience, assassinated Xerxes, B.C. 465. Artabanus was an Hyrcanian, compare Smith, *Biogr. Dict.*

22 Sardanapalus. His legendary character seems recognised by Aristotle, who mentions him again, *Eth.* I. iii. 3, p. 1095, b 2, as a type of luxury.

23 Δίων] Smith, *Dict. Biog.* Grote, XI. 121.

οὕτως ἔχοντας] sc. καταφρονοῦντας.

24 κατασχεῖν] 'To hold when they have seized it.'

Κῦρος] Was Cyrus then the general of Astyages? See Winer, *Real Wörterbuch*, art. Kyros. The early history of Cyrus is very obscure, and the subject of many conflicting statements.

ἐξηργηκέναι] 'was worn out.'

Σεύθης] Xenophon, *Hell.* III. ii. 2. *Anab.* VII. ii. 32.

25 Μιθριδάτης] Ariobarzanes was merely a satrap of the region near the Propontis and Hellespont. He revolted from the Persian king 367–366, and was joined by Datames, a Carian officer of Artaxerxes in Cappadocia. Mithridates, son of Ario-

[illegible]

[illegible] . . . but apparently not [illegible]. [illegible]

[illegible] 'great [illegible] [illegible],' [illegible] 'inspires confidence.' I suspect this of being an addition later, and should prefer the passage without it. In that case [illegible] would refer to [illegible] and [illegible].

[illegible] 'There is another form.'

[illegible] κ.τ.λ.] 'just as they would do in the case of any other remarkable action.' The [illegible] in this case aims not at gain or power, but its object is the renown or [illegible] which the action will confer [illegible] is the love of fame by

27 [illegible]] in a neuter sense.

[illegible]] 'supposing him not destined to succeed in the enterprise.' For [illegible], compare Ch. VII. 12, where it stands alone with the same force.

28 οἷς [illegible], κ.τ.λ.] 'On these ought to wait.' 'There ought ever to be present with them the view of [illegible] Grote speaks, XI. 118, of his "enthusiastic temperament."'

ὅπου περ ἂν δύνηται προελθεῖν] 'at the point to which he should have been able to advance.'

[illegible] αὐτῷ, κ.τ.λ.] 'He was content that he should have got so far, and so far only, towards his object.'

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νὶς ἕνα μὲν τρόπον, ὥσπερ καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ἑκάστη πολιτειῶν, ἔξωθεν, ἐὰν ἐναντία τις ᾖ πολιτεία κρείττων. τὸ μὲν γὰρ βούλεσθαι δῆλον ὡς ὑπάρξει διὰ τὴν ἐναντιότητα τῆς προαι- 1312 B
ρέσεως· ἃ δὲ βούλονται, δυνάμενοι πράττουσι πάντες. ἐναν- 30
τίαι δ' αἱ πολιτεῖαι, δῆμος μὲν τυραννίδι καθ' Ἡσίοδον ὡς κεραμεῖ κεραμεύς (καὶ γὰρ ἡ δημοκρατία ἡ τελευταία τυραννίς ἐστιν), βασιλεία δὲ καὶ ἀριστοκρατία διὰ τὴν ἐναντιότητα τῆς πολιτείας. διὸ Λακεδαιμόνιοι πλείστας κατέλυσαν τυραννίδας καὶ Συρακούσιοι κατὰ τὸν χρόνον ὃν ἐπολιτεύοντο καλῶς. Ἕνα δ' ἐξ αὐτῆς, ὅταν οἱ μετέχοντες 31
στασιάζωσιν, ὥσπερ ἡ τῶν περὶ Γέλωνα καὶ νῦν ἡ τῶν περὶ Διονύσιον, ἡ μὲν Γέλωνος Θρασυβούλου τοῦ Ἱέρωνος ἀδελφοῦ τὸν υἱὸν τοῦ Γέλωνος δημαγωγοῦντος καὶ πρὸς ἡδονὰς ὁρμῶντος, ἵν' αὐτὸς ἄρχῃ, τῶν δ' οἰκείων συστάντων, ἵνα μὴ τυραννὶς ὅλως καταλυθῇ ἀλλὰ Θρασύβουλος· οἱ δὲ συστάντες αὐτῶν, ὡς καιρὸν ἔχοντες, ἐξέβαλον ἅπαντας

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29 διὰ τὴν ἐναντιότητα] 'on account of the opposition between them in principle.'

30 Λακεδαιμόνιοι] Thuc. I. 18, for the fact.

Συρακούσιοι] This statement would seem to refer to the period of more than fifty years that elapsed between the expulsion of the Gelonian dynasty and the accession of Dionysius the elder, "the best and most prosperous portion of Sicilian history." The other despots were then expelled. Grote, v. 316.

31 ἐξ αὐτῆς] See VI. 10, for the same expression.

οἱ μετέχοντες] The tyrant's family or friends, the associates of his power.

νῦν] 'in our own day.'

ἡ μὲν Γέλωνος] supp. στάσις or μεταβολή, 'The revolution in the case of Gelon.' Grote, v. 310.

δημαγωγοῦντος] κολακεύοντος would be more strictly correct, but it makes no practical difference which word is used in such a place. Compare VI. (IV.) IV. 28, καὶ ὁ δημαγωγὸς καὶ ὁ κόλαξ οἱ αὐτοὶ καὶ ἀνάλογον. 'Flattering his worst propensities, and urging him on to gratification.'

ὁρμῶντος] is here active. "He contrived to put him indirectly aside, and thus to seize the government for himself."

οἰκείων] seem to mean the same as οἱ μετέχοντες.

οἱ δὲ συστάντες αὐτῶν] Schneider and Coray wish to understand κατά, but this is not satisfactory. The οἱ συστάντες seems to refer to the same persons as οἰκείων συστάντων, but ἅπαντας αὐτούς, on the other hand, seems to include these οἰκεῖοι. The easiest change would be to make οἱ δέ refer to another party, the party who expelled them, and read συστάντων. 'But the expelling party, availing themselves of the opportunity thus afforded them, as a result of their combination, expelled them one and all, Thrasybulus

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αὐτούς. Διονύσιον δὲ Δίων στρατεύσας, κηδεστὴς ὢν καὶ προσλαβὼν τὸν δῆμον, ἐκεῖνον ἐκβαλὼν διεφθάρη. δύο δὲ
32 οὐσῶν αἰτιῶν δι' ἃς μάλιστ' ἐπιτίθενται ταῖς τυραννίσι, μίσους καὶ καταφρονήσεως, θάτερον μὲν δεῖ τούτων ὑπάρχειν τοῖς τυράννοις, τὸ μῖσος, ἐκ δὲ τοῦ καταφρονεῖσθαι πολλαὶ
33 γίνονται τῶν καταλύσεων. σημεῖον δέ· τῶν μὲν γὰρ κτησαμένων οἱ πλεῖστοι καὶ διεφύλαξαν τὰς ἀρχάς, οἱ δὲ παραλαβόντες εὐθὺς ὡς εἰπεῖν ἀπολλύασι πάντες· ἀπολαυστικῶς γὰρ ζῶντες εὐκαταφρόνητοί τε γίγνονται καὶ πολλοὺς καιροὺς παραδιδόασι τοῖς ἐπιτιθεμένοις. μόριον δέ τι τοῦ μίσους καὶ τὴν ὀργὴν δεῖ τιθέναι· τρόπον γάρ τινα τῶν
34 αὐτῶν αἰτία γίνεται πράξεων. πολλάκις δὲ καὶ πρακτικώτερον τοῦ μίσους· συντονώτερον γὰρ ἐπιτίθενται διὰ τὸ μὴ χρῆσθαι λογισμῷ τὸ πάθος. μάλιστα δὲ συμβαίνει τοῖς θυμοῖς ἀκολουθεῖν διὰ τὴν ὕβριν, δι' ἣν αἰτίαν ἥ τε τῶν Πεισιστρατιδῶν κατελύθη τυραννὶς καὶ πολλαὶ τῶν
35 ἄλλων. ἀλλὰ μᾶλλον τὸ μῖσος· ἡ μὲν γὰρ ὀργὴ μετὰ

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and his opponents, so far as those opponents were partisans of the dynasty.' If the text, which Bekker keeps, is to be retained—and I do not feel confident of the propriety of any alteration—then I can only construe it: 'But the party amongst them that combined, when it had got thus far, saw that it had got an opportunity, and availed themselves of that opportunity to get rid of Thrasybulus, and with him of his nephew, the son of Gelo, and any other claimants of the tyranny there might be.' I am not sure whether Mr Grote's expression (v. 411), "He (Thrasybulus) provoked amongst the Syracusans intense and universal hatred, shared even by many of the old Gelonian partizans," may be taken as favourable to this last rendering.

32 κηδεστής] He had married Arete, the daughter of Dionysius by Aristomache.

δεῖ] 'must exist.' It is quite inconceivable that it should not, is Aristotle's meaning. It is a necessity of his position, connoted, in fact, by the term tyrant. 'Though this must exist, it is often from contempt, &c.'

33 καιρούς] 'opportunities.'

μόριον δέ τι] for the relation between μῖσος and ὀργή, compare *Rhet.* II. iv. 30, 31, p. 1382, 1.

34 πρακτικώτερον] 'It is more efficient.'

συντονώτερον] 'more impetuously,' 'vehemently.'

μὴ χρῆσθαι λογισμῷ] *Eth.* VII. vii. 9, p. 1149, 25. It does not calculate consequences, it does to a certain extent reason out its grounds, ἀκολουθεῖ τῷ λόγῳ πως.

μάλιστα δέ . . . . τῶν ἄλλων] Parenthetical. τοῖς θυμοῖς ἀκολουθεῖν, 'To follow one's impulses blindly.'

35 ἀλλὰ μᾶλλον τὸ μῖσος] "Mehr

Monarchy. Its dangers.

λύπης πάρεστιν, ὥστε οὐ ῥᾴδιον λογίζεσθαι, ἡ δ' ἔχθρα
ἄνευ λύπης. Ὡς δ' ἐν κεφαλαίοις εἰπεῖν, ὅσας αἰτίας εἰρή-
καμεν τῆς τε ὀλιγαρχίας τῆς ἀκράτου καὶ τελευταίας καὶ
τῆς δημοκρατίας τῆς ἐσχάτης, τοσαύτας καὶ τῆς τυραννίδος
θετέον· καὶ γὰρ αὗται τυγχάνουσιν οὖσαι διαιρεταὶ τυραν-
νίδες. βασιλεία δ' ὑπὸ μὲν τῶν ἔξωθεν ἥκιστα φθείρεται, 36
διὸ καὶ πολυχρόνιός ἐστιν· ἐξ αὐτῆς δ' αἱ πλεῖσται φθοραὶ
συμβαίνουσιν. φθείρεται δὲ κατὰ δύο τρόπους, ἕνα μὲν 1313
στασιασάντων τῶν μετεχόντων τῆς βασιλείας, ἄλλον δὲ
τρόπον τυραννικώτερον πειρωμένων διοικεῖν, ὅταν εἶναι κύριοι
πλειόνων ἀξιῶσι καὶ παρὰ τὸν νόμον. οὐ γίγνονται δ' ἔτι 37
βασιλεῖαι νῦν, ἀλλ' ἄν περ γίγνωνται[a] μοναρχίαι, τυραν-
νίδες μᾶλλον, διὰ τὸ τὴν βασιλείαν ἑκούσιον μὲν ἀρχὴν
εἶναι, μειζόνων δὲ κυρίαν, πολλοὺς δ' εἶναι τοὺς ὁμοίους, καὶ
μηδένα διαφέροντα τοσοῦτον ὥστε ἀπαρτίζειν πρὸς τὸ
μέγεθος καὶ τὸ ἀξίωμα τῆς ἀρχῆς. ὥστε διὰ μὲν τοῦτο
ἑκόντες οὐχ ὑπομένουσιν· ἂν δὲ δι' ἀπάτης ἄρξῃ τις ἢ βίας,
ἤδη δοκεῖ τοῦτο εἶναι τυραννίς. ἐν δὲ ταῖς κατὰ γένος βα- 38

[a] γίγνωνται, μοναρχίαι καὶ τυραννίδες Bekker.

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dagegen thut dies der Hass," Stahr. 'Still hatred is a stronger impelling power than anger,' though the latter may be more vehement. Or μᾶλλον χρῆται τῷ λογισμῷ, 'it acts more deliberately.'

ἡ μὲν γὰρ ὀργή] *Rhet.* II. ii. 1. p. 1378, 31, and for the contrast the passage I have quoted above.

αὗται] ὀλιγαρχία καὶ δημοκρατία.

διαιρεταὶ τυραννίδες] 'Tyrannies in more hands than one.' Compare VII. (VI.) VII. 7, δημοκρατίας μικρᾶς.

36 τῶν μετεχόντων] See § 31. St. Hilaire takes it of the agents it employs. I should rather take it of the royal family.

πειρωμένων] The kings themselves.

37 I have little hesitation in adopting here Spengel's correction, p. 14, note 17. Bekker's text is given at the foot. 'If you have instances of the rule of one, of monarchies, they are tyrannies.' Still, whilst adopting it, I think Bekker's reading may be supported. For the substance of the remark compare Grote II. 89, note.

γίγνονται] 'do not come into existence.'

πολλοὺς δ' εἶναι] 'Whereas now there is a large body of equals.'

ἀπαρτίζειν, κ.τ.λ.] 'As to square with the greatness and high estimation of the office.'

ἑκόντες] 'With their will,' and if against their will, this of itself constitutes a tyranny.

38 κατὰ γένος] 'hereditary monarchies.'

Tyranny. Its safety.

καταστῆσαι Περίανδρον τὸν Κορίνθιον· πολλὰ
τῆς τῶν Περσῶν ἀρχῆς ἔστι τοιαῦτα λαβεῖν.
τε πάλαι λεχθέντα πρὸς σωτηρίαν, ὡς οἷόν τε, 5
ιδος, τὸ τοὺς ὑπερέχοντας κολούειν καὶ τοὺς
ς ἀναιρεῖν, καὶ μήτε συσσίτια ἐᾶν μήτε ἑταιρίαν 1313 B
ίαν μήτε ἄλλο μηθὲν τοιοῦτον, ἀλλὰ πάντα
ὅθεν εἴωθε γίνεσθαι δύο, φρόνημά τε καὶ πίστις,
χολὰς μήτε ἄλλους συλλόγους ἐπιτρέπειν γίνεσθαι
κούς, καὶ πάντα ποιεῖν ἐξ ὧν ὅτι μάλιστα ἀγνῶτες
ἔσονται πάντες· ἡ γὰρ γνῶσις πίστιν ποιεῖ μᾶλ-
ἀλλήλους. καὶ τὸ τοὺς ἐπιδημοῦντας ἀεὶ φανε- 6
καὶ διατρίβειν περὶ θύρας· οὕτω γὰρ ἂν ἥκιστα
ν τί πράττουσι, καὶ φρονεῖν ἂν ἐθίζοιντο μικρὸν
εύοντες. καὶ τἆλλα ὅσα τοιαῦτα Περσικὰ καὶ
τυραννικά ἐστιν· πάντα γὰρ ταὐτὸν δύναται. καὶ 7
νθάνειν πειρᾶσθαι ὅσα τυγχάνει τις λέγων ἢ πράτ-
ἀρχομένων, ἀλλ' εἶναι κατασκόπους, οἷον περὶ Συ-
ς αἱ ποταγωγίδες καλούμεναι, καὶ τοὺς ὠτακουστὰς
τεν Ἱέρων, ὅπου τις εἴη συνουσία καὶ σύλλογος·
ιάζονταί τε γὰρ ἧττον, φοβούμενοι τοὺς τοιούτους,
ρρησιάζωνται, λανθάνουσιν ἧττον. καὶ τὸ διαβάλ- 8
λλήλοις καὶ συγκρούειν καὶ φίλους φίλοις καὶ τὸν δῆ-
ῖς γνωρίμοις καὶ τοὺς πλουσίους ἑαυτοῖς, καὶ τὸ πένη-
οιεῖν τοὺς ἀρχομένους, τυραννικόν, ὅπως μήτε φυλακὴ

ῶν Περσῶν ἀρχῆς] 'The Per- stem of government.'

οἷόν τε] 'as far as is possible.'

φρονηματίας] Those of high Grote, VIII. 351.

νημά τε καὶ πίστις] 'confidence neself, and confidence in others,' it and mutual confidence.'

χολάς] 'literary assemblies or ré- ons.'

υλλόγους σχολαστικούς] Is this eetings for discussion'? The re- ions between the present French vernment and the Academy are a urious illustration of this passage.

ὅτι μάλιστα ἀγνῶτες] a still further application of the maxim 'divide et impera.'

6 καὶ τἆλλα, κ.τ.λ.] 'and all other measures of this kind, which are derived from the Persians or barbarians, are suitable to tyranny.'

7 αἱ ποταγωγίδες] = προσαγωγίδες, 'tale-bearers.'

παρρησιάζονται] Grote, v. 304, XI. 69.

8 συγκρούειν] 'to produce clashing.'

ὅπως μήτε φυλακὴ τρέφηται] "sa garde ne lui coûte rien à entretenir,"

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τρέφηται καὶ πρὸς τῷ καθ' ἡμέραν ὄντες ἄσχολοι ὦσιν ἐπιβουλεύειν. παράδειγμα δὲ τούτου αἵ τε πυραμίδες αἱ περὶ
9 Αἴγυπτον καὶ τὰ ἀναθήματα τῶν Κυψελιδῶν καὶ τοῦ Ὀλυμπίου ἡ οἰκοδόμησις ὑπὸ τῶν Πεισιστρατιδῶν, καὶ τῶν περὶ Σάμον ἔργα Πολυκράτεια· πάντα γὰρ ταῦτα δύναται
10 ταὐτόν, ἀσχολίαν καὶ πενίαν τῶν ἀρχομένων. καὶ ἡ εἰσφορὰ τῶν τελῶν, οἷον ἐν Συρακούσαις· ἐν πέντε γὰρ ἔτεσιν ἐπὶ Διονυσίου τὴν οὐσίαν ἅπασαν εἰσενηνοχέναι συνέβαινεν. ἔστι δὲ καὶ πολεμοποιὸς ὁ τύραννος, ὅπως ἄσχολοί τε ὦσι καὶ ἡγεμόνος ἐν χρείᾳ διατελῶσιν ὄντες. καὶ ἡ μὲν βασιλεία σώζεται διὰ τῶν φίλων, τυραννικὸν δὲ τὸ μάλιστ' ἀπιστεῖν τοῖς φίλοις, ὡς βουλομένων μὲν πάντων, δυναμένων
11 δὲ μάλιστα τούτων. καὶ τὰ περὶ τὴν δημοκρατίαν δὲ γιγνόμενα τὴν τελευταίαν τυραννικὰ πάντα, γυναικοκρατία τε περὶ τὰς οἰκίας, ἵν' ἐξαγγέλλωσι κατὰ τῶν ἀνδρῶν, καὶ δούλων ἄνεσις διὰ τὴν αὐτὴν αἰτίαν· οὔτε γὰρ ἐπιβουλεύουσιν οἱ δοῦλοι καὶ αἱ γυναῖκες τοῖς τυράννοις, εὐημεροῦντάς

St. Hilaire, 'That he may not have to maintain a large force.'

πρὸς τῷ καθ' ἡμέραν] See note on Ch. VIII. 18. See Plato, *Rep.* IX. 567. 8.

9 Ὀλυμπίου] Grote, IV. 146, 327. The other instances of great monuments erected by taskwork, and partly with political views, are so familiar as to need no references. We have similar facts in other history.

10 ἡ εἰσφορά] There seems something wanting here, as other editors have felt. If it stand as it is, it must mean, 'the bringing in' or 'payment of the taxes' is another part of the system. Compare on the taxation of Dionysius, Grote, X. 640, XI. 69.

πολεμοποιός] This seems not to hold good of all tyrants. In fact, war with this object is a two-edged weapon. The speech attributed to Louis [illegible] —La guerre c'est la révolu- [illegible] 'volution c'est la guerre [illegible] of Louis Napoleon at Bordeaux—L'Empire c'est la paix—seem to show that war is by no means a necessary characteristic of governments which may fairly be classed as tyrannical. The elder Napoleon, on the other hand, found his interest, as he thought, in war, as did the government of the elder Bourbons.

ἡγεμόνος ἐν χρείᾳ] This, of course, supposes in the tyrant the ability to take the command in war; otherwise, as men like Tiberius and Domitian felt, there is a great danger in this respect,—the successful commander so easily becomes an aspirant to the supreme power.

11 Compare Plato, *Republic*, VIII. 562, E., καταδύεσθαι . . . . εἴς τε τὰς ἰδίας οἰκίας καὶ τελευτᾶν μέχρι τῶν θηρίων τὴν ἀναρχίαν ἐμφυομένην, κ.τ.λ.

δούλων ἄνεσις] Plato, as above, οἱ ἐωνημένοι καὶ αἱ ἐωνημέναι μηδὲν ἧττον ἐλεύθεροι ὦσι τῶν πριαμένων.

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τε ἀναγκαῖον εὔνουν εἶναι καὶ ταῖς τυραννίσι καὶ ταῖς δημο-
κρατίαις· καὶ γὰρ ὁ δῆμος εἶναι βούλεται μόναρχος. διὸ καὶ
ὁ κόλαξ παρ' ἀμφοτέροις ἔντιμος, παρὰ μὲν τοῖς δήμοις ὁ 12
δημαγωγός (ἔστι γὰρ ὁ δημαγωγὸς τοῦ δήμου κόλαξ), παρὰ
δὲ τοῖς τυράννοις οἱ ταπεινῶς ὁμιλοῦντες, ὅπερ ἐστὶν ἔργον 1314
κολακείας. καὶ γὰρ διὰ τοῦτο πονηρόφιλον ἡ τυραννίς·
κολακευόμενοι γὰρ χαίρουσιν, τοῦτο δ' οὐδ' ἂν εἷς ποιήσειε
φρόνημα ἔχων ἐλεύθερον, ἀλλὰ φιλοῦσιν οἱ ἐπιεικεῖς ἢ οὐ
κολακεύουσιν. καὶ χρήσιμοι οἱ πονηροὶ εἰς τὰ πονηρά· ἥλῳ 13
γὰρ ὁ ἧλος, ὥσπερ ἡ παροιμία. καὶ τὸ μηδενὶ χαίρειν
σεμνῷ μηδ' ἐλευθέρῳ τυραννικόν· αὐτὸν γὰρ εἶναι μόνον
ἀξιοῖ τοιοῦτον ὁ τύραννος, ὁ δ' ἀντισεμνυνόμενος καὶ ἐλευ-
θεριάζων ἀφαιρεῖται τὴν ὑπεροχὴν καὶ τὸ δεσποτικὸν τῆς
τυραννίδος· μισοῦσιν οὖν ὥσπερ καταλύοντας τὴν ἀρχήν. Καὶ 14
τὸ χρῆσθαι συσσίτοις καὶ συνημερευταῖς ξενικοῖς μᾶλλον
ἢ πολιτικοῖς τυραννικόν, ὡς τοὺς μὲν πολεμίους τοὺς δ' οὐκ
ἀντιποιουμένους. ταῦτα καὶ τὰ τοιαῦτα τυραννικὰ μὲν καὶ
σωτήρια τῆς ἀρχῆς, οὐθὲν δ' ἐλλείπει μοχθηρίας. Ἔστι
δ' ὡς εἰπεῖν πάντα ταῦτα περιειλημμένα τρισὶν εἴδεσιν.
στοχάζεται γὰρ ἡ τυραννὶς τριῶν, ἑνὸς μὲν τοῦ μικρὰ 15
φρονεῖν τοὺς ἀρχομένους (οὐδενὶ γὰρ ἂν μικρόψυχος ἐπι-
βουλεύσειεν), δευτέρου δὲ τοῦ διαπιστεῖν ἀλλήλοις· οὐ κατα-
λύεται γὰρ πρότερον τυραννὶς πρὶν ἤ πιστεύσουσί τινες
αὑτοῖς· διὸ καὶ τοῖς ἐπιεικέσι πολεμοῦσιν ὡς βλαβεροῖς
πρὸς τὴν ἀρχὴν οὐ μόνον διὰ τὸ μὴ ἀξιοῦν ἄρχεσθαι δε-

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12 ἔργον κολακείας] The characteristic of the flatterer.

πονηρόφιλον] 'Is fond of low associates.' Compare *Eth.* VIII. vii. 5, p. 1158, 27, on the friends chosen by men in power.

13 ἥλῳ γάρ, κ.τ.λ.] 'For one nail drives out another.'

σεμνῷ] 'of high bearing.'

ἐλευθεριάζων] 'and having a free carriage.'

14 οὐθὲν δ' ἐλλείπει μοχθηρίας] In this we find the compensation for his apparently cold enumeration of the evil expedients of the tyrant. Their short but decisive condemnation places the rest in its true light, as the scientific exposition of the question, and leaves no doubt, such as exists in the case of Machiavelli, of his moral judgment.

περιειλημμένα] 'comprehended under three heads.'

15 τοῦ διαπιστεῖν] 'their thoroughly distrusting one another.'

[illegible] καὶ τῆς [illegible] αὐτὴ τὴν [illegible] οὐδεὶς γὰρ [illegible] καταλύσει μὴ [illegible] ἐνέχεται [illegible] ἔστ' ἔχομεν ἴσως [illegible] πάσας [illegible] ἀλλήλοις, τὰ δ' [illegible] Ὁ μὲν [illegible] τῆς [illegible] τῆς [illegible] τῆς [illegible] τῆς [illegible] τῆς [illegible] γὰρ καὶ τοῦτο [illegible] ὑπό- [illegible] ὑπο- [illegible] ἐφ' αἷς

[illegible] and again, § 4. [illegible]

[illegible] See § 4. [illegible] The first assumes the tyrant to be thoroughly and completely the tyrant; the second [illegible] capable of ameliorating [illegible] as improving under

[illegible] rather than the [illegible] still, but [illegible] good of his people [illegible]

[illegible] 'guarding [illegible] This point [illegible] well understood by [illegible] emperors, especially by the [illegible] Augustus and [illegible]

[illegible] 'For if he once give up this also.'

[illegible] 'the primary requisite,' VII. (VI.) [illegible] 1, 'the fundamental condition.'

τὰ δὲ ἄλλα] sc. [illegible]

[illegible] δωρεὰς τοιαύτας] 'lavishing it in such gifts.' Compare Hal-

Tyranny. Its safety.

τὰ πλήθη χαλεπαίνουσιν, ὅταν ἀπ' αὐτῶν μὲν λαμβάνωσιν
ἐργαζομένων καὶ πονούντων γλίσχρως, διδῶσι δ' ἑταίραις
καὶ ξένοις καὶ τεχνίταις ἀφθόνως, λόγον τε ἀποδιδόντα τῶν
λαμβανομένων καὶ δαπανωμένων, ὅπερ ἤδη πεποιήκασί τινες
τῶν τυράννων· οὕτω γὰρ ἄν τις διοικῶν οἰκονόμος ἀλλ' οὐ
τύραννος εἶναι δόξει. οὐ δεῖ δὲ φοβεῖσθαι μή ποτε ἀπο- 20
ρήσῃ χρημάτων κύριος ὢν τῆς πόλεως. ἀλλὰ τοῖς γ' ἐκτο-
πίζουσι τυράννοις ἀπὸ τῆς οἰκείας καὶ συμφέρει τοῦτο μᾶλ-
λον ἢ καταλιπεῖν ἀθροίσαντας· ἧττον γὰρ ἂν οἱ φυλάττον-
τες ἐπιτιθεῖντο τοῖς πράγμασιν. εἰσὶ δὲ φοβερώτεροι τῶν
τυράννων τοῖς ἀποδημοῦσιν οἱ φυλάττοντες τῶν πολιτῶν·
οἱ μὲν γὰρ συναποδημοῦσιν, οἱ δὲ ὑπομένουσιν. ἔπειτα 21
τὰς εἰσφορὰς καὶ τὰς λειτουργίας δεῖ φαίνεσθαι τῆς τε οἰκο-
νομίας ἕνεκα συνάγοντα, κἄν ποτε δεηθῇ χρῆσθαι πρὸς τοὺς
πολεμικοὺς καιρούς, ὅλως τε αὑτὸν παρασκευάζειν φύλακα
καὶ ταμίαν ὡς κοινῶν ἀλλὰ μὴ ὡς ἰδίων. καὶ φαίνεσθαι
μὴ χαλεπὸν ἀλλὰ σεμνόν, ἔτι δὲ τοιοῦτον ὥστε μὴ φο-
βεῖσθαι τοὺς ἐντυγχάνοντας ἀλλὰ μᾶλλον αἰδεῖσθαι. τού- 22
του μέντοι τυγχάνειν οὐ ῥᾴδιον ὄντα εὐκαταφρόνητον· διὸ
δεῖ κἂν μὴ τῶν ἄλλων ἀρετῶν ἐπιμέλειαν ποιῆται, ἀλλὰ τῆς

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lam, *Mid. Ag.* I. 66, "The sting of taxation is wastefulness. What high-spirited man could see without indignation the earnings of his labour, yielded ungrudgingly to the public defence, become the spoil of parasites and speculators."

γλίσχρως] 'with scanty earnings.'

δόξει] should surely be δόξειεν.

20 τοῖς ἐκτοπίζουσι] "von ihrem Lande entfernt," Stahr. 'To tyrants who are absent from home.'

τοῦτο] sc. τὸ ἀπορεῖν χρημάτων. Compare Hume's remarks on Stephen, Vol. I. p. 295. "Stephen, by seizing this money, immediately turned against Henry's family the precaution, which that prince had employed for their grandeur and security, an event which naturally attends the policy of amassing treasures."

εἰσὶ δὲ φοβερώτεροι, κ.τ.λ.] 'Tyrants who leave home are more afraid of those they leave in charge, than of the citizens.' Such, I believe, is the construction of these words.

21 τὰς εἰσφοράς, κ.τ.λ.] συνάγειν τὰς εἰσφοράς is simple enough, but not so συνάγειν.

τὰς λειτουργίας] This word must have a very general sense, 'services.'

τῆς τε οἰκονομίας, κ.τ.λ.] 'for the administration of the state, both in peace and war.' The tyrant was to be οἰκονόμος by § 19.

κοινῶν] To identify himself with the state.

τοὺς ἐντυγχάνοντας] 'those whom he meets.'

[illegible] ἔτι δὲ
[illegible] ἐγχωρίαν [illegible] ἀδικοῦντα,
[illegible] ἄλλων μηδένα τῶν τε [illegible]
[illegible] ἔχειν γυναῖκας πρὸς τὰς [illegible]
[illegible] πολλαὶ τυραννίδες ἀπο-
[illegible] τὰς σωματικὰς τοὐναν-
[illegible] οὐ γὰρ μόνοι
[illegible] πολλὰς ἡμέρας, ἀλλὰ
[illegible] πράττοντες, ἵν'
[illegible] ἀλλὰ μάλιστα
[illegible] τό γε φαίνεσθαι
[illegible] εὐκατα-
[illegible] ἄγρυπνος, ἀλλ'
[illegible] πάλαι λεχθέντων
[illegible] καὶ κοσμεῖν τὴν πό-
[illegible] ἔτι δὲ τὰ πρὸς
[illegible] ἧττον
[illegible] ὑπὸ τῶν τοιού-
[illegible] ἄρχοντα καὶ φρον-
[illegible] συμμάχους
[illegible] ἀβελτηρίας φαίνεσθαι
[illegible] τιμᾶν οὕτως
[illegible] ὑπὸ τῶν πολι-
[illegible] τιμὰς ἀπο-
[illegible] ἀρχόντων καὶ δι-
[illegible] τὸ μηθένα
[illegible] γὰρ ἀλ-
[illegible] μή τοι τό γε

[illegible] must [illegible] of his family bear themselves [illegible] women.' This [illegible] been especially felt in the [illegible]

[illegible] 'open to attack.'

21 ἀβελτηρίας] 'silliness,' 'weakness,' [illegible].

[illegible] ἀρχόντων, κ.τ.λ.] He must conciliate the distinguished in every department.'

27 ἀλλ' εἴπερ] 'If it is absolutely necessary to raise one, then the remedy must be in raising others with him, as a check.'

Tyranny. Its safety.

ἦθος θρασύν· ἐπιθετικώτατον γὰρ τὸ τοιοῦτον ἦθος περὶ πά-
σας τὰς πράξεις. κἂν τῆς δυνάμεώς τινα δοκῇ παραλύειν,
ἐκ προσαγωγῆς τοῦτο δρᾶν καὶ μὴ πᾶσαν ἀθρόον ἀφαιρεῖ-
σθαι τὴν ἐξουσίαν. ἔτι δὲ πάσης μὲν ὕβρεως εἴργεσθαι, 28
παρὰ πάσας δὲ δυοῖν, τῆς τε εἰς τὰ σώματα κολάσεως καὶ
τῆς εἰς τὴν ἡλικίαν. μάλιστα δὲ ταύτην ποιητέον τὴν εὐ-
λάβειαν περὶ τοὺς φιλοτίμους· τὴν μὲν γὰρ εἰς τὰ χρήματα
ὀλιγωρίαν οἱ φιλοχρήματοι φέρουσι βαρέως, τὴν δ' εἰς ἀτι-
μίαν οἵ τε φιλότιμοι καὶ οἱ ἐπιεικεῖς τῶν ἀνθρώπων. διόπερ 29
ἢ μὴ χρῆσθαι δεῖ τοῖς τοιούτοις, ἢ τὰς μὲν κολάσεις πα-
τρικῶς φαίνεσθαι ποιούμενον καὶ μὴ δι' ὀλιγωρίαν, τὰς δὲ
πρὸς τὴν ἡλικίαν ὁμιλίας δι' ἐρωτικὰς αἰτίας ἀλλὰ μὴ δι' ἐξ-
ουσίαν, ὅλως δὲ τὰς δοκούσας ἀτιμίας ἐξωνεῖσθαι μείζοσι τι-
μαῖς. τῶν δ' ἐπιχειρούντων ἐπὶ τὴν τοῦ σώματος διαφθο- 30
ρὰν οὗτοι φοβερώτατοι καὶ δέονται πλείστης φυλακῆς, ὅσοι
μὴ προαιροῦνται περιποιεῖσθαι τὸ ζῆν διαφθείραντες. διὸ 31
μάλιστα εὐλαβεῖσθαι δεῖ τοὺς ὑβρίζεσθαι νομίζοντας ἢ αὐ-
τοὺς ἢ ὧν κηδόμενοι τυγχάνουσιν· ἀφειδῶς γὰρ ἑαυτῶν ἔχου-
σιν οἱ διὰ θυμὸν ἐπιχειροῦντες, καθάπερ καὶ Ἡράκλειτος
εἶπε, χαλεπὸν φάσκων εἶναι θυμῷ μάχεσθαι· ψυχῆς γὰρ
ὠνεῖσθαι. ἐπεὶ δ' αἱ πόλεις ἐκ δύο συνεστήκασι μορίων, 32
ἔκ τε τῶν ἀπόρων ἀνθρώπων καὶ τῶν εὐπόρων, μάλιστα μὲν
ἀμφοτέρους ὑπολαμβάνειν δεῖ σῴζεσθαι διὰ τὴν ἀρχήν, καὶ
τοὺς ἑτέρους ὑπὸ τῶν ἑτέρων ἀδικεῖσθαι μηδέν, ὁπότεροι δ'
ἂν ὦσι κρείττους, τούτους ἰδίους μάλιστα ποιεῖσθαι τῆς ἀρ-

παραλύειν] 'to remove from.'

28 τὴν μὲν γὰρ εἰς τὰ χρήματα] See Ch. X. 10, where the preposition was omitted.

ὀλιγωρίαν] 'carelessness,' 'neglect of their interests.' Such a neutral translation will make the word suit both χρήματα and ἀτιμίαν.

29 δι' ἐξουσίαν] 'in the wantonness of power.'

ἐξωνεῖσθαι] 'redeem,' 'compensate.'

30 ὅσοι μή, κ.τ.λ.] 'who have no purpose of securing their life when they have destroyed their enemy.'

31 Ἡράκλειτος] *Eth.* II. ii. 10, p. 1105, 8.

ψυχῆς γὰρ ὠνεῖσθαι] "denn sie setzen ihr Leben aufs Spiel," Stahr. 'Ils jouent leur vie,' 'They stake their life.'

32 ἰδίους ποιεῖσθαι] 'attach them as much as possible to the government.'

Tyranny. Its safety.

χῆς, ὡς, ἂν ὑπάρξῃ τοῦτο τοῖς πράγμασιν, οὔτε δούλους ἐλευθεροῦσιν ἀνάγκη ποιεῖσθαι τὸν τύραννον οὔτε ὅπλων παραιρεῖσθαι· ἱκανὸν γὰρ θάτερον μέρος πρὸς τῇ δυνάμει προστιθέμενον, ὥστε κρείττους εἶναι τῶν ἐπιτιθεμένων. περίεργον δὲ τὸ λέγειν καθ' ἕκαστον τῶν τοιούτων· ὁ γὰρ σκοπὸς φανερός, ὅτι δεῖ μὴ τυραννικὸν ἀλλ' οἰκονόμον καὶ βασιλικὸν εἶναι φαίνεσθαι τοῖς ἀρχομένοις καὶ μὴ σφετεριστὴν ἀλλ' ἐπίτροπον, καὶ τὰς μετριότητας τοῦ βίου διώκειν, μὴ τὰς ὑπερβολάς, ἔτι δὲ τοὺς μὲν γνωρίμους καθομιλεῖν, τοὺς δὲ
34 πολλοὺς δημαγωγεῖν. ἐκ γὰρ τούτων ἀναγκαῖον οὐ μόνον τὴν ἀρχὴν εἶναι καλλίω καὶ ζηλωτοτέραν τῷ βελτιόνων ἄρχειν καὶ μὴ τεταπεινωμένων μηδὲ μισούμενον καὶ φοβούμενον διατελεῖν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὴν ἀρχὴν εἶναι πολυχρονιωτέραν. ἔτι δ' αὐτὸν διακεῖσθαι κατὰ τὸ ἦθος ἤτοι καλῶς πρὸς ἀρετὴν ἢ ἡμίχρηστον ὄντα, καὶ μὴ πονηρὸν ἀλλ' ἡμιπόνηρον.

Duration of oligarchies and tyrannies.

12 Καίτοι πασῶν ὀλιγοχρονιώτεραι τῶν πολιτειῶν εἰσιν ὀλιγαρχία καὶ τυραννίς. πλεῖστον γὰρ ἐγένετο χρόνον ἡ περὶ Σικυῶνα τυραννίς, ἡ τῶν Ὀρθαγόρου παίδων καὶ αὐτοῦ Ὀρθαγόρου· ἔτη δ' αὕτη διέμεινεν ἑκατόν. τούτου δ' αἴτιον ὅτι τοῖς ἀρχομένοις ἐχρῶντο μετρίως καὶ πολλὰ τοῖς νόμοις ἐδούλευον, καὶ διὰ τὸ πολεμικὸς γενέσθαι Κλεισθένης

ἂν ὑπάρξῃ τοῦτο] 'If you have secured this support of your power,' if you have the stronger on your side.

πρὸς τῇ δυνάμει] 'The military force he maintains,' § 18.

33 σφετεριστήν] one looking to his own interest. 'Tout pour la France, rien pour moi-même,' was the expression of the intellectual perception of this truth by one who has shown that his appreciation of it is purely intellectual, wholly without influence on his practice.

καθομιλεῖν] 'conciliate, bend to himself by intercourse.'

ἀρχήν] Compare I. v. 2, ἡ ἀρχὴ ἡ τῶν βελτιόνων ἀρχομένων, οἷον ἀνθρώπου ἢ θηρίου.

αὐτὸν διακεῖσθαι, κ.τ.λ.] Compare on the whole of this chapter, Machiavelli. *Il Principe*, especially Chs. XVIII. XIX.

XII. 1 καίτοι] 'And yet after all.'

Ὀρθαγόρου] Grote, III. 43, 49, 51.

ἐχρῶντο μετρίως] 'They treated their subjects with mildness.'

ταῖς ἐπιμελείαις] 'By their careful attention to the interests of the people.' "durch sorgfältige Wahrnehmung seiner Interessen," Stahr.

Κλεισθένης] For Cleisthenes of Sicyon, see Herod. VI. 126, and foll.

Duration of oligarchies and tyrannies.

οὐκ ἦν εὐκαταφρόνητος, καὶ τὰ πολλὰ ταῖς ἐπιμελείαις ἐδη-
μαγώγουν. λέγεται γοῦν Κλεισθένης τὸν ἀποκρίναντα τῆς
νίκης αὐτὸν ὡς ἐστεφάνωσεν· ἔνιοι δ' εἰκόνα φασὶν εἶναι τοῦ
κρίναντος οὕτω τὸν ἀνδριάντα τὸν ἐν τῇ ἀγορᾷ καθήμενον. 2
Φασὶ δὲ καὶ Πεισίστρατον ὑπομεῖναί ποτε προσκληθέντα
δίκην εἰς Ἄρειον πάγον. ¶ δευτέρα δὲ περὶ Κόρινθον ἡ τῶν 3
Κυψελιδῶν· καὶ γὰρ αὕτη διετέλεσεν ἔτη τρία καὶ ἑβδομή-
κοντα καὶ ἓξ μῆνας· Κύψελος μὲν γὰρ ἐτυράννησεν ἔτη
τριάκοντα, Περίανδρος δὲ τετταράκοντα καὶ τέτταρα,
Ψαμμήτιχος δ' ὁ Γορδίου τρία ἔτη. τὰ δ' αἴτια ταὐτὰ 4
καὶ ταύτης· ὁ μὲν γὰρ Κύψελος δημαγωγὸς ἦν καὶ κατὰ
τὴν ἀρχὴν διετέλεσεν ἀδορυφόρητος, Περίανδρος δ' ἐγένετο
μὲν τυραννικός, ἀλλὰ πολεμικός. τρίτη δ' ἡ τῶν Πεισισ- 5
τρατιδῶν Ἀθήνησιν, οὐκ ἐγένετο δὲ συνεχής· δὶς γὰρ ἔφυγε
Πεισίστρατος τυραννῶν, ὥστ' ἐν ἔτεσι τριάκοντα καὶ τρισὶν
ἑπτακαίδεκα ἔτη τούτων ἐτυράννευσεν, ὀκτωκαίδεκα δὲ οἱ
παῖδες, ὥστε τὰ πάντα ἐγένετο ἔτη τριάκοντα καὶ πέντε.
τῶν δὲ λοιπῶν ἡ περὶ Ἱέρωνα καὶ Γέλωνα περὶ Συρακούσαις.
ἔτη δ' οὐδ' αὕτη πολλὰ διέμεινεν, ἀλλὰ τὰ σύμπαντα δυοῖν 6
δέοντα εἴκοσι· Γέλων μὲν γὰρ ἑπτὰ τυραννεύσας τῷ ὀγδόῳ
τὸν βίον ἐτελεύτησεν, δέκα δ' Ἱέρων, Θρασύβουλος δὲ τῷ
ἑνδεκάτῳ μηνὶ ἐξέπεσεν. αἱ δὲ πολλαὶ τῶν τυραννίδων ὀλι-
γοχρόνιαι πᾶσαι γεγόνασι παντελῶς.

Sequence of governments.

Τὰ μὲν οὖν περὶ τὰς πολιτείας καὶ τὰ περὶ τὰς μοναρ- 7 1316
χίας, ἐξ ὧν τε φθείρονται καὶ πάλιν σώζονται, σχεδὸν

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2 Πεισίστρατον] Grote, IV. 145.

3 There is something wrong in the figures. The total does not correspond with the details, and the solution must be conjectural. The simplest is to suppose that the copyist suffered *τετταράκοντα* to influence him and put *τέτταρα* for *ἓξ μῆνας*.

4 *καὶ κατὰ τὴν ἀρχὴν*] 'And when in power, throughout its duration, he had no guards.' This marks the wide difference between him and the later tyrants. His power was probably politically an advantage.

5 *συνεχής*] 'Continuous,' and accepted as such by the governed.

περὶ Συρακούσαις] Vet. Int. has circa Syracusas, and the accusative would surely be better.

7 He turns from the question of the relative duration of the different governments to that of their sequence. And the order of succession adopted by Plato is criticised and rejected.

[illegible]

ἐν δὲ τῇ Πολιτείᾳ λέγεται μὲν περὶ τῶν μεταβολῶν ὑπὸ τοῦ Σωκράτους, οὐ μέντοι λέγεται καλῶς. τῆς τε γὰρ ἀρίστης πολιτείας καὶ πρώτης οὔσης οὐ λέγει τὴν μεταβολὴν ἰδίως. φησὶ γὰρ αἴτιον εἶναι τὸ μὴ μένειν μηθὲν ἀλλ' ἔν τινι περιόδῳ μεταβάλλειν, ἀρχὴν δ' εἶναι τούτων ὧν ἐπίτριτος πυθμὴν πεμπάδι συζυγεὶς δύο ἁρμονίας παρέχεται, λέγων ὅταν ὁ τοῦ διαγράμματος ἀριθμὸς τούτου γένηται στερεός, ὡς τῆς φύσεώς ποτε φυούσης φαύλους καὶ κρείττους τῆς παιδείας, τοῦτο μὲν οὖν αὐτὸ λέγων ἴσως οὐ κακῶς· ἐνδέχεται γὰρ εἶναί τινας οὓς παιδευθῆναι καὶ γενέσθαι σπουδαίους ἄνδρας ἀδύνατον. ἀλλ' αὕτη τί ἂν ἴδιος εἴη μεταβολὴ τῆς ὑπ' ἐκείνου λεγομένης ἀρίστης πολιτείας μᾶλλον ἢ τῶν ἄλλων πασῶν καὶ τῶν γιγνομένων πάντων; καὶ διά γε τὸν χρόνον, δι' ὃν λέγει πάντα μεταβάλλειν, καὶ τὰ μὴ ἅμα ἀρξάμενα γίγνεσθαι ἅμα μεταβάλλει, οἷον εἰ τῇ προτέρᾳ ἡμέρᾳ ἐγένετο τῆς τροπῆς, ἅμα ἄρα μεταβάλλει. πρὸς δὲ τούτοις διὰ τίν' αἰτίαν ἐκ ταύτης εἰς τὴν Λακωνικὴν μεταβάλλει; πλεονάκις γὰρ εἰς τὴν ἐναντίαν μεταβάλλουσι πᾶσαι αἱ πολιτεῖαι ἢ τὴν σύνεγγυς. ὁ δ' αὐτὸς λόγος καὶ περὶ τῶν ἄλλων μεταβολῶν. ἐκ γὰρ τῆς Λακωνικῆς, φησί, μεταβάλλει εἰς τὴν ὀλιγαρχίαν, ἐκ δὲ ταύτης εἰς δημοκρατίαν, εἰς τυραννίδα δὲ ἐκ δημοκρατίας.
8 καίτοι καὶ ἀνάπαλιν μεταβάλλουσιν, οἷον ἐκ δήμου εἰς ὀλ-

ἐπίτριτος πυθμήν] The passage referred to is Republic VIII. 546 [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] the system cannot [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] solution. That Aristotle understood Plato's meaning is [illegible] certain, nor [illegible] pretends to understand it. [illegible] much more for this passage [illegible] different [illegible]

εἰς τὴν Λακωνικήν] The transition of Plato's system, Repub. VIII. 544 C [illegible]

καὶ ἀνάπαλιν] 'In the reverse order also.'

-γαρχίαν, καὶ μᾶλλον ἢ εἰς μοναρχίαν. ἔτι δὲ τυραννίδος οὐ λέγει οὔτ᾿ εἰ ἔσται μεταβολὴ οὔτ᾿ εἰ μὴ ἔσται, διὰ τίν᾿ αἰτίαν καὶ εἰς ποίαν πολιτείαν. τούτου δ᾿ αἴτιον ὅτι οὐ ῥᾳδίως ἂν εἶχε λέγειν· ἀόριστον γάρ, ἐπεὶ κατ᾿ ἐκεῖνον δεῖ εἰς τὴν πρώτην καὶ τὴν ἀρίστην· οὕτω γὰρ ἂν ἐγίγνετο συνεχὲς καὶ κύκλος. ἀλλὰ μεταβάλλει καὶ εἰς τυραννίδα 12
τυραννὶς ὥσπερ ἡ Σικυῶνος ἐκ τῆς Μύρωνος εἰς τὴν Κλεισθένους, καὶ εἰς ὀλιγαρχίαν, ὥσπερ ἡ ἐν Χαλκίδι ἡ Ἀντιλέοντος, καὶ εἰς δημοκρατίαν, ὥσπερ ἡ τῶν Γέλωνος ἐν Συρακούσαις, καὶ εἰς ἀριστοκρατίαν, ὥσπερ ἡ Χαριλάου ἐν Λακεδαίμονι καὶ ἐν Καρχηδόνι. καὶ εἰς τυραννίδα μετα- 13
βάλλει ἐξ ὀλιγαρχίας, ὥσπερ ἐν Σικελίᾳ σχεδὸν αἱ πλεῖσται τῶν ἀρχαίων, ἐν Λεοντίνοις εἰς τὴν Παναιτίου τυραννίδα καὶ ἐν Γέλᾳ εἰς τὴν Κλεάνδρου καὶ ἐν Ῥηγίῳ εἰς τὴν

Sequence of governments.

μᾶλλον ἢ] In the great period of Greek history, the fifth and fourth centuries before the Christian era, tyrants were quite a rarity; at any rate, in Greece proper. The fluctuations were between democracy and oligarchy.

οὔτ᾿ εἰ ἔσται, κ.τ.λ.] The statement is confused. 'Whether there will or will not be a change from the tyranny, and if there be, what is the cause of the change, and what constitution is to succeed it?' In fact, it would simplify and clear up the passage to throw out the *μή*. The first *οὔτ᾿ εἰ ἔσται* would sufficiently state the alternative 'whether there is to be one at all;' nor does he say, if there is to be one, &c. Schneider's transposition of *εἰς ποίαν πολιτείαν* (he places it after *μεταβολή*) would of course clear the passage. As it stands, it is defective.

ἀόριστον γάρ] "denn es ist nicht bestimmbar," Stahr. 'It does not admit of a determination.' This seems the sense if the word will bear it.

συνεχές] 'There would be no disruption of continuity,' and "the wheel would come full circle."

12 *Μύρωνος*] See Grote, III. 43. Mr Grote remarks that Aristotle seems to have conceived the tyranny as passing direct from Myrus to Cleisthenes, omitting Aristonymus. The statement that there was a change in the tyranny, here made by Aristotle, receives light from his remarks, p. 49, on the distinction between the early Orthagoridæ and Kleisthenes.

Ἀντιλέοντος] Nothing apparently known.

Χαριλάου] On this version of the history of Charilaus, see Smith's *Biogr. Dict.* Grote, II. 461, note. *καταλαβὼν τὸν Χάριλλον τυραννικῶς ἄγοντα*, are the words of Heraclides Ponticus, II. 4. Ed. Didot, Vol. XXIX. p. 210.

Καρχηδόνι] On this statement, which it is difficult to reconcile with a previous one II. II. 2, *μήτε στάσιν γεγενῆσθαι μήτε τύραννον*, see Grote, X. 552, note.

13 *Σικελίᾳ*] Grote, V. 276.

Ἀναξιλάου] Grote, III. 507.

[illegible] καὶ ἐν ἄλλαις πολιτείαις [illegible]. [illegible]
[illegible] εἰς ὀλιγαρχίαν [illegible], μεταβάλ-
[illegible] καὶ χρηματιστικοὶ [illegible] ἐν ταῖς ἀρχαῖς,
[illegible] ἔχοντες τὰς οὐσίας [illegible]
[illegible] τῆς πόλεως τοὺς κεκτημένους
[illegible] ἐν ταῖς τε ὀλιγαρχίαις οὐκ ἔξεστι
[illegible] ἐν Καρχη-
[illegible] καὶ οὕτω μεταβεβλή-
[illegible]. [illegible] τῆς πόλεως εἶναι τὴν [illegible]
[illegible] καὶ [illegible]. τὸ γὰρ αὐτὴ μᾶλλον τῆς
[illegible] μὴ πάντες κέ-
[illegible] ἀγαθοὶ ἄνδρες; οὐδενὸς
[illegible] ἧττον μεταβάλ-
[illegible] ἐξ ὀλιγαρχίας, [illegible] γίνονται πλείους οἱ
[illegible] εἰς ὀλιγαρχίαν, [illegible] κρείττων ἢ τοῦ
[illegible] καὶ [illegible] οἱ δὲ προσέχουσι
[illegible] δι' ἃς γίγνονται αἱ μετα-
[illegible] καὶ [illegible]
[illegible] ἐξ ἀρχῆς πλουσίων ὄντων
[illegible]. [illegible] ἀλλ'
[illegible] τὰς οὐσίας, [illegible]-
[illegible] γίγνεται [illegible]. καὶ
[illegible] εἰς δῆμον ἢ εἰς
[illegible]. [illegible] δὲ [illegible] μετέχωσιν, κἂν

[illegible] The cause of the [illegible] is not to be sought in the [illegible] of wealth [illegible], but in the [illegible] of their relation to the people in [illegible] the inequality of the distribution of political power that is, not in the positive amount of their wealth.

[illegible] For this see on § [illegible].

[illegible] Compare Ch. III. § [illegible]. Here again it is in the disturbance of the relation between the bodies that he places the cause of revolution, not in the positive increase of wealth in the case of one.

[illegible] I have inserted this before [illegible] in common with many editors, including Stahr. [illegible] occurs in its proper sense [illegible], Eth. IV. i. 5, p. 1119 b. 34.

[illegible] 'They are ripe for something fresh,' 'novae tabulae.' In II. [illegible] 6. we have the adjective [illegible] in a rather different, though kindred sense.

ἀδικῶνται ἢ ὑβρίζωνται, στασιάζουσι καὶ μεταβάλλουσι τὰς πολιτείας, κἂν μὴ καταδαπανήσωσι τὴν οὐσίαν διὰ τὸ ἐξεῖναι ὅτι ἂν βούλωνται ποιεῖν· οὗ αἰτίαν τὴν ἄγαν ἐλευθερίαν εἶναί φησιν. πλειόνων δ' οὐσῶν ὀλιγαρχιῶν καὶ δημοκρατιῶν, ὡς μιᾶς οὔσης ἑκατέρας λέγει τὰς μεταβολὰς ὁ Σωκράτης. Sequence of governments.

18 **οὗ αἰτίαν**] Plato, *Rep.* VIII. 555. **πλειόνων**] The want of detail in Plato's enumeration, is what Aristotle objects to in this chapter.

INDICES.

Tyranny. Its safety.

πολιτικῆς, καὶ δόξαν ἐμποιεῖν περὶ αὐτοῦ τοιαύτην. ἔτι δὲ
μὴ μόνον αὐτὸν φαίνεσθαι μηθένα τῶν ἀρχομένων ὑβρίζοντα,
μήτε νέον μήτε νέαν, ἀλλὰ μηδ' ἄλλον μηδένα τῶν περὶ
23 αὐτόν. ὁμοίως δὲ καὶ τὰς οἰκείας ἔχειν γυναῖκας πρὸς τὰς
ἄλλας, ὡς καὶ διὰ γυναικῶν ὕβρεις πολλαὶ τυραννίδες ἀπο-
λώλασιν. περί τε τὰς ἀπολαύσεις τὰς σωματικὰς τοὐναν-
τίον ποιεῖν ἢ νῦν τινὲς τῶν τυράννων ποιοῦσιν· οὐ γὰρ μόνον
εὐθὺς ἕωθεν τοῦτο δρῶσιν, καὶ συνεχῶς πολλὰς ἡμέρας, ἀλλὰ
καὶ φαίνεσθαι τοῖς ἄλλοις βούλονται τοῦτο πράττοντες, ἵν'
24 ὡς εὐδαίμονας καὶ μακαρίους θαυμάσωσιν. ἀλλὰ μάλιστα
μὲν μετριάζειν τοῖς τοιούτοις, εἰ δὲ μή, τό γε φαίνεσθαι
τοῖς ἄλλοις διαφεύγειν· οὔτε γὰρ εὐεπίθετος οὔτ' εὐκατα-
φρόνητος ὁ νήφων, ἀλλ' ὁ μεθύων, οὐδ' ὁ ἄγρυπνος, ἀλλ'
ὁ καθεύδων. τοὐναντίον τε ποιητέον τῶν πάλαι λεχθέντων
σχεδὸν πάντων· κατασκευάζειν γὰρ δεῖ καὶ κοσμεῖν τὴν πό-
25 λιν ὡς ἐπίτροπον ὄντα καὶ μὴ τύραννον. ἔτι δὲ τὰ πρὸς
τοὺς θεοὺς φαίνεσθαι ἀεὶ σπουδάζοντα διαφερόντως· ἧττόν
τε γὰρ φοβοῦνται τὸ παθεῖν τι παράνομον ὑπὸ τῶν τοιού-
1315 των, ἐὰν δεισιδαίμονα νομίζωσιν εἶναι τὸν ἄρχοντα καὶ φρον-
τίζειν τῶν θεῶν, καὶ ἐπιβουλεύουσιν ἧττον ὡς συμμάχους
26 ἔχοντι καὶ τοὺς θεούς. δεῖ δ' ἄνευ ἀβελτηρίας φαίνεσθαι
τοιοῦτον. τούς τε ἀγαθοὺς περί τι γιγνομένους τιμᾶν οὕτως
ὥστε μὴ νομίζειν ἄν ποτε τιμηθῆναι μᾶλλον ὑπὸ τῶν πολι-
τῶν αὐτονόμων ὄντων. καὶ τὰς μὲν τοιαύτας τιμὰς ἀπο-
νέμειν αὐτόν, τὰς δὲ κολάσεις δι' ἑτέρων ἀρχόντων καὶ δι-
27 καστηρίων. κοινὴ δὲ φυλακὴ πάσης μοναρχίας τὸ μηθένα
ποιεῖν ἕνα μέγαν, ἀλλ' εἴπερ, πλείους· τηρήσουσι γὰρ ἀλ-
λήλους. ἐὰν δ' ἄρα τινὰ δέῃ ποιῆσαι μέγαν, μή τοι τό γε

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22 ἄλλον μηδένα] These words are of course the subject of φαίνεσθαι ὑβρίζοντα.

23 ὁμοίως δέ, κ.τ.λ.] 'So too must the women of his family bear themselves towards other women.' This danger had been especially felt in the history of Persia.

24 εὐεπίθετος] 'open to attack.'

26 ἀβελτηρίας] 'silliness,' 'weakness,' 'niaiserie.'

τούς τε ἀγαθούς, κ.τ.λ.] He must conciliate the distinguished in every department.'

27 ἀλλ' εἴπερ] 'If it is absolutely necessary to raise one, then the remedy must be in raising others with him, as a check.'

Tyranny. Its safety.

ἦθος θρασύν· ἐπιθετικώτατον γὰρ τὸ τοιοῦτον ἦθος περὶ πά-
σας τὰς πράξεις. κἂν τῆς δυνάμεώς τινα δοκῇ παραλύειν,
ἐκ προσαγωγῆς τοῦτο δρᾶν καὶ μὴ πᾶσαν ἀθρόον ἀφαιρεῖ-
σθαι τὴν ἐξουσίαν. ἔτι δὲ πάσης μὲν ὕβρεως εἴργεσθαι, 28
παρὰ πάσας δὲ δυοῖν, τῆς τε εἰς τὰ σώματα κολάσεως καὶ
τῆς εἰς τὴν ἡλικίαν. μάλιστα δὲ ταύτην ποιητέον τὴν εὐ-
λάβειαν περὶ τοὺς φιλοτίμους· τὴν μὲν γὰρ εἰς τὰ χρήματα
ὀλιγωρίαν οἱ φιλοχρήματοι φέρουσι βαρέως, τὴν δ' εἰς ἀτι-
μίαν οἵ τε φιλότιμοι καὶ οἱ ἐπιεικεῖς τῶν ἀνθρώπων. διόπερ 29
ἢ μὴ χρῆσθαι δεῖ τοῖς τοιούτοις, ἢ τὰς μὲν κολάσεις πα-
τρικῶς φαίνεσθαι ποιούμενον καὶ μὴ δι' ὀλιγωρίαν, τὰς δὲ
πρὸς τὴν ἡλικίαν ὁμιλίας δι' ἐρωτικὰς αἰτίας ἀλλὰ μὴ δι' ἐξ-
ουσίαν, ὅλως δὲ τὰς δοκούσας ἀτιμίας ἐξωνεῖσθαι μείζοσι τι-
μαῖς. τῶν δ' ἐπιχειρούντων ἐπὶ τὴν τοῦ σώματος διαφθο- 30
ρὰν οὗτοι φοβερώτατοι καὶ δέονται πλείστης φυλακῆς, ὅσοι
μὴ προαιροῦνται περιποιεῖσθαι τὸ ζῆν διαφθείραντες. διὸ 31
μάλιστα εὐλαβεῖσθαι δεῖ τοὺς ὑβρίζεσθαι νομίζοντας ἢ αὐ-
τοὺς ἢ ὧν κηδόμενοι τυγχάνουσιν· ἀφειδῶς γὰρ ἑαυτῶν ἔχου-
σιν οἱ διὰ θυμὸν ἐπιχειροῦντες, καθάπερ καὶ Ἡράκλειτος
εἶπε, χαλεπὸν φάσκων εἶναι θυμῷ μάχεσθαι· ψυχῆς γὰρ
ὠνεῖσθαι. ἐπεὶ δ' αἱ πόλεις ἐκ δύο συνεστήκασι μορίων, 32
ἔκ τε τῶν ἀπόρων ἀνθρώπων καὶ τῶν εὐπόρων, μάλιστα μὲν
ἀμφοτέρους ὑπολαμβάνειν δεῖ σώζεσθαι διὰ τὴν ἀρχήν, καὶ
τοὺς ἑτέρους ὑπὸ τῶν ἑτέρων ἀδικεῖσθαι μηδέν, ὁπότεροι δ'
ἂν ὦσι κρείττους, τούτους ἰδίους μάλιστα ποιεῖσθαι τῆς ἀρ-

παραλύειν] 'to remove from.'

28 τὴν μὲν γὰρ εἰς τὰ χρήματα] See Ch. X. 10, where the preposition was omitted.

ὀλιγωρίαν] 'carelessness,' 'neglect of their interests.' Such a neutral translation will make the word suit both χρήματα and ἀτιμίαν.

29 δι' ἐξουσίαν] 'in the wantonness of power.'

ἐξωνεῖσθαι] 'redeem,' 'compensate.'

30 ὅσοι μή, κ.τ.λ.] 'who have no purpose of securing their life when they have destroyed their enemy.'

31 Ἡράκλειτος] *Eth.* II. ii. 10, p. 1105, 8.

ψυχῆς γὰρ ὠνεῖσθαι] "denn sie setzen ihr Leben aufs Spiel," Stahr. 'Ils jouent leur vie,' 'They stake their life.'

32 ἰδίους ποιεῖσθαι] 'attach them as much as possible to the government.'

Tyranny. Its safety.

χῆς, ὡς, ἂν ὑπάρξῃ τοῦτο τοῖς πράγμασιν, οὔτε δούλων ἐλευ-
θέρωσιν ἀνάγκη ποιεῖσθαι τὸν τύραννον οὔτε ὅπλων παραί-
ρεσιν· ἱκανὸν γὰρ θάτερον μέρος πρὸς τῇ δυνάμει προστιθέ-
33 μενον, ὥστε κρείττους εἶναι τῶν ἐπιτιθεμένων. περίεργον
δὲ τὸ λέγειν καθ' ἕκαστον τῶν τοιούτων· ὁ γὰρ σκοπὸς φα-
1315 a νερός, ὅτι δεῖ μὴ τυραννικὸν ἀλλ' οἰκονόμον καὶ βασιλικὸν
εἶναι φαίνεσθαι τοῖς ἀρχομένοις καὶ μὴ σφετεριστὴν ἀλλ'
ἐπίτροπον, καὶ τὰς μετριότητας τοῦ βίου διώκειν, μὴ τὰς
ὑπερβολάς, ἔτι δὲ τοὺς μὲν γνωρίμους καθομιλεῖν, τοὺς δὲ
34 πολλοὺς δημαγωγεῖν. ἐκ γὰρ τούτων ἀναγκαῖον οὐ μόνον
τὴν ἀρχὴν εἶναι καλλίω καὶ ζηλωτοτέραν τῷ βελτιόνων ἄρ-
χειν καὶ μὴ τεταπεινωμένων μηδὲ μισούμενον καὶ φοβού-
μενον διατελεῖν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὴν ἀρχὴν εἶναι πολυχρονιω-
τέραν. ἔτι δ' αὐτὸν διακεῖσθαι κατὰ τὸ ἦθος ἤτοι καλῶς
πρὸς ἀρετὴν ἢ ἡμίχρηστον ὄντα, καὶ μὴ πονηρὸν ἀλλ' ἡμι-
πόνηρον.

Duration of oligarchies and tyrannies.

12 Καίτοι πασῶν ὀλιγοχρονιώτεραι τῶν πολιτειῶν εἰσὶν ὀλι-
γαρχία καὶ τυραννίς. πλεῖστον γὰρ ἐγένετο χρόνον ἡ περὶ
Σικυῶνα τυραννίς, ἡ τῶν Ὀρθαγόρου παίδων καὶ αὐτοῦ Ὀρ-
θαγόρου· ἔτη δ' αὕτη διέμεινεν ἑκατόν. τούτου δ' αἴτιον
ὅτι τοῖς ἀρχομένοις ἐχρῶντο μετρίως καὶ πολλὰ τοῖς νό-
μοις ἐδούλευον, καὶ διὰ τὸ πολεμικὸς γενέσθαι Κλεισθένης

ἂν ὑπάρξῃ τοῦτο] 'If you have secured this support of your power,' if you have the stronger on your side.

πρὸς τῇ δυνάμει] 'The military force he maintains,' § 18.

33 σφετεριστήν] one looking to his own interest. 'Tout pour la France, rien pour moi-même,' was the expression of the intellectual perception of this truth by one who has shown that his appreciation of it is purely intellectual, wholly without influence on his practice.

καθομιλεῖν] 'conciliate, bend to himself by intercourse.'

34 τὴν ἀρχήν] Compare I. v. 2, ἀεὶ βελτίων ἡ ἀρχὴ ἡ τῶν βελτιόνων ἀρχομένων, οἷον ἀνθρώπου ἢ θηρίου.

αὐτὸν διακεῖσθαι, κ.τ.λ.] Compare on the whole of this chapter, Machiavelli, *Il Principe*, especially Chs. XVIII. XIX.

XII. 1 καίτοι] 'And yet after all.'

Ὀρθαγόρου] Grote, III. 43, 49, 51.

ἐχρῶντο μετρίως] 'They treated their subjects with mildness.'

ταῖς ἐπιμελείαις] 'By their careful attention to the interests of the people,' "durch sorgfältige Wahrnehmung seiner Interessen," Stahr.

Κλεισθένης] For Cleisthenes of Sicyon, see Herod. VI. 126, and foll.

Duration of oligarchies and tyrannies.

ὐκ ἦν εὐκαταφρόνητος, καὶ τὰ πολλὰ ταῖς ἐπιμελείαις ἐδη-ιαγώγουν. λέγεται γοῦν Κλεισθένης τὸν ἀποκρίναντα τῆς ίκης αὐτὸν ὡς ἐστεφάνωσεν· ἔνιοι δ' εἰκόνα φασὶν εἶναι τοῦ ερίναντος οὕτω τὸν ἀνδριάντα τὸν ἐν τῇ ἀγορᾷ καθήμενον. 2
Φασὶ δὲ καὶ Πεισίστρατον ὑπομεῖναί ποτε προσκληθέντα δίκην εἰς Ἄρειον πάγον. ¶ δευτέρα δὲ περὶ Κόρινθον ἡ τῶν 3
Κυψελιδῶν· καὶ γὰρ αὕτη διετέλεσεν ἔτη τρία καὶ ἑβδομή-κοντα καὶ ἓξ μῆνας· Κύψελος μὲν γὰρ ἐτυράννησεν ἔτη τριάκοντα, Περίανδρος δὲ τετταράκοντα καὶ τέτταρα, Ψαμμήτιχος δ' ὁ Γορδίου τρία ἔτη. τὰ δ' αἴτια ταὐτὰ 4
καὶ ταύτης· ὁ μὲν γὰρ Κύψελος δημαγωγὸς ἦν καὶ κατὰ τὴν ἀρχὴν διετέλεσεν ἀδορυφόρητος, Περίανδρος δ' ἐγένετο μὲν τυραννικός, ἀλλὰ πολεμικός. τρίτη δ' ἡ τῶν Πεισισ- 5
τρατιδῶν Ἀθήνησιν, οὐκ ἐγένετο δὲ συνεχής· δὶς γὰρ ἔφυγε Πεισίστρατος τυραννῶν, ὥστ' ἐν ἔτεσι τριάκοντα καὶ τρισὶν ἑπτακαίδεκα ἔτη τούτων ἐτυράννευσεν, ὀκτωκαίδεκα δὲ οἱ παῖδες, ὥστε τὰ πάντα ἐγένετο ἔτη τριάκοντα καὶ πέντε. τῶν δὲ λοιπῶν ἡ περὶ Ἱέρωνα καὶ Γέλωνα περὶ Συρακούσαις. ἔτη δ' οὐδ' αὕτη πολλὰ διέμεινεν, ἀλλὰ τὰ σύμπαντα δυοῖν 6
δέοντα εἴκοσι· Γέλων μὲν γὰρ ἑπτὰ τυραννεύσας τῷ ὀγδόῳ τὸν βίον ἐτελεύτησεν, δέκα δ' Ἱέρων, Θρασύβουλος δὲ τῷ ἑνδεκάτῳ μηνὶ ἐξέπεσεν. αἱ δὲ πολλαὶ τῶν τυραννίδων ὀλι-γοχρόνιαι πᾶσαι γεγόνασι παντελῶς.

Sequence of governments.

Τὰ μὲν οὖν περὶ τὰς πολιτείας καὶ τὰ περὶ τὰς μοναρ- 7 1316
χίας, ἐξ ὧν τε φθείρονται καὶ πάλιν σώζονται, σχεδὸν

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2 Πεισίστρατον] Grote, IV. 145.

3 There is something wrong in the figures. The total does not correspond with the details, and the solution must be conjectural. The simplest is to suppose that the copyist suffered τετταράκοντα to influence him and put τέτταρα for ἓξ μῆνας.

4 καὶ κατὰ τὴν ἀρχὴν] 'And when in power, throughout its duration, he had no guards.' This marks the wide difference between him and the later tyrants. His power was probably politically an advantage.

5 συνεχής] 'Continuous,' and accepted as such by the governed.

περὶ Συρακούσαις] Vet. Int. has circa Syracusas, and the accusative would surely be better.

7 He turns from the question of the relative duration of the different governments to that of their sequence. And the order of succession adopted by Plato is criticised and rejected.

[illegible] εἴρηται περὶ πάντων. Ἐν δὲ τῇ πολιτείᾳ λέγεται μὲν περὶ τῶν μεταβολῶν ὑπὸ τοῦ Σωκράτους, οὐ μέντοι λέγεται καλῶς· τῆς τε γὰρ ἀρίστης πολιτείας καὶ πρώτης οὔσης οὐ
8 λέγει τὴν μεταβολὴν ἰδίως. Φησὶ γὰρ αἴτιον εἶναι τὸ μὴ μένειν μηθὲν ἀλλ' ἔν τινι περιόδῳ μεταβάλλειν, ἀρχὴν δ' εἶναι τούτων ὧν ἐπίτριτος πυθμὴν πεμπάδι συζυγεὶς δύο ἁρμονίας παρέχεται, λέγων ὅταν ὁ τοῦ διαγράμματος ἀριθμὸς τούτου γένηται στερεός, ὡς τῆς φύσεώς ποτε φυούσης φαύλους καὶ κρείττους τῆς παιδείας, τοῦτο μὲν οὖν αὐτὸ λέγων ἴσως οὐ κακῶς· ἐνδέχεται γὰρ εἶναι τινας οὓς παιδευ-
9 θῆναι καὶ γενέσθαι σπουδαίους ἄνδρας ἀδύνατον. ἀλλ' αὕτη τί ἂν ἴδιος εἴη μεταβολὴ τῆς ὑπ' ἐκείνου λεγομένης ἀρίστης πολιτείας μᾶλλον ἢ τῶν ἄλλων πασῶν καὶ τῶν γιγνομένων πάντων; καὶ διά τε τοῦ χρόνου, δι' ὃν λέγει πάντα μεταβάλλειν, καὶ τὰ μὴ ἅμα ἀρξάμενα γίγνεσθαι ἅμα μεταβάλλει, οἷον εἰ τῇ προτέρᾳ ἡμέρᾳ ἐγένετο τῆς τροπῆς, ἅμα ἄρα
10 μεταβάλλει. πρὸς δὲ τούτοις διὰ τίν' αἰτίαν ἐκ ταύτης εἰς τὴν Λακωνικὴν μεταβάλλει; πλεονάκις γὰρ εἰς τὴν ἐναντίαν μεταβάλλουσι πᾶσαι αἱ πολιτεῖαι ἢ τὴν σύνεγγυς. ὁ δ' αὐτὸς λόγος καὶ περὶ τῶν ἄλλων μεταβολῶν· ἐκ γὰρ τῆς Λακωνικῆς, φησί, μεταβάλλει εἰς τὴν ὀλιγαρχίαν, ἐκ δὲ ταύτης εἰς δημοκρατίαν, εἰς τυραννίδα δὲ ἐκ δημοκρατίας.
11 Καίτοι καὶ ἀνάπαλιν μεταβάλλουσιν, οἷον ἐκ δήμου εἰς ὀλι-

ἐν τῇ πολιτείᾳ] The passage referred to begins, Republ. VIII. p. 545. c.

ἰδίως] 'Specially,' 'in any way peculiar to that form.' "keineswegs eigenthümlich," Stahr.

8 περιόδῳ] Cycle.

κρείττους τῆς παιδείας] 'beyond the influence of his education,' exceptional [illegible] with which his system cannot [illegible] successfully. And such, remarks Aristotle, there may well be. On the rest of the section I offer no remarks in explanation, as the difficulty is well known and has as yet met with no solution. That Aristotle understood Plato's meaning is, I should think, certain, but I believe no one now pretends to understand it.

9 διά τε τοῦ χρόνου] I do not see much hope for this passage, which in different parts both Schneider and Stahr agree in pronouncing incurable.

10 τὴν Λακωνικήν] The τιμοκρατία of Plato's system, Republ. VIII. 544. c. ἥ τε ὑπὸ τῶν πολλῶν ἐπαινουμένη, ἡ Κρητική τε καὶ Λακωνικὴ αὕτη.

11 καὶ ἀνάπαλιν] 'In the reverse order also.'

γαρχίαν, καὶ μᾶλλον ἢ εἰς μοναρχίαν. ἔτι δὲ τυραννίδος οὐ λέγει οὔτ' εἰ ἔσται μεταβολὴ οὔτ' εἰ μὴ ἔσται, διὰ τίν' αἰτίαν καὶ εἰς ποίαν πολιτείαν. τούτου δ' αἴτιον ὅτι οὐ ῥᾳδίως ἂν εἶχε λέγειν· ἀόριστον γάρ, ἐπεὶ κατ' ἐκεῖνον δεῖ εἰς τὴν πρώτην καὶ τὴν ἀρίστην· οὕτω γὰρ ἂν ἐγίγνετο συνεχὲς καὶ κύκλος. ἀλλὰ μεταβάλλει καὶ εἰς τυραννίδα 12 τυραννὶς ὥσπερ ἡ Σικυῶνος ἐκ τῆς Μύρωνος εἰς τὴν Κλεισθένους, καὶ εἰς ὀλιγαρχίαν, ὥσπερ ἡ ἐν Χαλκίδι ἡ Ἀντιλέοντος, καὶ εἰς δημοκρατίαν, ὥσπερ ἡ τῶν Γέλωνος ἐν Συρακούσαις, καὶ εἰς ἀριστοκρατίαν, ὥσπερ ἡ Χαριλάου ἐν Λακεδαίμονι καὶ ἐν Καρχηδόνι. καὶ εἰς τυραννίδα μετα- 13 βάλλει ἐξ ὀλιγαρχίας, ὥσπερ ἐν Σικελίᾳ σχεδὸν αἱ πλεῖσται τῶν ἀρχαίων, ἐν Λεοντίνοις εἰς τὴν Παναιτίου τυραννίδα καὶ ἐν Γέλᾳ εἰς τὴν Κλεάνδρου καὶ ἐν Ῥηγίῳ εἰς τὴν

Sequence of governments.

μᾶλλον ἢ] In the great period of Greek history, the fifth and fourth centuries before the Christian era, tyrants were quite a rarity; at any rate, in Greece proper. The fluctuations were between democracy and oligarchy.

οὔτ' εἰ ἔσται, κ.τ.λ.] The statement is confused. 'Whether there will or will not be a change from the tyranny, and if there be, what is the cause of the change, and what constitution is to succeed it?' In fact, it would simplify and clear up the passage to throw out the *μή*. The first *οὔτ' εἰ ἔσται* would sufficiently state the alternative 'whether there is to be one at all;' nor does he say, if there is to be one, &c. Schneider's transposition of *εἰς ποίαν πολιτείαν* (he places it after *μεταβολή*) would of course clear the passage. As it stands, it is defective.

ἀόριστον γάρ] "denn es ist nicht bestimmbar," Stahr. 'It does not admit of a determination.' This seems the sense if the word will bear it.

συνεχές] 'There would be no disruption of continuity,' and "the wheel would come full circle."

12 *Μύρωνος*] See Grote, III. 43. Mr Grote remarks that Aristotle seems to have conceived the tyranny as passing direct from Myrus to Cleisthenes, omitting Aristonymus. The statement that there was a change in the tyranny, here made by Aristotle, receives light from his remarks, p. 49, on the distinction between the early Orthagoridæ and Kleisthenes.

Ἀντιλέοντος] Nothing apparently known.

Χαριλάου] On this version of the history of Charilaus, see Smith's *Biogr. Dict.* Grote, II. 461, note. *καταλαβὼν τὸν Χάριλλον τυραννικῶς ἄγοντα*, are the words of Heraclides Ponticus, II. 4. Ed. Didot, Vol. XXIX. p. 210.

Καρχηδόνι] On this statement, which it is difficult to reconcile with a previous one II. II. 2, *μήτε στάσιν γεγενῆσθαι μήτε τύραννον*, see Grote, X. 552, note.

13 *Σικελίᾳ*] Grote, V. 276.

Ἀναξιλάου] Grote, III. 507.

[illegible]

[illegible]] The cause of the [illegible] of an oligarchy is not to be sought in the [illegible] of the oligarchy, but in the [illegible] of their [illegible] in the [illegible] the inequality of the distribution of political power [illegible] not in the [illegible] amount of their wealth.

[illegible]] For this see [illegible] § 42.

[illegible]] Compare Ch. III. § [illegible] [illegible]. Here again it [illegible] disturbance of the relation [illegible] bodies, that he places the [illegible] of revolution, not in the positive decrease of wealth in the case of one.

[illegible]] I have translated this before [illegible], in common with many editors, including Stahr. [illegible] occurs in its proper sense [illegible] Eth. IV. 1. § [illegible] [illegible].

[illegible]] 'They are ripe for something fresh,' 'novae tabulae.' In II. vii. 6. we have the adjective [illegible] in a rather different, though kindred sense.

ἀδικῶνται ἢ ὑβρίζωνται, στασιάζουσι καὶ μεταβάλλουσι τὰς πολιτείας, κἂν μὴ καταδαπανήσωσι τὴν οὐσίαν διὰ τὸ ἐξεῖναι ὅτι ἂν βούλωνται ποιεῖν· οὗ αἰτίαν τὴν ἄγαν ἐλευθερίαν εἶναί φησιν. πλειόνων δ' οὐσῶν ὀλιγαρχιῶν καὶ δημοκρατιῶν, ὡς μιᾶς οὔσης ἑκατέρας λέγει τὰς μεταβολὰς ὁ Σωκράτης.

Sequence of governments.

18 **οὗ αἰτίαν**] Plato, *Rep.* VIII. 555. **πλειόνων**] The want of detail in Plato's enumeration, is what Aristotle objects to in this chapter.

INDICES.

INDEX OF PROPER NAMES.

D.

E.

G.

H.

I.

J.

INDEX OF GREEK WORDS.

ORDER OF THE BOOKS.

Congreve.	Bekker.	Congreve.	Bekker.
I.	I.	V.	VIII.
II.	II.	VI.	IV.
III.	III.	VII.	VI.
IV.	VII.	VIII.	V.

The Verbs are classified according to the order of their Moods and Tenses, as given in Wordsworth's *Greek Grammar*—viz.:

Active Voice.	Participle.
Indicative Mood.	
Imperative.	Middle Voice.
Subjunctive.	
Optative.	Passive Voice.
Infinitive.	

The Nouns and Participles are arranged according to the order of their cases.

H.

Θ.

K.

N.

Π.

[illegible]

Π.

H H

Φ.

X.

X.

ESSAYS.

I.

SLAVERY.

ὅτι μὲν τοινῦν εἰσὶ φύσει τινὲς οἱ μὲν ἐλεύθεροι οἱ δὲ δοῦλοι, φανερόν, οἷς καὶ συμφέρει τὸ δουλεύειν καὶ δίκαιόν ἐστι. —I. v. II.

THE judgment of Aristotle in favour of slavery has excited more attention than most of his other opinions. It rests on the inequality which, as a fact, exists among men. It rests further on an alleged inequality, which, however, is historically also a fact, existing between the various races of men. In its most concrete form it rests, lastly, on the presumed superiority of the Hellenic race to all others, but most especially to the eastern nations with which it was in contact. For Aristotle would appear to allow a distinction in this respect between the Asiatic nations and the European. He distinguishes them in character, and keeping this distinction in mind, I think we are warranted in the inference, that whilst he would defend the conquest of the barbarous neighbours of Greece in Europe, on the ground of the advantage such conquest would confer on them by an amalgamation with their conquerors, and, as it were, an adoption into their higher civilisation, he would vindicate the conquest of the Asiatic nations from a less liberal point of view than that of Alexander, as the conquest of those who were naturally and essentially slaves, and who would find their advantage in a wisely regulated but perpetual servitude.

It seemed desirable to state the grounds of Aristotle's judgment, but it is not necessary here to discuss it with greater minuteness. Elsewhere I have indicated what I consider its erroneous assumptions. It will be seen from what

labours, for all higher forms of society require such a class, as a basis to secure leisure and that advancement of all the interests of the race, which is impossible unless leisure be secured to a portion. But in a state of society, of which war was the characteristic, the labouring class could not maintain itself in security, if independent. It needed the closer bond which connects the master and his slave. It could not exist under the slacker connection that exists between the employer and the employed.

Hence slavery, which, in the earliest times, had been the mitigation of war, could not, for a long period, cease to be the general condition of labour. It must be accepted as an institution. It must, as such, be brought within the consideration of society, and so regularised and modified, partly by positive law, partly by the stronger force of custom, as to lose its more repulsive character. The existence of the slave must be made tolerable to him, or the society which rested on slavery, in which slaves were the vast numerical majority, could never have been safe for an hour. And an attentive consideration of the History of Greece and Rome, will show that these results were attained. Let the most be made of objections, let the evils inherent in slavery be put at their highest amount, after all is said, it is difficult to look on the conclusion as doubtful: that, relatively to the times in which it was the prevailing condition of the labouring classes, slavery was defensible. It is a conclusion warranted by the general tone of the great writers of Greece, historians and philosophers. It is warranted by the dramatic writers of Rome. It is warranted lastly by the more than acquiescence in the condition of the slave, which was given by the early Christians, and by St. Paul himself. There is, I believe, no hint in the New Testament of a reprobation of slavery. It is accepted as a fact.

And, based on this relative view, it is a conclusion which need in no sense shock us. For it affords not a shadow of support to slavery such as, till lately, existed in our own colonies, and existed, it should be remembered, without in the least jarring on the ideas of morality then prevailing in England. For there are few questions on which public

And it is, of course, evident that slavery, such as it still exists* in North or South America, receives also no support from the conclusion adopted above. The only fair analogy to the slavery of Greece and Rome is to be found in that which is still prevalent in Asia, where the evils of West Indian or American slavery are wholly unknown, and the relation of master and slaves is accepted by both, as being, in Aristotle's words, at once light and for the common interest.

But if we wish to reverse the picture, and seek for an analogy in ancient times to modern slavery, we have a safe guide to follow. The various outbreaks, known in Roman history as servile wars, whose chief seat was Sicily, are a sufficient indication. For they point to a condition of things which was intolerable to the slave. Nor is it difficult to account for this phenomenon. When brought into immediate personal contact with their masters, and congregated in large masses, as they were in a town like Rome, motives of human feeling, the common charities of life, conspired with the dictates of interest, to soften the relation. At its best it is a dangerous relation, dangerous to the master as a moral being, dangerous to the slave from his exposure to every caprice. But in the large towns there were not wanting cheeks to mitigate this danger. The case was different on the latifundia of the Roman nobles, or what may be termed the corn plantations of Sicily. The population there was slave, and there was no check on the misuse of their power by the agents or masters who superintended them. And there was no intercourse, no sense of a connection to soften the inherent hardships of their condition. They revolted once and again, and there was a danger lest their revolt should spread, lest throughout the Roman world the slave population should feel that it had a common cause. There are statements which show that this danger was not imaginary. But it passed over, and civilisation escaped the curse which would have been entailed by a premature break-up of the system of slavery.

* Written in 1855.

all devices to avert it—τὰ ὀλιγαρχικὰ σοφίσματα—seem to me contemptible. Right education must teach them the true use of their power, their true freedom. The removal of all their grievances, social and political, must combine with a wiser spirit in the other classes to soften their feelings, and lead them morally to accept their position with its balanced advantages and disadvantages. But their freedom must be acknowledged—their power must be reckoned with. On the wise recognition of this conclusion depends much of our immediate future. But this wise recognition seems almost beyond hope when we contemplate the alternations of blindness and stupefying terror which the ruling classes are subject to, according as the substratum of the social order seems quiet or disturbed. The Terra di Lavoro of political society bears on it a population of a truly Neapolitan character.

The other class, that of domestic servants, offers difficulties of a widely different kind. They are in one sense members of the family, but the connection is very loose. This social evil was touched upon some years ago by Mr. Carlyle, and it was at the same time indicated that the remedy, or one remedy, lay in greater permanence of the relation between masters and servants. But it would seem in this as in other matters, that the evil must increase to such a point as to force attention before any remedy will be thought of. It would, however, seem great enough already. If England is to follow in the track of New England, and the boasted Anglo-Saxon type of character is to go on developing itself to its extreme logical conclusions, then any healthful condition of domestic service seems hopeless. For it is assumed to be a disgraceful condition, a limited servitude from which every one should escape as soon as possible. And the reckless treatment of servants by their masters has been, I believe, the source of this feeling, so far as it exists amongst us. Yet surely the relation in itself is not an unsound one, it is right and expedient for both parties. It wants but due consideration to make it, what it seems naturally to be, an integral part of our domestic institutions. But its revision will depend on far wider questions—on a revision in fact of the moral standard of the nation, forced upon us by the gradual

II.

Pol. II. VI. 22.

WITH some hesitation I redeem an engagement made in my notes on the second book, at the close of Aristotle's review of the systems of Plato. I do not attach much value to the dictum of Coleridge, that every man is born either an Aristotelian or a Platonist. But it is certain that there are at present two schools amongst those who read and think on such matters. Amongst the classically educated there is a reaction, I think, in favour of Plato, and against the philosophical superiority of Aristotle. Not that such reaction leads in most cases to the pure and simple acceptance of Plato's philosophical system. That is nearly impossible, except for some minds singularly trained. But it does lead them to estimate him very highly, and to shrink from the criticisms of Aristotle, even upon his political philosophy, as unworthily conceived. And to say nothing of this conflict of opinion, there is the real inherent difficulty of the subject. This is such, that I shall touch but very lightly upon it,—the more lightly, inasmuch as from what I have already said, it is clear which side I adopt in the points under discussion. And of course I confine myself to the political and social side of the question.

M. Brandis has remarked that there is much more agreement between the two philosophically than is generally supposed; that it is more in the method of reaching and supporting their conclusions, than in the conclusions themselves, that they differ. I should imagine that on no point is their difference much more strongly marked than on the questions of political science. And yet even here there is a very considerable agreement. It is true that whilst the origin of society is found by Plato in the wants of man, Aristotle makes those wants only the occasion. He insists upon the truth, neglected or not seen by Plato, that man's nature is essentially social, that society is so necessary to man, that even if all that is generally meant by the term

wants were supplied,—if men that is were absolutely inde- pendent of one another,—still they would crave the social union. But this difference noted, most of the more leading questions that occur in political science are either explicitly or implicitly answered in the same way by both. Plato does not, any more than Aristotle, recoil from slavery; nor are his views on war essentially different. Both agree on the necessity for leisure as the foundation of the Greek freeman's existence. In neither is there any allowance for the industrial population. Both are equally republican. Both are equally conscious of the Hellenic superiority. It is when we come to the general tendency of the two philosophers that the difference between them becomes striking. And it is to this difference of tendency that may be traced that divergence on some two or three fundamental points, which has given occasion to the criticism of Aristotle.

I imagine that they would both have allowed that much greater power was wielded by the legislator than is consonant with our ideas. They thought society eminently modifiable, a thing to be fashioned à priori and at pleasure. I do not know that this is anywhere definitely stated, but some such view seems to lie at the root of many of their positions, exercising an influence over their opinions, even though never drawn into consciousness and fully examined. It is an idea which derived considerable countenance from Greek experience, an idea which has been powerful at all times, and is by no means sufficiently exploded, even now.

But though so far both were agreed, Aristotle's sounder judgment emancipated him much the more fully from the consequences of this idea. The evils of existing states escaped neither the one nor the other, but Plato was led by his sense of them to sketch out an entire refashioning of society, a change reaching to its very foundation. Ignoring the experience of the past, he aspired after a purely ideal state, and thought that what may be called the facts of human society could be bent to suit that state; that, in short, the phenomena of society, such as he witnessed them, were accidental and not permanent. Hence his attack on the family by his advocacy of community of wives, his attack on property by his advocacy of community of goods. For

ESSAYS.

I.

SLAVERY.

ὅτι μὲν τοινῦν εἰσὶ φύσει τινὲς οἱ μὲν ἐλεύθεροι οἱ δὲ δοῦλοι, φανερόν, οἷς καὶ συμφέρει τὸ δουλεύειν καὶ δίκαιόν ἐστι. —I. v. II.

THE judgment of Aristotle in favour of slavery has excited more attention than most of his other opinions. It rests on the inequality which, as a fact, exists among men. It rests further on an alleged inequality, which, however, is historically also a fact, existing between the various races of men. In its most concrete form it rests, lastly, on the presumed superiority of the Hellenic race to all others, but most especially to the eastern nations with which it was in contact. For Aristotle would appear to allow a distinction in this respect between the Asiatic nations and the European. He distinguishes them in character, and keeping this distinction in mind, I think we are warranted in the inference, that whilst he would defend the conquest of the barbarous neighbours of Greece in Europe, on the ground of the advantage such conquest would confer on them by an amalgamation with their conquerors, and, as it were, an adoption into their higher civilisation, he would vindicate the conquest of the Asiatic nations from a less liberal point of view than that of Alexander, as the conquest of those who were naturally and essentially slaves, and who would find their advantage in a wisely regulated but perpetual servitude.

It seemed desirable to state the grounds of Aristotle's judgment, but it is not necessary here to discuss it with greater minuteness. Elsewhere I have indicated what I consider its erroneous assumptions. It will be seen from what

there was needed a corresponding increase of the class which labours, for all higher forms of society require such a class, as a basis to secure leisure and that advancement of all the interests of the race, which is impossible unless leisure be secured to a portion. But in a state of society, of which war was the characteristic, the labouring class could not maintain itself in security, if independent. It needed the closer bond which connects the master and his slave. It could not exist under the slacker connection that exists between the employer and the employed.

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It was a system which could not be the ultimatum of the labouring portion of humanity. But before it could wholesomely cease, that which was to replace it must in some degree have gained the requisite strength. Till that time came, all that was admissible was to introduce all possible alleviations, and the legislation of Rome shows us that such alleviations were from time to time introduced. It was Gibbon who remarked that the closing of the period of conquest, and the consequent closing of the importation of fresh slaves, made it necessary to treat the slaves actually possessed with greater care. Where all hope of supply from without had ceased, the only thing left was to deal with the existing slave population in such a way that its numbers might be maintained at a level adequate to the demand.

And in Aristotle himself we find suggested one of the greatest alleviations of which slavery is susceptible. There ought to be held out to the slave, he says, the hope of liberty as the reward of his service. Thus, by a gradual infiltration, the slave population might pass into the free. It did so at Rome through the intermediate stage of freedmen. And the position of freedmen at Rome in the later republic, and even more under the empire, was such that the prospect of reaching it must have been a great inducement to the slaves to acquiesce in their present lot. And it would be an inducement which would have most weight with the highest class of slaves.

In the progress of events slavery has ceased to be the condition of the labourer in all the nations of Western Europe. But there were two classes of slaves—and there are two classes of labourers. There was the class that answers to our industrial population. There was the other that answers to our domestic servants. And there is a wide distinction between the two. The industrial population, agricultural or artisan, is wholly enfranchised, and the difficult problems that it presents to the statesman, admit of no solution but such as is compatible with their forming an integral and most important portion of the body politic. They are free citizens, and their numbers must give them in the last resort the deciding power. All attempts to escape from this conclusion seem to me illusory—

of our present system. This is shown by the incompetency of the classes in whom it places power to produce rulers of any sufficient ability. This incompetency seems admitted by all. It is the remedy that is disputed. Nor does the evil extend only to the governing classes. The other classes, which though hitherto excluded from, are yet considered as admissible to, political power, are equally struck with this paralysis. This proceeds in great measure from the absence of any intelligent appreciation of their position, or in other words, from the absence of any political convictions different from those entertained by the governing classes whom they would supplant. They think they could manage matters better, they do not see that it is not a mere question of management, but of a change in the very conditions of government. Both are in the main agreed upon the ends, their difference as to means is comparatively uninteresting, especially to those who observe that within their own sphere the mercantile and commercial seem as incapable of wise and successful conduct of their concerns as the more directly political classes are in the affairs of the nation.

With reference to these political classes, this result, this incompetency, is not to be wondered at. The influences of what is called society are, to say the least, not favourable to the growth of enlarged intellectual ability, and still less favourable to that of the moral energy and strength of conviction which are infinitely more important than the intellect, on which in fact any large intellectual power depends. For to attain high political power in England, I except of course those born in the purple, a man must devote himself, for a long period, to that object, must play a game, must push himself, either in so-called influential circles, or on the hustings, or both, and the chances are very strongly against him; the improbability very strong, that when his object is attained the character is not warped or enfeebled by the length and nature of the struggle. Such seems the cause, politically, of the weakness which is allowed to characterise our present rulers, or ruling classes.

On the other hand, no observer would, I suppose, deny

that over against these ruling classes there is shaping itself a definite power. That the majority of the more thoughtful artisans are keenly scrutinising the conduct of their governors; that they are entirely antagonistic to the existing institutions, emancipated from any prejudices in favour of our monarchical fictions, hostile to the aristocratic influences of our constitution, alien to the religion of the Church of England. And below the more thoughtful and educated stratum of this society, there is the vast mass of the uneducated unreflective poor, who need but the stimulus of bad times to ripen their smouldering into the most active discontent, a mass on which the others can act with great directness, and by so acting can call in the momentum of numbers to give irresistible weight to their own more calculated decisions.

If there is any one point on which the higher political literature of the day, whether it be the expression of English or foreign opinion, is unanimous, it is on the rapid growth and formidable character, formidable I mean to existing institutions, of this opposition. And there is now added an element which, not novel in character, is yet novel in degree. I allude to the sympathies, more active now than at any recent period, and daily increasing in activity, between the proletariate of our own and other countries. In this respect, as in others, the union of Western Europe is becoming intensified, and a corresponding increase of movement may be expected. But apart from all considerations of the future, the present situation is eminently explosive. The danger has been insisted on over and over again, and no systematic measures have been adopted to meet it. It has certainly not decreased in consequence of that neglect. There are indications of a considerable increase of late, the natural result of recent events.

Nor shall we have fully estimated the danger of the political situation of England till we have taken into account another consideration. Of course two bodies standing in such relation to one another can have no convictions in common. Indeed it is only of the second that it can be said that it has any conviction at all. The former merely clings

It must be distinctly seen that it aims at no compression in the interests of the old society, that it aims at no bolstering up of the older institutions, that it is ready to accept and practically initiate any changes which are desirable, and that it invites discussion of such changes. It must be distinctly seen that, whilst it prevents collision, it does not make its prevention of that a shield for a covert maintenance of the power actually in possession, but that its principal function is to facilitate the substitution of a more satisfactory arrangement.

It may be urged against this: such a power is not without example, but how are the dangers to which it is undeniably exposed to be guarded against? For after all precautions have been taken to ensure a worthy choice, the dictator chosen may prove unworthy, may belie the experience which justified the nomination, and change the nature of the power entrusted to him; or, after a right use of it himself, he may transmit it to unworthy hands, even whilst observing the condition imposed upon him, not attempting, that is, to make it hereditary. Without disputing these difficulties, there are some considerations which tend to make them less formidable than they at first appear. Such a power can only originate in a general conviction that it is necessary; a sufficiently general conviction, that is, to make the dissidents in opinion submit, and, improbable as this may seem, it is by no means impossible. The acquiescence of France in its present government, in spite of the shock to all republican sympathies unwisely given by the substitution of the title of emperor for one more provisional, thus stamping it with a dynastic, hereditary character, is an instance which may throw light on our own future course. Such a conviction and acquiescence would of course diminish the dangers attendant on all great political changes. It would smooth the access to power of the dictator, and render it easier for him to exercise it beneficially.

This preliminary step over, there are other safeguards against perversion of the power. There is, in the first place, the inherent tendency of such a power, so originating and so acquiesced in, to raise the character of its possessor, and

supersede the actual, and to give time for the future order quietly to shape itself.

Discussions such as these could hardly find a place in Aristotle. The question of monarchy, so far as it interested a Greek state, presented itself to him from a wholly different point of view, from that, viz. of the justice of recognising very superior merit. Such merit had a claim, a right he thought, which could not be put aside. And in the quiet acknowledgment of this claim the other citizens would find their true interest. Under any other circumstances the existence of monocratic power in a Greek state was only conceivable in the form of tyranny, and tyranny supported by mercenary troops, the government of undisguised force. The city organisation is, in fact, practically incompatible with the government of one. The ruler and the ruled stand in such close proximity, the forces on the two sides are so unequal, that except for temporary emergencies, such as war for instance, the relation can hardly continue long on the footing of absolute power. The interests of the whole are so in common that there would be no temptation in ordinary times to trust them to one management. The city government must ever, I conceive, remain in principle such as it presented itself to Aristotle.

But the case is different with a nation or great kingdom. The ruler is not brought into such close proximity with his subjects. The interests of these subjects are not so obviously in common. The different parts are not brought into close relation to one another. There is needed a central power to preserve harmony between them, and order throughout the large aggregate. A large armed force is placed at the disposal of this central power, and the numerical inequality which still exists is balanced by concentration and discipline. That the two problems of a city and a national organisation are quite distinct in this particular point of view may be made clear by our own experience. Wherever, in Europe, the actual states approach the type of the Greek city, there the power exercised is very different from that in the larger kingdoms. The smaller states of Germany or Italy may serve to illustrate my meaning.

IV.

WAR.

ὁ μὲν γὰρ πόλεμος ἀναγκάζει δικαίους εἶναι καὶ σωφρονεῖν, ἡ δὲ τῆς εὐτυχίας ἀπόλαυσις καὶ τὸ σχολάζειν μετ' εἰρήνης ὑβριστὰς ποιεῖ μᾶλλον.—IV. (VII.) xv. 3.

THE legitimate objects of war, as conceived by Aristotle, are stated in the previous chapter. They are three, and two of them are still allowed to be legitimate, by the general practice, if not the theory, of mankind. They are self-defence; conquest for the good of the conquered; the ground on which rest, I suppose, the three great instances of attempts to conquer, with which we are at this day familiar, that of the French in Algeria, of the English in India, of the Russians in the Caucasian provinces; lastly, the conquest of those who, by nature slaves, do not submit to this condition, unless compelled by force of arms. The third kind we wholly reject, in common with the theory of slavery, from which it is inseparable. And of the second it may be remarked, that the assent to it becomes every day more hesitating, whilst the number of those who dissent from it increases. Another ground for war, which has assumed a certain prominence lately, finds no mention in Aristotle, any more than does that principle on which so many of the wars of the last three centuries have proceeded—the maintenance of the balance of power. This last may be said, however, to be a modification of war for self-defence. But the other ground to which I allude is quite distinct from that of self-defence; it is a question of moral obligation. It is said to be the duty of states which have the power, to interfere to prevent oppression of the weaker by the stronger.

The justice of strictly defensive war is practically not contested. From no point of view need it present any difficulty. There is much more room for discussion on the second case, as there is evidently great danger in admitting, as a justifi-

nating from the discussion, as obsolete, all ideas of conquest, all ideas of slavery, all ideas of the defence against barbarian or semi-barbarian inroads, there does rest on the civilised nations of Western Europe, who form the vanguard of humanity, the duty of seeing an end put to the reign of unlawful domination, by whomsoever exercised, England, France, Austria, or Russia, and over whomsoever, be it India, Algeria, Italy, or Hungary. But the time is distant yet when such a ground can fairly be taken. And it is necessary, as the first condition, that the powers that would take it should see that they themselves are clear in the matter. To explain myself by an example. The history and circumstances of our dominion in India render it a mere hypocrisy in us to object to Russia's advance either across the Caucasus or the Balkan, on any ground but that of the tendency of such advance to disturb the status quo in Europe, which, in the absence of any policy of amelioration, it seems desirable to maintain.

Passing from the objects of war, I proceed to the consideration of the effects of war on the nations making war, the point suggested by the words quoted from Aristotle. He remarks, that there are greater dangers to the moral condition of a nation in a state of peace and prosperity than in war. 'For war exercises a wholesome constraint, compels justice, compels moderation, whereas the enjoyment of prosperity, and peace, and leisure, has a tendency to foster a spirit of overweening insolence.' It is the truth conveyed in this remark which has, I suppose, led to the welcome given to the present war by so many of the more cultivated and reflecting.

It is a strange and disheartening phenomenon that such a welcome offers. We have enjoyed forty years of unbroken peace, and we have made so little use of their opportunities and benefits that we see them end without regret; and the nation finds itself engaged in war, not with the grave and sad feelings of men who are forced by a hard necessity to forego their proper work, and to take up arms to repress an unwarranted aggression on the existing order. No such feeling seems to be predominant. It is, doubtless, largely entertained, but it is entertained in comparative silence. What

we hear loudly expressed, moving even the 'passionate heart' of the Poet Laureate to express it in song, is an exulting welcome of the war, on the ground that the evils of our social condition were too oppressive; that peace and the fruits of the peace, the great development of industry and commerce, presented such repulsive features, were so stifling to all the nobler feelings, that we throw them aside as a nightmare, and turn gladly to the scenes of war; that we emerge from their atmosphere as into the fresh air after a long confinement.

Putting aside all the accidents of the present war, all its mismanagement in the past, all the apprehension that it justly excites in the future, when we see no aim avowed, no policy guiding us, and returning to the general question, we may fairly ask what benefits it is to confer upon us over and above the purely negative one of repression. No one thinks that war is an end, the permanent condition of things. Grant, then, that the present war be ended and peace restored to us. There has been a great drain on our resources, an immense amount of suffering. Grant that this has not been in vain, that we have attained the just and honourable peace which is the vague end set before us. With peace there return the difficulties of peace, the questions that have been agitating us these last forty years, whose answer has been postponed during the war. Have we gained strength to meet these difficulties by the feverish excitement in which we have been living? Has any light been thrown upon these questions, any thought been given to them? The social evils have been fermenting unresisted. Be it education, be it the question of labour, all have alike assumed during the war an entirely subordinate importance. They can only be solved in peace, and peace has been denied us.

If the welcome of war were but the expression of the selfish feeling, we shall not see the evil in our day, it were intelligible and contemptible. But that such evils as are complained of, the want of education, the demoralisation of commerce, the evils of competition, that such evils should be thought to find any remedy in war passes comprehension. They are all enhanced by the pressure upon industry entailed

no question of its ultimate interests is allowed to interfere. The education I touch on is that of all those classes which can fairly be brought within the range of the term educated, in our sense of the word. With this limitation, I shall surely not be exaggerating when I say that the sound bodily training and the right cultivation of the character in early life are neglected, and that the one great end aimed at is the bringing forward, at as early a period as possible, the intellect. The stimulus of immediate want acts on the very poor, and the child suffers. The children of richer parents suffer because success in life is the ultimate standard to which all education is brought, and success in life at present mainly depends on a certain kind of intellectual culture. And the success must be early, so the intellectual must be prematurely developed. For anything but early success, the calculation is an unsound one. The early forcing system injures the bodily health, vitiates the character, and weakens the intellect. The demand made on the mental powers is too great for the physical in their unsettled, growing state; and the child shrinks from the exertion required. If to this we add the complication introduced by the peculiar food we submit to the young intellect, a food for which it has no natural appetite,—Latin and Greek grammars and exercises,—we shall then understand the necessity of bringing in a moral evil to remedy this natural shrinking from the mental exertion required. I allude to the system of competition based on emulation, the specious name under which we delicately veil, and veiling ignore, the evils to the character of early rivalry. And after all this sacrifice of bodily health and moral training, the intellect, over-stimulated, has lost its vigour at the time when it should be in full possession of it. It is the same with it as with the victors in the Olympic games. There were but rare instances, Aristotle says, of early success followed by later. Their strength had been overtasked in youth.

The very earliest stages of education having been gone through, and the period passed during which the process of education must necessarily be conducted at home, Aristotle raises the question, Is it or is it not within the province of

the legislator to order the subsequent stages in the process, for the education of the boy and youth, for the interval between childhood and manhood? This question he answers, without hesitation, in the affirmative. But the order agreed upon may still leave the education in the hands of the family, or it may take it out of the family, and make it a state concern, make it a public, as distinct from a home education. And it is in favour of the public, the education in common, that Aristotle decides. Where the result is intimately bound up with the interest of the community, the means taken to secure that result should be under the supervision of the community. Such is the ground for Aristotle's decision.

It introduces us to a question beset with difficulties, most of which, however, I shall wholly avoid. For I do not intend to enter on the propriety of a state education as opposed to the voluntary system, of secular as opposed to religious, with all the entanglements into which these discussions have got, and from which there seems no immediate prospect of our extrication. When Aristotle speaks of education as a question concerning the community, we must again call to mind the state of things to which his remarks apply. It was the small city community of Greece which he had in view. The Greek state should see that its citizens were trained up in the right appreciation of their position, and in such a way as to fit them for becoming proper members of it. They would do this under the eye of the generation they were to succeed, and with all the influences of their home and their country strong upon them. The aim of their education should be to form their character in accordance with that of the institutions under which, when men, they were to live.

So that when we use the word public as applicable to the system advocated by Aristotle, the sense the word bears is different from that which attaches to it in our own system. With him it expresses an education free from the caprices of individual parents, but not alienating the subject of it from the legitimate influences of his home and relations. With us it expresses an education from which the element of home is wholly eliminated for the far greater portion of the time devoted to it. It is this difference to which I would draw

some influences as necessarily proceed from a well qualified instructor, I should look to the establishment of district schools, at convenient distances, at which instruction should be given, for education in its stricter and higher sense I should devolve it on the parents. Doubtless they are ill qualified to undertake even this. I know no answer to this objection but that the sense of their duty must revive, they must qualify themselves. In all cases they can qualify themselves morally, in very far the majority they could qualify themselves intellectually for superintendence, not for direct instruction. How English parents are to be made to feel this responsibility is a different question.

Connected with this point is another, the position, viz., of the instructors, by whatever title they may be designated. Some time or other we may hope to see an educational service duly organised, with its members properly called and authorised. With a body so constituted will lie the theoretical guidance of education. Between them and the educated there will be no antagonism, no clashing of interests. Their functions will be permanent with relation to the educated; they will directly impart their teaching to the young, they will be qualified to advise and influence the citizen in his whole life.

Enough on this point; I aim rather at a criticism of the existing, than a sketch of the future, order of things. The present body of instructors is in no such position. There are exceptions, but as a general rule their influence ceases with the immediate connection. Escaped from school and from college, the Englishman owns no controlling influence on the part of those under whom he was there placed. And as a consequence of this state of things the educational function is placed very low even yet by the vast majority of the so-called educated classes of England. Into the causes of this I do not enter. I pass to the third point.

With regard to the things taught, there are some questions on which I need not touch. My entire dissent from the views prevalent has been already expressed. But in the general spirit of the instruction given there needs a great change. The object of all education is correctly given by

is an easy task, the powers of observation are neglected, and the study of words the only one pursued. The consequence is that we are left, at a later period, and with great difficulty, to pick up, as we can, knowledge which might have been easily gained, or we remain ignorant of the whole constitution of the world in which we live. If, in compensation for this ignorance, those who are educated on the pure classical system had, according to the fiction on which it rests, their taste raised, their judgment and their reason strengthened, it were something. Though even then it would be necessary to prove that the ignorance on other points is a necessary condition of attaining these advantages. There may be some slight advantage gained in point of taste, though I think the effect is more often even here purism than a manly correctness. But I am convinced that the judgment suffers, and that the reasoning powers are enfeebled, and that there is accordingly no real compensation for the ignorance complained of.

On social, political, and historical questions, on all the higher points of morals, I believe that the majority of those who are subjected to the so-called advantages of a classical education are deficient in judgment, not of course from the want of faculties, but from the cramping tendency of their education. I have no wish to use language that may offend, but I have watched for years the process as at present carried on, and the impression left on my mind is that of its general failure. There is a demand for strength of character in combination with high intellect, and neither the one nor the other are fostered by the present system, the only difference being that the first is absolutely discouraged.

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